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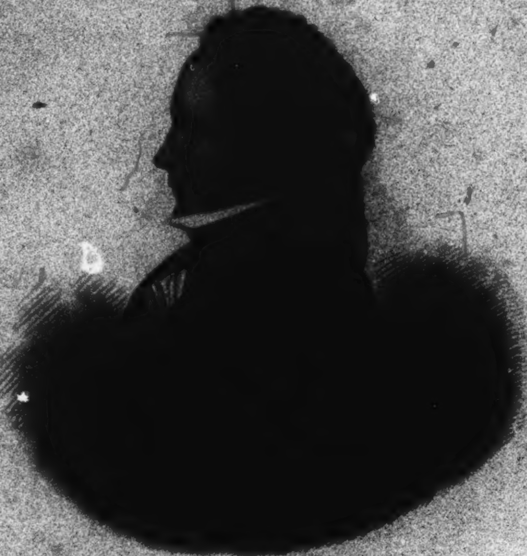

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G Simpson

London, Henry Colburn 1847

NARRATIVE

OF A

JOURNEY ROUND THE WORLD,

DURING THE YEARS 1841 AND 1842.

BY

SIR GEORGE SIMPSON,

GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF
OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S TERRITORIES
IN NORTH AMERICA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY—

SIR JOHN HENRY PELLY, BART., GOVERNOR,
ANDREW COLVILE, ESQUIRE, DEPUTY GOVERNOR,
BENJAMIN HARRISON, ESQUIRE,
JOHN HALKETT, ESQUIRE,
HENRY HULSE BERENS, ESQUIRE,
AARON CHAPMAN, ESQUIRE, M.P.,
EDWARD ELLICE, ESQUIRE, M.P.,
THE EARL OF SELKIRK,
RICHARD WEYNTON, ESQUIRE—

THESE PAGES

ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY

THEIR OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

The Author ought perhaps to account for the length of time which has elapsed since the conclusion of his Travels, in 1842, to the date of their publication. It may probably be deemed sufficient to state that the various and important occupations in which, during that long period, he had been constantly engaged under the Hudson's Bay Company, throughout their extensive territories, as well as at their remote trading-posts in other parts of North America, precluded him from bestowing an earlier and requisite attention to the subject.

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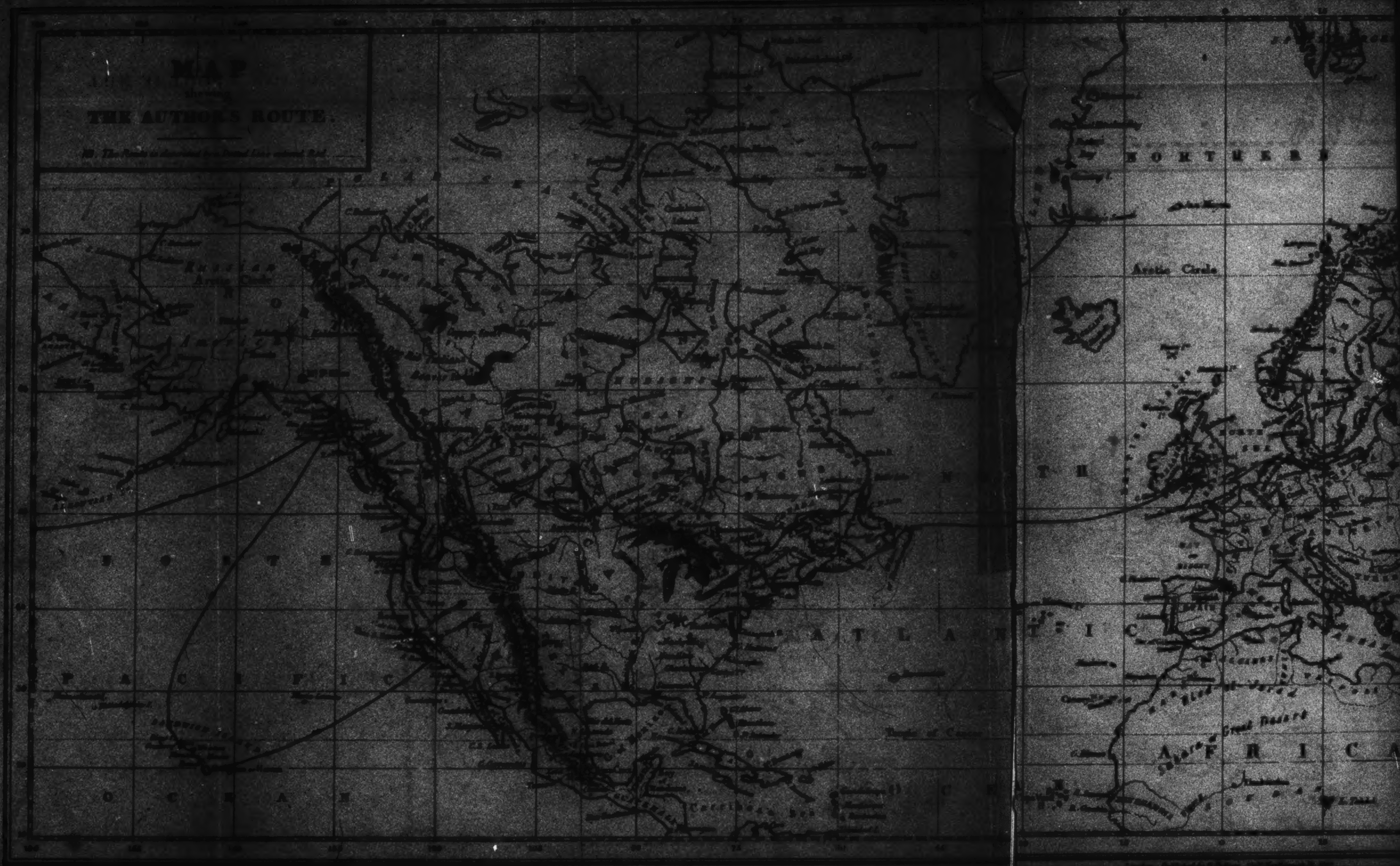
ARCTIC OCEAN
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN
RICA
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
SIBERIA
TIBET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THE AUTHOR'S ROUTE.
N.B. The Route is denoted by a Dotted Line coloured Red
POLAR SEA
Russian America
Arctic Circle
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NORTHERN
Arctic Circle
NORTH SEA
Caribbean Sea
AFRICA
Biled ul Jerid
Sahara or Great Desert

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CHAPTER I.

FROM LONDON TO RED RIVER SETTLEMENT.

Departure from London — Voyage across the Atlantic — Halifax—Boston—Route to Montreal—Montreal—Departure from La Chine—Ottawa — Matawa — Height of land — Lake Nipissing, Ice—French River—Lake Huron—Sault Sainte Marie—Lake Superior, a Week in the Ice—Chippeway Indians—Kaministaquoia, Kakabeka Fall—Height of land—Route to Lac la Pluie—Fort Frances, Chippeway Indians—Rivière la Pluie—Lake of the Woods—River Winipeg—Lake Winipeg—Red River—Lower Fort—Departure of Lords Caledon and Mulgrave for Buffalo Hunting.

On the morning of the 3rd of March, 1841, I left London for Liverpool. In addition to my secretary, Mr. Hopkins, I was accompanied by four or five gentlemen connected with the Hudson's Bay Company's service, and also by a gentleman in the service of the Russian American Company, on his route from Petersburg to Sitka, which his superiors were thus preferring for him, as shorter by thirty degrees of longitude, the breadth of all the rest of the world, to that of his native empire. In less than ten hours we reached our port of embarkation, taking up our quarters for the night at the Grecian Hotel in Dale Street.

Next day, after an early dinner, we were conveyed in a small steamer from the Egremont Pier to the Caledonia, Captain M'Kellar, a vessel of 1,300 tons, and 450 horse power. At half-past five, the last of the passengers, amounting in all to forty-four, having arrived, together with the mail-bags, the melancholy signal of the farewell bell was immediately followed by a rush of "friends" for the shore; and, in ten minutes more, at the sound of the bugle, the good ship's paddles were plashing in the waters of the Mersey.

The first incident that varied the usual monotony of sickness and discomfort was the glimpse of a whale in the morning of our sixth day. In fact, we nearly ran foul of the monster while he was lounging on the surface, within a few feet of the paddles; but, not liking the look of us, he immediately dived, so that we saw nothing more of him. Next day furnished us with a still richer theme for discussion. While we ourselves had so little wind that all our light canvass was set, we met, at some distance, a ship under close-reefed topsails, pronounced, by the by, by some of our "blue noses" to be the Andover, bound from New Brunswick for Liverpool. Though some of us took the responsibility of ridiculing the timidity of the unknown skipper, yet our weatherwise friends concluded that he must have just escaped from a gale, of which we were very likely to have our turn. Within eight and forty hours, their prognostications were verified with a vengeance.

On the morning of our ninth day, Captain M'Kellar discovered that the barometer had fallen between two and three inches during the night, having descended to 26°.9,—the lowest point which, in his experience, it had ever reached. The wind gradually increased in violence, till, by three in the afternoon, it blew a perfect hurricane, during which, so far from being able to mount the rigging, the crew could hardly show themselves on deck, unless sheltered from the fury of the blast. One of our boats was swept overboard; part of our cutwater was carried away; much of our canvass was torn to rags; and seven of our men were severely injured. The sea had risen into mountains, whose whitened crests, shorn off as soon as formed, were scattered through the air like drifts of snow, while the solid masses, one after another, were making a clean breach over us. The sky, as if its murky curtain rested on the very waters, was almost as dark as night; the rain fell heavily; and our ship, like "a thing of life," might have been supposed to struggle and groan in the agonies of dissolution.

If the scene without was awful, the scene within was still more appalling to the nerves. Passengers and crew alike appeared to give themselves up for lost; and, in fact, the more experienced among us, as being more sensible of the extent and variety of our perils, laboured under greater terror than the rest. The storm came from all the points of the compass in succession, commencing at N. E., travelling round to E., S., and W., and finally settling about N. This characteristic of the tempest raised such a cross sea, that, even when, about six in the morning, the wind abated, the vessel could not keep her course; and she was, therefore, laid-to for several hours.

On the second day thereafter, the sea still running high, with a foul wind, the Caledonia, in a heavy pitch, carried away her jib-boom; and, in order to clear the wreck, she was obliged to make better weather of it, by putting about a little. Within four-and-twenty hours more, a depth of fifty-three fathoms showed that we were now on the banks of Newfoundland. Had our hurricane caught us here amid the short swell of the shallow waters, we should, in all human probability, have met the same fate as befel the unfortunate President, under somewhat similar circumstances, in this very storm.

Towards the close of our next day's dinner, the cry of "land" sent the hungriest of us on deck, when the supposed *terra firma* proved to be only an immense field of ice, which, from the inequalities of its surface, had assumed, with a little help from refraction, the appearance of a wooded country. As this floating island lay in our very path, we were obliged to round it, keeping along its southern shore; and so extensive was it, that we did not get fairly rid of it till midnight.

While we were coasting along what had been mistaken for land, the cry of "light ahead" turned out to be a still more extraordinary error. As we were several hundred miles to the eastward of Isle des Sables, the announcement in question excited the greatest astonishment. Seeing, however, was believing; and all the knowing ones, though sorely puzzled as to the cause of the phenomenon, did yet clearly distinguish a magnificent revolver. The paddles were accordingly stopped to have a cast of the lead, while every glass on board was gazing intently in the right direction. But, in a short time, old Mother Earth was ascertained to be the principal revolver in the case, for, in rather less than half an hour, the unknown light proved to be a newly-risen star. This optical illusion was doubtless connected with the proximity of the adjacent glacier, as well as of some icebergs that we saw about the same time; and the *aurora borealis*, whether it be an optical illusion or not, was peculiarly vivid for several hours during the night.

About noon on the 18th, we descried the dreary shores of Nova Scotia, covered with snow and lined with ice; and, by five in the evening, after a run of precisely fourteen days, we entered the harbour of Halifax, amid the hearty cheers of a large concourse of "blue noses." We did not, however, come to our moorings before half-past six, fully half an hour after sunset. Almost immediately afterwards, the Britannia, belonging to the same line as the Caledonia, came into port, on her homeward voyage from Boston to England, in order to receive the mail. The simultaneous arrival of two large steamers naturally threw the town into a state of great animation and bustle, more particularly as each of them would transact all her business with the least possible delay, or rather with the greatest possible expedition.

To the establishment of this communication between the two continents, Halifax owes much, both on commercial and on political grounds. Still, however, the work is only half done. In summer, to be sure, the mails are conveyed so rapidly to Quebec by steam, that the first news from England is received throughout Canada by that route; but, during the winter, the bags are dragged over such wretched roads, that they every where meet, as stale news, the letters and journals which have accompanied themselves from England, and preferred the circuitous route through the United States to the straight cut through British America.

Of this flourishing city and its celebrated haven I could not presume to offer any opinion, after a nocturnal visit of only five hours. We started again for Boston soon after eleven in the evening, several of our passengers having left us, but many more having joined us.

On the forenoon of the 20th we entered Boston Bay. The upper end of the inlet presented many small islands, on which were fortifications, not yet finished, of considerable strength. The navigation appeared to be intricate; but by half-past eleven we were safely moored, having accomplished a distance of three hundred and ninety miles from Halifax in thirty-six hours. As the officers of the customs allowed our baggage to pass without examination, we soon found ourselves in the heart of the city, which was full of life and bustle. There was here far more to remind an Englishman of home than any thing I had ever seen in New York. Even before landing, the gently undulating shores of the bay, highly cultivated, and partially covered with snow, had recalled to my memory the white cliffs and green hills of England; and within the town, the oldest and finest in the Union, both the buildings and the inhabitants had a peculiarly English air about them. Moreover, in many respects, that do not strike the eye, Boston resembles her fatherland. She is the centre and soul of those religious establishments, which have placed the United States next to Great Britain in the divine task of shedding on the nations the light of the Gospel;

she is the nursery and home of most of those commercial adventurers, who have elevated the influence of America above that of England, in more than one of those regions which lie within the contemplated range of my wanderings.

But Boston has more of America about her, as well as more of England, than any one of her republican rivals. It was in her town-hall that the revolution was planned; it was from her quays that the imports, which the old country taxed, were thrown into the tide; it was by her citizens that freedom's first battle was fought on Bunker's Hill. Both of these apparently contradictory characteristics of Boston are mainly owing to one and the same cause. The Pilgrim Fathers were republicans in feeling, while their descendants continued to be so under a practically republican constitution; and the close resemblance to England in every thing but the government of the church and the state was the natural result of the fact, that the colony, of which Boston was the capital, virtually began her career, as a portion of the old country, by receiving into her bosom all the various grades and classes of society at once.

After dining at the Tremont, an excellent hotel, we left the city at five in the afternoon, by railway, for Lowell, the Manchester of New England; and, proceeding thence by a similar mode of conveyance, we reached Nashua, distant thirty-five miles from Boston, about nine o'clock. In 1819 this place was a mere village, of about nineteen houses in all; but now it contained, in connexion with its manufactories, nineteen thousand inhabitants, with the usual concomitants of churches, hotels, prisons, banks, &c. The country was industriously cultivated and densely peopled.

As our party, by the addition of some of our fellow-passengers in the Caledonia, was now increased to fourteen, we formed ourselves, on starting from Nashua in the morning, into two detachments, which pursued different roads, in order to lessen the chances of famine and detention. One band dashed off in a sleigh with six horses; and the other, to which I belonged, rattled along in a coach and four. We soon passed into New Hampshire, which is hilly and well settled; but whether or not it were skilfully cultivated the snow prevented us from judging.

We reached Concord, the capital of the state, in time for a rather late breakfast, for which a drive of thirty-five miles had thoroughly sharpened the appetite. Here, as bad luck would have it, we exchanged our coach for a sleigh. For the first few miles we congratulated ourselves on the improvement; but the sun, as the day advanced, kept thawing the snow, till at last, on coming to a deep drift, we were repeatedly obliged to get out, sometimes walking up to our knees, and sometimes helping to lift the vehicle with levers out of the snow. About three o'clock, however, we fairly stuck fast, in spite of all our hoisting, and hauling, and pushing. The horses struggled and plunged to no purpose, excepting that the leaders, after breaking part of their tackle, galloped off "over the hills and far away," leaving us to kick our heels in the slush, till they were brought back, after a chase of several miles.

Having extricated ourselves by placing our baggage on another sleigh, which was condescendingly driven by

"Captain" Smith, we kept rolling and pitching, till, about eleven at night, we broke down with a crash in a deep drift. Assistance being procured, the body of the sleigh was mounted on a clumsy pair of runners; and, as the night was cold, we were all glad to lend a helping hand, to save our fingers from being frost-bitten. At Lebanon, a village of Quakers, which we reached about half-past one, we exchanged our disabled vehicle for a more serviceable sleigh, consoling ourselves at the same time with a good supper.

Our road was somewhat romantic, being cut on the face of a range of abrupt hills that overlooked the Connecticut River. Reaching the village of Royalton at sunrise, we again exchanged our vehicle for the equipage in which our competitors in the race to Montreal had performed the last stage; and, while we were drawing odious comparisons to the prejudice of our new outfit, we were soon put in better humour by finding in the bottom of the sleigh a writing-desk, containing the money and papers of one of my own original companions, who had joined the other detachment.

We were now travelling through Vermont,—the State of green mountains. The country appeared to be well worthy of its name; and one part of the road was peculiarly beautiful, passing through a narrow valley, known as the Gorge, between steep hills on either side. Montpelier, where we breakfasted, was perhaps the sweetest spot that I saw on my travels, looking rather like the residence of hereditary ease and luxury, than the capital of a young republic of thrifty graziers. It was, in fact, an assemblage of villas. The wide streets ran between rows of trees; and the houses, each in its own little garden, were shaded by verandahs. By eleven at night we overtook our friends at the American Hotel in Burlington, on Lake Champlain. After supper, at which each party recounted to the other its various perils by "flood and field," we retired about one o'clock to obtain a little repose, after forty-two hours of hard jolting, leaving orders to call us at five in the morning.

Four hours being very scanty allowance of sleep for two whole days, I was not surprised at being nearly as drowsy as ever when I was roused by a peal of blows at my door. In spite, however, of laziness, and a cold morning to boot, I had completed the operations of washing and dressing by candle-light, having even donned hat and gloves to join my companions, when the waiter entered my room with a grin. "I guess," said the rascal, "I've put my foot in it; are you the man that wanted to be called at two?" "No," was my reply. "Then," said he, "I calculate, I've fixed the wrong man, so you had better go to bed again." Having delivered himself of this friendly advice, he went to awaken my neighbour, who had all this time been quietly enjoying the sleep that properly belonged to me. Instead of following the fellow's recommendation, I sat up for the rest of the night, thinking one hour's snooze hardly worth the trouble of rubbing my eyes a second time.

In the afternoon, an hour or so after passing the town of Highgate, the outposts of one of our regiments, that were stationed in a dark forest, showed us that we had got beyond the frontier. At three in the morning, we crossed the Richelieu, which empties Lake Champlain into the St. Lawrence, by a wooden bridge, a good deal the worse for the wear, and three quarters of a mile in length.

Being now in the village of St. John's, one or two of us went ahead to the principal inn; and, as our knocking and shouting elicited no answer, we enforced our noisy salutations by adding that there were fourteen more coming, with a whole host of drivers. When at length we effected an entrance, eagerly demanding fires and suppers, the landlord was not to be found, though, on examining the premises, his lair was warm, and his clothes, down even to the indispensable garment, were all waiting their owner's appearance more patiently than we were. The establishment was searched up stairs and down stairs, inside and outside, while the luckless man's brother wandered about, the very ghost of despair; and we were inclined to reproach ourselves as the innocent cause of the domestic tragedy. In a few minutes, however, did "mine host" return with a face wreathed in the blandest smiles. The mystery was now quickly explained. The election had taken place the day before, accompanied by much rioting; and the landlord, having zealously espoused the cause of the successful candidate, had been threatened with all sorts of vengeance by the losing party. The doomed innkeeper had accordingly considered us, more particularly after the announcement of our numbers, as the bearers of his death-warrant, brimful, of course, of wrath and whiskey; and, as the fiercest fire-eater would have done in his place, he smuggled himself away for dear life into some unmentionable and inscrutable corner or other.

This little adventure and our keen appetites together made us forget our fatigues over a substantial meal, supper and breakfast in one; and, finding all the beds engaged, we continued our journey to La Prairie, and thence, across the ice of the St. Lawrence, to Montreal. In traversing the noble river, we enjoyed perhaps the best view that can be obtained of the metropolis of the Canadas, rising from the waters' edge up the immediate bank of the stream, and then stretching away along the face of the higher ground behind. If the aspect of the city be grander from the mountain, as it is called, in the rear at any given point, the sight from that part of the St. Lawrence, which we passed, is superior in this respect, that, besides being nearly as complete at every instant, it rapidly evolves an endless variety, during a race of about seven miles.

On this flourishing emporium I shall offer only this single remark, that it contrasts, as if in a nutshell, the characteristic qualities of the two races that inhabit it. The French were the original possessors of the city, while the English at first found themselves to be houseless strangers in a strange land. But the latter have forced their way by inches from the waters' edge into nearly all that constituted Montreal in the days of Wolfe and Amherst; and the former have been driven from their ancient seats into the newer sections of the city, being gradually jostled out even there from every thing like a thoroughfare of commerce.

On the 1st of May, the season being more backward than usual, the navigation was so far open as to permit the steamers to ply on the St. Lawrence as far as Beauharnois and Chateauguay; and on that day, therefore, the heavy canoes were despatched for the interior under the charge of one of the gentlemen, who had accompanied me from London. The weather was still cold and unsteady; patches of deep snow were to be seen; and neither meadow nor bush displayed any symptom of reviving vegetation.

In the light canoes I was to have several fellow-travellers not connected with the Hudson's Bay Company's service. My friend, Colonel Oldfield, head of the engineer department in Canada, was to accompany me, along with his aide-de-camp, Mr. Bainbrigge, as far as Lake Nipissing, in order to survey the country with respect to the means of navigation; and the Earls of Caledon and Mulgrave were to be my fellow-travellers all the way to Red River settlement, whence they intended to proceed to hunt the buffalo.

Under these circumstances, our departure excited more than ordinary interest; and accordingly, on the morning of the 4th of May, many friends of my fellow-travellers and myself came out to an early breakfast in order to witness our start for the wilderness. By nine o'clock, our two canoes were floating in front of the house, on the Lachine Canal, constructed to avoid the famous rapids of St. Louis. The crews, thirteen men to the one vessel and fourteen to the other, consisted partly of Canadians, but principally of Iroquois from the opposite village of Kaughnawaga, the whole being under the charge of my old and faithful follower, Morin. To do credit to the concern in the eyes of the strangers, the voyageurs had been kept as sober as voyageurs could be kept on such an occasion; and each one had been supplied with a feather for his cap. This was all very fine; but the poor fellows were sadly disappointed, that a northwester, which was blowing, prevented the hoisting of our flags.

The canoes, those tiny vehicles of an amphibious navigation, are constructed in the following manner. The outside is formed of the thick and tough bark of the birch, the sheets being sewed together with the root of the pine-tree split into threads, and the seams gummed to make them air-tight. The gunwales are of pine or cedar of about three inches square; and in their lower edges are inserted the ribs, made of thin pieces of wood, bent to a semicircle. Between the ribs and the bark is a coating of lathing, which, besides warding off internal injury from the fragile covering, serves to impart a firmness to the vessel. These canoes are generally about thirty-five feet from stem to stern; and are five feet wide in the centre, gradually tapering to a point at each end, where they are raised about a foct. When loaded, they draw scarcely eighteen inches of water; and they weigh between three hundred and four hundred pounds.

When all was ready, the passengers embarked, the centre of each canoe being appropriated to their accommodation. In the first canoe the two noblemen and myself took our seats; and the second contained Colonel Oldfield, Mr. Bainbrigge, our Russian companion, and Mr. Hopkins. At ten minutes before eleven, the men struck up one of their hereditary ditties, and off we went amid the cheers and adieus of our assembled friends.

As the wind was high, the waves of the St. Lawrence rather resembled those of the sea than of a river, while, borne on the biting gale, the snow drifted heavily in our faces. At Point Clare, where we dined, we luckily obtained the shelter of a roof, through the politeness of Mr. Charlebois, whose wife proved to be an old friend of mine, being a daughter of Mr. Dease, the northern discoverer, one of the gentlemen who had accompanied me across the Atlantic. At St. Anne's rapid, on the Ottawa, we neither sang our evening hymn nor bribed the lady patroness with shirts, caps, &c., for a propitious journey :—but proceeded.

In the Lake of the Two Mountains we found our heavy canoes, now three days out from Lachine, still wind-bound; and, after bidding them good bye with our lighter craft and stronger crews, we reached the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment about half-past six. On approaching the land, we were saluted by the one cannon of the fort, while Mr. Mac Tavish waited on the wharf to give us a hearty welcome; and, on reaching the house, we were kindly received by his lady. After being resuscitated by warm fires and an excellent supper, we spread our bedding on the floor.

Being trammelled by a roof, we indulged ourselves to the unusually late hour of half-past two; and even then we lost a little time in searching for some of our men, who, according to custom in such cases, were out of the way. In consequence of the height of the water, the forests along the bank appeared to grow out of a lake. At the foot of the Long Sault, a succession of rapids of about twelve miles in length, we breakfasted. Soon afterwards, we reached the Lock of Carillon, the first of a series of artificial works, erected by government to avoid the rapids in question; passing through the whole, without delay or expense, as part and parcel of

Colonel Oldfield's suite. In the lake above Grenville, into which these works conducted us, we met a steamer gliding so gently and silently along, that she might almost be supposed to have gone astray on these once secluded waters.

Next morning, after toiling for six hours, we breakfasted at eight, with the wet ground for our table, and with rain, in place of milk, to cool our tea. By one in the afternoon, while attempting to pass close under the falls of the Rideau, we were swept into the middle of the river by the violence of the current, our gunwales being covered by the foam that floated on the water. These Falls are about fifty feet in height and three hundred in breadth, being at the time we saw them more magnificent than usual by reason of the high state of the waters. It is from their resemblance to a curtain that they are distinguished as the Rideau; and they also give this name to the river that feeds them, which again lends the same appellation to the canal that connects the Ottawa with Lake Ontario.

Through a wide and smooth reach of the stream we came in an hour to the Chaudière rapids, forming the lowest of a series of impediments which extends upwards to the lake of the same name. Between the Rideau and the Chaudière there is a remarkable contrast. The former is a mere fall of water from one level to another, but the latter presents a desperate struggle of the majestic Ottawa, leaping, with a roar of thunder, from ledge to ledge and from rock to rock, till at last, wearied, as it were, with its buffetings, it sinks exhausted into the placid pool below.

At the outlet of the canal, which is situated between the Rideau and the Chaudière, stands Bytown, named after my late much valued friend, Colonel By of the Engineers; while on the opposite bank the ground above the Chaudière is occupied by the once flourishing village of Hull, the creation of an enterprising backwoodsman of New England, named Wright.

Up to Chaudière Lake the canoes were sent perfectly light by water, while the baggage and passengers were conveyed on wheels to the prettily situated village of Aylmer. Being here rejoined by our little squadron, we encamped up the lake on the grounds of my friend General Lloyd, from whose hospitable mansion our tea-table, if the bottom of a tent could be deemed such, was provided, not for the first time in my voyaging experience, with the luxuries of milk and cream.

Here the bull-frogs, gathering new vigour from the light of our fires, serenaded us all night, to our infinite annoyance. Soon after sunrise, we made a portage round Les Chutes des Chats into the rapids which terminate the lake of the same name. In the course of the day, we had heavy work with a succession of difficult portages, breakfasting on the first, and meeting on the second my trusty half-bred guide Bernard, who now came into my canoe, while Morin was transferred to the other. The last of the series, the Grand Calumet, we were obliged to leave for next morning's amusement, though it was only half a mile distant.

Our encampment would have formed a rich and varied subject for a painter's brush. The tents were pitched in a small clump of pines, while round a blazing fire the passengers were collected amid a medley of boxes, barrels, pots, cloaks, &c.; and to the left, on a rock above the foaming rapids, were lying the canoes; the men flitting athwart their own separate fire as actively as if they had enjoyed a holiday, and anxiously watching a huge cauldron that was suspended over the flames by three poles. The foreground consisted of two or three magnificent trees on a slight eminence; and the background was formed by dense woods and a gleaming lake.

It was six in the morning before we left the Grand Calumet behind us; and thence we proceeded without farther impediment to Fort Coulonge, distant about two hundred and ten miles from Montreal. Some of us had looked forward to this place with a good deal of interest, as a short halt would here be necessary in order to transact business and receive supplies. In addition to Mr. Siveright, who was in charge of the establishment, I here met Mr. Cameron, another of the Company's officers, who had come all the way from his own station of Lake Temis-cameng to wait my arrival. As the latter gentleman accompanied us, on our departure, with his canoe and five men, our party now became quite formidable, mustering forty persons in all. After making portages at several rapids, and among them the justly admired Culle Butte, racing round the base of a rocky hill in a very narrow channel, we encamped for the night at the entrance of Lac des Allumettes.

In the morning—the morning, be it observed, of the 9th of May—the water was crusted with ice thick enough to require the aid of poles in order to break a path for the canoes. After touching at the Company's post on the borders of the lake, we halted at five, being three hours earlier than usual, for breakfast, that the sun might do our work for us by melting away our icy barrier. We soon stumbled on another obstacle in the shape of a boom placed athwart the river by the lumberers of the neighbourhood.

The custom among these hardy fellows is for each person to place his mark on his own timber, when he fells it in winter; the logs are then dragged to the bank of the river over the snow, there remaining to be wafted by the rising of the waters to the nearest boom. At this common point of union, each lumberer combines first his sticks into cribs and then his cribs into rafts—the latter being like floating hamlets, with four or five huts and a population of twenty or thirty men. In descending a rapid, the raft is again separated into its cribs, each crib generally carrying its own proportion of the crew; and in some places, at the Joachin, for instance, all fastenings are untied so as to let the trees take their chance, one by one, down the unmanageable surges.

These lumberers may be considered as the pioneers of that commerce, which cannot fail ere long to find its way up this noble river, abounding, as it does, in every conceivable requisite for trade and agriculture, such as water-power, abundance of timber, good climate, and a variety of soil, sandy, stony, and rich. The scenery is generally picturesque, here rising in lofty rocks, and there clothed with forests to the water's edge; and the whole, being now deserted by its ancient lords, is left free to the civilizing influences of the axe and the plough.

In the course of this day and the next, we made several portages, reaching, about five in the afternoon, the point at which the Matawa flows into the Ottawa from the south-west. This spot might be considered as the first grand hinge in our route. We were here to leave the magnificent stream, on which we had accomplished the entire distance of nearly four hundred miles; for even at Lachine, and still farther down, the two great rivers of Canada, the Ottawa with its earthy yellow, and the St. Lawrence with its lake-born blue, are nearly as distinct from each other as when rushing to their confluence down their respective channels. At this place was a small post belonging to the Company, where we left Mr. Bainbrigge to await the arrival of a small canoe, which I had ordered to follow us from Fort Coulonge to secure the retreat of Colonel Oldfield; and, as soon as his little vessel arrived, he was to follow, and, if possible, to overtake us.

At one of the rapids below Matawa, the heavy canoes, which came up a few days after ourselves, lost a very valuable chest of medicines,—one of the very few accidents which could be imputed to the carelessness of a voyageur during the long course of my experience. This morning, however, we were reminded that serious disasters had occurred and might occur again, for we breakfasted near two crosses, that had been placed over the bodies of two men, who were drowned, while running the adjacent rapid.

Before bidding good bye to our old friend, the Ottawa, let me here offer a description of a day's march, as a general specimen of the whole journey. To begin with the most important part of our proceedings, the business of encamping for our brief night, we selected, about sunset, some dry and tolerably clear spot; and, immediately on landing, the sound of the axe would be ringing through the woods, as the men were felling whole trees for our fires, and preparing, if necessary, a space for our tents. In less than ten minutes our three lodges would be pitched, each with such a blaze in front as virtually imparted a new sense of enjoyment to all the young campaigners, while through the crackling flames were to be seen the requisite number of pots and kettles for our supper. Our beds were next laid, consisting of an oil-cloth spread on the bare earth, with three blankets and a pillow, and, when occasion demanded, with cloaks and great coats at discretion; and, whether the wind howled or the rain poured, our pavilions of canvass formed a safe barrier against the weather. While part of our crews, comprising all the landsmen, were doing duty as stokers, and cooks, and architects, and chambermaids, the more experienced voyageurs, after unloading the canoes, had drawn them on the beach with their bottoms upwards, to inspect, and, if needful, to renovate the stitching and the gumming; and as the little vessels were made to incline on one side to windward, each with a roaring fire to leeward, the crews, every man in his own single blanket, managed to set wind and rain and cold at defiance, almost as effectually as ourselves.

Weather permitting, our slumbers would be broken about one in the morning by the cry of "Lève, lève, lève!" In five minutes, woe to the inmates that were slow in dressing; the tents were tumbling about our ears; and, within half an hour, the camp would be raised, the canoes laden, and the paddles keeping time to some merry old song. About eight o'clock, a convenient place would be selected for breakfast, about three quarters of an hour being allotted for the multifarious operations of unpacking and repacking the equipage, laying and removing the cloth, boiling and frying, eating and drinking; and, while the preliminaries were arranging, the hardier among us would wash and shave, each person carrying soap and towel in his pocket, and finding a mirror in the same sandy or rocky basin that held the water. About two in the afternoon we usually put ashore for dinner; and, as this meal needed no fire, or at least got none, it was not allowed to occupy more than twenty minutes or half an hour.

Such was the routine of our journey, the day, generally speaking, being divided into six hours of rest and eighteen of labour. This almost incredible toil the voyageurs bore without a murmur, and generally with such a hilarity of spirit as few other men could sustain for a single forenoon.

But the quantity of the work, even more decidedly than the quantity, requires operatives of iron mould. In smooth water, the paddle is plied with twice the rapidity of the oar, taxing both arms and lungs to the utmost extent; amid shallows, the canoe is literally dragged by the men, wading to their knees or their loins, while each poor fellow, after replacing his drier half in his seat, laughingly shakes the heaviest of the wet from his legs over the gunwale, before he again gives them an inside berth; in rapids, the towing-line has to be hauled along over rocks and stumps, through swamps and thickets, excepting that, when the ground is utterly impracticable, poles are substituted, and occasionally also the bushes on the shore. Again, on the portages, where the tracks are of all imaginable kinds and degrees of badness, the canoes and their cargoes are never carried across in fewer than two or three trips—the little vessels alone monopolizing, on the first turn, the more expert half of their respective crews. Of the baggage, each man has to carry at least two pieces, estimated at a hundred and eighty pounds avoirdupois, which he suspends in slings of leather placed across the forehead, so that he has his hands free to clear the way among the branches of the standing trees and over the prostrate trunks.

But, in addition to the separate labours of the land and the water, the poor fellows have to endure a combination of both sorts of hardship at least three or four times every day. The canoes can seldom approach near enough to the bank to enable the passengers to step ashore from the gunwale; and, no sooner is a halt made, than the men are in the water to ferry us on their backs to dry ground. In this unique department of their duties they seem to take a pride; and a little fellow often ambitiously tries to get possession of the heaviest customer in the party, considerably exceeding, as has often been the case in my experience, the standard aforesaid, of two pieces of baggage.

To return to our voyage up the Matawa, I could not help remarking the influence of the state of the weather on a traveller's estimate of scenery. Under our sunny sky, the winding banks, wooded, in every bay and on every point, down to the waters' edge, were charmingly doubled, as it were, in the smooth and transparent stream; while Captain Back, under the horrors of a heavy shower, described this as the most dismal spot on the face of the earth, as a fit residence only for the demon of despair. Rain, be it observed, is a comparative trifle, while one enjoys the shelter of an oil-cloth in the canoe. The misery hardly begins to be felt, till you are deposited, with all your seams exposed to the weather, on the long grass, though even this stage has the merit of being far less wretched than that of forcing your way among the dripping branches. Here, for the event is worth noting, we encountered the first attack of the musquitoes.

Next day, we made eleven portages, crossing the height of land and reaching a feeder of Lake Nipissing. The only portage worthy of special notice was that of the Falls of Lake Talon, where a large body of water rushes through a narrow opening in the rocks from a height of about fifty feet. Separated from the boiling cauldron, into which the torrent throws itself by a projecting ledge, a silent pool, forming a kind of gloomy recess, carries the canoes to the foot of a rock so smooth and steep as to be almost impracticable to novices. This declivity and a narrow platform at the top constitute the portage. This spot furnishes a striking proof that the waters of this country must once have occupied a much higher level. The platform must have been part of the bed of the stream; the declivity must have formed a section of the Fall; and the dark and stagnant recess must have been a foaming whirlpool. Many other portages on the route present similar features, though perhaps in an inferior degree. We had now got fairly into the region of the fur-traders, beyond the ken alike of the farmer and the lumberer;

and we here discovered the traces of beaver in the pieces of willow, which had been barked by this extraordinary animal.

To make the day's work with our eleven portages still harder, we did not encamp till after ten at night, while the closing division of our toil consisted of a swamp of about three quarters of a mile in length, the tract being, on the whole, the wettest and heaviest on our journey. Our resting-place was bad — the ground damp, the water muddy, the frogs obstreperous, and the snakes familiar. In spite, however, of all these trifles, fatigue was as good as an opiate; and in sound sleep we soon forgot the troubles of the day.

After indulging in the morning till half-past two, we reached Lake Nipissing at daybreak. Here I left Colonel Oldfield, instructing Mr. Cameron, at the same time, to remain with him till Mr. Bainbrigge should arrive. After seeing them safely planted by the side of a glorious fire, we bade them adieu. In less, however, than half an hour our progress was arrested by a field of ice; and, having worked our way through it to the shore with difficulty, we cleared our ground, pitched our tents, and resigned ourselves to our fate.

After the fatigues of yesterday, our men, delighted with the godsend, soon fell asleep on the bare ground, even without the trouble of a wish, while we ourselves, besides making up all arrears of shaving, washing, dressing, &c., killed time with eating, drinking, chatting, and strolling. From a native family in the neighbourhood we purchased some fish for a few biscuits; and we soon found that the biscuits might have been saved, for we succeeded in spearing twenty or thirty dorey, averaging two pounds each. Having attempted in the afternoon to find a path for our canoes, we were obliged to encamp for the night with a gain of only three quarters of a mile.

Making way next morning, we breakfasted on the portage between Lake Nipissing and its outlet, French River. On this stream we saw a few savages, who, though poorly clad, appeared to be faring well. Here we ran our first rapids; and in the afternoon we made a portage at the Récollet Fall, which, throwing itself from a slanting ledge of rocks almost in the direction of the river's breadth, leaves hardly room enough for a canoe to pass between the vortex at its foot and the perpendicular wall of the opposite bank. As we had the current in our favour, and were but little impeded by portages, we made our best march to-day, viz.; ninety-five miles. Encamping for the night, within a short distance of Lake Huron, we heard, for the first time, our little friend the whip-poor-will, a sure harbinger of warm weather; and a pair of these favourites of the voyageur serenaded us all night with their cheerful cry, which so closely imitates the name, that one is often inclined to suspect some person of imitating it.

Next morning we descended to Lake Huron through some remarkable rapids, which, in form and breadth, bear a close resemblance to canals cut in the solid rock. In one of these we were nearly snagged, after a fashion unknown on the Mississippi. While running down in gallant style, we perceived, by the dim twilight, a tree bridging the narrow current so as to form a complete barrier. The paddles were immediately backed; and a few blows from an axe quickly cleared our passage.

Before sunrise we entered Lake Huron, having now before us, with the single exception of Sault Sainte Marie, seven or eight hundred miles of still water to the head of Lake Superior.

We dined on an island celebrated for a stone which, when struck, emits a musical or metallic sound; and about eight in the evening we reached the Company's establishment, taking the name of La Cloche from the natural bell just mentioned. The northern shore of Lake Huron consists of rocky hills, dotted with stunted trees, chiefly pines; and the adjacent waters are closely studded with islands, varying from ten feet in diameter to many miles in length. Though the whole of this neighbourhood may be deemed an almost hopeless desert, yet the southern side of the lake is more fertile, as are also the Manitoulin Islands. These more promising districts are pretty well peopled either by Europeans or by Indians.

Next day, being the 16th of the month, and the thirteenth from Lachine, we reached the Sault Sainte Marie about five in the afternoon. This celebrated strait empties Lake Superior into Lake Huron, having a British settlement, with a post of the Hudson's Bay Company on the one side, and an American village, with an inconsiderable garrison, on the other. Having left our baggage to be conveyed across the portage in carts, we visited our establishment, under the charge of Mr. Ballenden; and we were here mortified to learn from Mr. J. D. Cameron, one of the Company's principal officers, that the ice of Lake Superior was still as firm and solid as in the depth of winter.

This was likely to be a far more serious and obstinate business than that of Lake Nipissing. We, however, pushed forward, encamping at Pointe aux Pins, about nine miles distant, without having seen the enemy. We were accompanied by Mr. Cameron, who was bound for Michipicoton as well as ourselves, and also by Mr. Ballenden, who was to pass the night with us for the transacting of business; and, as a curious contrast to the proximity of the ice, the night was so warm, that we accomplished our reading and writing in the open air by moonlight.

Next morning, after proceeding six or eight miles, we found to our sorrow that Mr. Cameron's information was too true; and on landing at Gros Cap we discovered that, as far as the eye could reach, the lake was clad in its wintry garb. As our camp was likely to be a standing one, we arranged our housekeeping with more than ordinary care, cutting plenty of firewood, and strewing our tents with a fragrant carpet of the branches of the white pine. We here saw our first tokens of returning spring in many budding flowers; and, as partridges and other birds were plentiful, we contrived to pass this, our first, day of detention very pleasantly.

Next morning, as we had "nae motive" for rising, any more than the poet of the "Seasons" had, we luxuriated in bed till the fashionable hour of seven. To make amends for the delay, we had beautiful weather, the air calm, the sky cloudless, and the sun powerful; but to show how little influence all this had on the one thing needful, the thermometer, which stood at 73° in the shade, was not far above the freezing point in the water. In the afternoon, we managed to advance a mile, in order to gain an elevated point, whence we could give our hopes and fears a wider range. We had really become very impatient. The heat of the weather appeared to be good for nothing excepting to broil ourselves, for we found the ice, thus at once our bane and antidote, a highly agreeable addition to our water and wine. Our brightest prospect, in fact, was that of eating our way through the luxury.

Early next morning, I received occupation enough for one day at least. A boat from our establishment brought me the journal and other papers of my late lamented relative, Mr. Thomas Simpson, whose successful exertions in arctic discovery and whose untimely end had excited so much interest in the public mind. By the same conveyance we got a supply of white fish. This fish, which is peculiar to North America, is one of the most delicious of the finny tribe, having the appearance and somewhat the flavour of trout.

In the afternoon, a trapper, who was proceeding to the Sault Sainte Marie with some natives in a canoe, informed us that there was open water for a little distance to the westward. This man's hint enabled us to gain six miles—a great deal, by the by, where every little helped.

During the night, a slight breeze broke the field, though the masses still continued to be closely packed. We started at three o'clock, and, after a hard day's work, accomplished about thirty miles. Our progress was much embarrassed by the *mirage*, which assumed various forms, being at one time an island, at another open water, and then again impenetrable icebergs.

Next morning, starting about seven, we made three or four miles in six hours; and then, as there was no suitable spot for encamping, we were obliged to return to our old quarters, having toiled eight hours in vain, to great hazard of damaging our frail barks. Next day we did nothing, being partly deterred from moving by constant rain, and partly prevented by heavy fog from seeing the state of the ice. Here we lay, with a solid lake before us, within a month of midsummer, and below the latitude of London. To aggravate the evil, we had no provender remaining but biscuits, which, such as they were, would not hold out many days longer. Lord Mulgrave, however, fortunately knocked down a hare and a partridge for our dinner; while, curiously enough, Lord Caledon, when we were similarly detained in Lake Nipissing, supplied our table with fish.

Between three and seven in the morning, we advanced two miles, being obliged, after this exploit, to make a halt till noon, on account of the increase of the fog. After our next move, we pitched our camp, about eight in the evening, at the mouth of the Montreal River, not more than eighteen miles distant from our last encampment. Our march had been extremely tedious, being effected by forming a lane through the masses of broken ice. But the last few miles were much less obstructed, and we began to hope, in right earnest, that the troubles of a week in Lake Superior were drawing to a close. Resuming our course at two in the morning, we found fewer difficulties than yesterday, excepting that, soon after starting, we got enclosed in a field of ice, which was drifting rapidly out to sea. This circumstance might have proved to be our worst luck of all, for a heavy gale was blowing from the shore; and before we could get clear of our dangerous neighbours, we were about three miles from the land. The weather was completely characteristic of this inland ocean, a heavy rain for about ten hours in the morning, and then a thick fog for the remainder of the day. About four in the afternoon, we reached Michipicoton, the good folks of the fort having been prevented by the mist from knowing anything of our approach, till the familiar song of the voyageurs struck their ears.

At this place, as I could not pay my usual visit to Moose Factory in July, I was to hold a temporary council for the Southern Department; and accordingly, after taking off our wet cloaks and coats, and stowing away a substantial meal, Mr. Cameron and myself proceeded to business along with Mr. George Keith, the gentleman in charge of the establishment, and Mr. Cowie, another of the Company's officers. Feeling the house uncomfortably close after so long an exposure to the open air, we preferred sleeping in our tents; and, as the rain fell heavily during the night, we found ourselves next morning in something of a puddle.

Having completed my work by eleven in the forenoon, I again resumed my journey, and we kept paddling away till eight in the evening, in spite of rain, fog, and wind. For a great distance to the westward of Michipicoton, the northern shore of Lake Superior consists of rugged mountains of bare rock, with a few scattered trees of stunted growth. The aboriginal population is, of course, very scanty, subsisting almost entirely on the produce of the waters, such as whitefish, sturgeon, trout, pike, herring, &c. Occasionally, however, the fisheries fail through the caprice of the finny tribes, or from other causes; and in such cases the miserable natives are maintained, for weeks and months at a time, at our posts, on potatoes and salted fish. But it is not in this way alone that the poor savages are indebted to the fur-traders. To give them the benefit of moral and religious instruction, the Company has established a missionary of the Wesleyan persuasion at the Pic, our next halting-place on the lake, and it also assists two other missionaries, who pay periodical visits to the different camps. On this subject I do no more than bare justice in reminding the reader that, on these shores, as forming a part of Upper Canada, the Hudson's Bay Company neither enjoys the monopoly of trade, nor bears the responsibilities of government.

In illustration of the belief of the Indians in a special Providence, the following story may be worth telling. Some three or four years ago a party of Saulteaux, being much pressed by hunger, were anxious to cross from the mainland to one of their fishing stations, an island about twenty miles distant; but it was nearly as dangerous to go as to remain, for the spring had just reached that critical point, when there was neither open water nor trustworthy ice. A council being held to weigh the respective chances of drowning and starving, all the speakers opposed the contemplated move, till an old man of considerable influence thus spoke:—"You know, my friends, that the Great Spirit gave one of our squaws a child yesterday. Now, he cannot have sent it into the world to take it away again directly; and I would, therefore, recommend our carrying the child with us, and keeping close to it, as the assurance of our own safety." In full reliance on this reasoning, nearly the whole band immediately committed themselves to the treacherous ice; and they all perished miserably, to the number of eight and twenty.

During the next two days we made beautiful progress, calling at the Pic, which is prettily situated at the mouth of a small river of the same name. Though we had not the pleasure of seeing the resident missionary, who was absent among the Indians, yet we carried off Mr. Mac Murray, the gentleman in charge, to our dining-hall, a little rocky island in the vicinity of his fort. Having a fair wind for part of the time, we hoisted sail, to the great relief of our men; and, with the benefit of the full moon, we pressed forward during the second night, in the hope of reaching Fort William about sunrise. By four o'clock, however, the breeze became rather too much for us, particularly as we had a long traverse ahead, and we accordingly took shelter at the Thunder Mountain till ten in the morning. The Thunder Mountain is one of the most appalling objects of the kind that I have ever seen, being a bleak rock, about twelve hundred feet above the level of the lake, with a perpendicular face of its full height towards the west; and the Indians have a superstition, which one can hardly repeat without becoming giddy, that any person who may scale the eminence, and turn thrice round on the brink of its fearful wall, will live for ever. About two in the afternoon, we gladly stepped ashore at Fort William, situated near the mouth of the Kaministaquoia River.

Before saying good-bye to Lake Superior, let me add that, since the date of my visit, the barren rocks which we passed have become an object of intense interest, promising to rival, in point of mineral wealth, the Altai Chain and the Uralian Mountains. Iron had long been known to abound on the northern shore, two mines having been at one time worked, and abandoned chiefly on account of temporary obstacles, which the gradual advance of agriculture and civilization was sure to remove; and more recently, the southern shore, though of a much less favourable character in this respect, was found to possess rich veins of copper and silver. Under these circumstances, various enterprising inhabitants of Canada have prosecuted investigations, which appear to have satisfactorily proved that, in addition to their iron, the forbidding wastes of the northern shore contain inexhaustible treasures both of the precious and of the useful metals, of gold and silver, of copper and tin; and already have associations been formed to reap the teeming harvest.

At Fort William we exchanged our two canoes for three smaller vessels of the same kind, inasmuch as the waters would henceforward be shallower, and the navigation more intricate. During the interval occupied in arranging this important matter, with a new distribution of crews and baggage, I had an interview with a band of Saulteaux or Chippeways, who had been waiting my arrival near the fort. The chamber of audience was an empty floor in a large store, on one side of which we took our seats, while the Indians, in all about forty men, occupied the other, Mr. Swanston, the gentleman in charge, acting as interpreter. The ceremony of shaking hands with every person having been punctiliously performed, the Indians squatted themselves on the boards, excepting that their chief, known as

L'Espagnol, stood forward in the centre of the room. The orator, a tall and handsome man, somewhat advanced in years, was arrayed in a scarlet coat with gold epaulettes, the whole being apparently spick and span new, for the bright buttons were still enveloped in their original papers; and whether from the want of inexpressibles, or from a Highland taste, the tail of his shirt answered the purpose of a kilt.

Having again shaken hands with the air of a prince, L'Espagnol delivered himself very fluently to the effect, that he and his followers, after passing from the British to the Americans, had soon found reason to reflect that they had always been well treated by the Hudson's Bay Company; that, with our leave, they would now settle near the fort, so that the smoke of their homes might thenceforward rise among Canadian forests; and that, being all Catholics, they should like to have a priest among them. This speech, at its conclusion, elicited a unanimous grunt of approbation from L'Espagnol's people. In reply, I briefly reminded them that, in defiance of one promise already given, they had kept wandering from place to place; offering them, at the same time, protection, if they should decide henceforward to remain here, but declining to interfere in the matter of their religion. With the help of a present, this answer appeared to satisfy them, and the high contracting parties separated.

As the navigation for the first fifty miles was much obstructed by rapids and shallows, we were to be accompanied to that distance by a fourth canoe, as a tender; and at six o'clock, after a stay of six hours, our little squadron, in full song, darted merrily up the beautiful river, whose verdant banks formed a striking and agreeable contrast with the sterile and rugged coast of Lake Superior. About eight, we encamped at Pointe de Meuron, the site of an establishment which was once maintained here by the Hudson's Bay Company as a check on Fort William, the grand rendezvous of the Northwesters.

In the morning, there was a sharp frost for some hours after starting, our extremities being nipped by the cold and the paddles being coated with ice. Early in the forenoon, we reached the Mountain Portage formed by the Kakabeka Falls. Out of sight of the main track—the scene being accessible only by a tangled path—the Kaministaquoia, here taking a sudden turn, leaps into a deep and dark ravine, itself a succession of leaps, while the spectator stands right in front, near enough to be covered with the spray. Inferior in volume alone to Niagara, the Kakabeka has the advantage of its far-famed rival in height of fall and wildness of scenery. About the middle of the descent, a beautiful rainbow, at the time of our visit, spanned the charming waters, harmonizing sweetly at once with the white foam, the green woods, and the sombre rocks.

The river, during the day's march, passed through forests of elm, oak, pine, birch, &c., being studded with isles not less fertile and lovely than its banks; and many a spot reminded us of the rich and quiet scenery of England. The paths of the numerous portages were spangled with violets, roses, and many other wild flowers, while the currant, the gooseberry, the raspberry, the plum, the cherry, and even the vine, were abundant. All this bounty of nature was imbued, as it were, with life by the cheerful notes of a variety of birds, and by the restless flutter of butterflies of the brightest hues. Compared with the adamantine deserts of Lake Superior, the Kaministaquoia presented a perfect paradise.

One cannot pass through this fair valley without feeling that it is destined, sooner or later, to become the happy home of civilized men, with their bleating flocks and their lowing herds, with their schools and their churches, with their full garners and their social hearths. At the time of our visit, the great obstacle in the way of so blessed a consummation was the hopeless wilderness to the eastward, which seemed to bar for ever the march of settlement and cultivation. But that very wilderness, now that it is to yield up its long-hidden stores, bids fair to remove the very impediments which hitherto it has itself presented. The mines of Lake Superior, besides establishing a continuity of route between the east and the west, will find their nearest and cheapest supply of agricultural produce in the valley of the Kaministaquoia.

In the course of the afternoon, my canoe struck a rock in one of the rapids, tearing a hole in her bottom. Soon, however, the wreck was docked on dry land, and, with the aid of stitching and gumming, was again as good as new in no time. The rock must have been a sharp one, for the covering of bark is so tough, that a round stone has often been known to smash the ribs of the vessel without breaking the skin.

Next day, being Sunday, the 30th of the month, we crossed the Dog Portage, about two miles in length, early in the morning. The view from the summit is justly admired by all who see it. At the spectator's feet is stretched a panorama of hill and dale, chequered with the varied tints of the pine, the aspen, the ash, and the oak, while through the middle meanders the silvery stream of the Kaministaquoia, often doubling and turning as if willing to linger for ever on so lovely a spot. According to the traditions of the natives, the portage derives its name from the circumstance that two enormous dogs, having taken a nap at the top of the hill, left the impress of their figures behind them; and certain it is, that such figures have been marked on the turf in the same manner as the white horse near Bath.

On Monday, being the last day of May, we crossed the height of land between Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company's territories, consisting of three considerable portages, the Prairie, the Milieu, and the Savanne. At the commencement of the first, we left behind us one of the thousand sources of the St. Lawrence in the form of a shallow pool strewed with the poles, which successive voyageurs, at this the head of their uphill work, have thrown away as useless. The last, which is nearly two miles long, lies through a perfectly level swamp, which, as far back as "Auld lang syne," has been paved with a triple row of round rails, placed end to end. Where this bridge happens to be entire, the traveller gets along wonderfully well with a groove for each shoe; where one rail has vanished, he is pretty sure to put one foot into it; and, where only one stick remains, or no stick at all, he has no help but to let both his legs take their chance of reaching the bottom. Your novice generally takes a paddle as a crutch; and friends of mine have sometimes doubly armed themselves in this way.

At the farther end of the Savanne, we descended the little river Embarras, so named from the great number of fallen trees lying across its narrow channel. We sometimes cut through these obstructions, sometimes crept under them, and sometimes pushed them back, like swinging gates; but occasionally we found them so matted into dams, that we had to make portages round them.

On the 1st of June, soon after passing through the beautiful Lake of a Thousand Lakes, we descended a small and troublesome river, something like our yesterday's Embarras, to the French Portage, generally acknowledged to be the very worst in this part of the country. The path lay over a succession of steep ascents and descents, while the bottom was generally a miry swamp, obstructed by underwood and fallen trees. The length of two and a half miles cost even the unencumbered passengers a struggle of nearly two hours. Our troubles in wading through this combination of hill and valley, of morass and forest, were aggravated by clouds of sand-flies, which almost fatigued our arms in sweeping them from our faces and feet.

In the morning, we passed down a small river and through Sturgeon Lake into the Maligne, a stream abounding in sharp stones and short portages. Thence we proceeded through Lac la Croix to the Macan, which strikingly resembles the Maligne. At nearly all the rapids and falls on these two rivers, the Indians have erected platforms, which stretch about twenty feet from the shore; and on these they fix themselves, spear in hand, for hours, as silent and motionless as possible, till some doomed fish comes within the range of their unerring weapon. If they take more sturgeon than what they immediately require, they tether the supernumeraries by a string, through the mouth and gill, to the bank; and this mode of confinement, at least for a week or two, affects neither the weight nor the flavour of the prisoners.

On the morrow, towards noon, we made a short portage from the Macan to a muddy stream, falling into Lac la Pluie. As we were passing down this narrow and shallow creek, fire suddenly burst forth in the woods near us. The flames, crackling and clambering up each tree, quickly rose above the forest; within a few minutes more the dry grass on the very margin of the waters was in a running blaze; and, before we were well clear of the danger, we were almost enveloped in clouds of smoke and ashes. These conflagrations, often caused by a wanderer's fire or even by his pipe, desolate large tracts of country, leaving nothing but black and bare trunks, and even these sometimes mutilated into stumps,—one of the most dismal scenes on which the eye and the heart can look. When once the consuming element gets into the thick turf of the primeval wilderness, it sets everything at defiance; and it has been known to smoulder for a whole winter, under the deep snow.

After traversing Lac la Pluie and five or six miles of the river of the same name, we reached our post between ten and eleven in the evening, being saluted by about a hundred Saulteaux, the warriors of a band of about five hundred souls; and these savages, after accompanying us to the fort with one of their wild songs, presented me with a letter written by one of their own nation, who had been educated in Canada, and was now acting as interpreter for the Wesleyan Missionary of the establishment. The document ran thus:

FATHER,

We, the undersigned chiefs and principal men of the Indians, whom you now see encamped around this fort, do hereby present our good wishes on your safe arrival.

It is not known to any of us that you ever was so requested by any of the tribes inhabiting this country, as that which we now humbly request, which is, that you will be pleased to hear the words of your children, who are now awaiting to address you on things which concern the welfare of themselves and their children.

And now, Father, we know that you are the Governor of this our common country, and we know that your ear is open to the words of all therein.

We humbly hope that it may be so to uswards.

Signed on behalf of our people,

NAWAYAHNAQUAH,
MATWAYATH,
KECHENEGAH TE UN,
MASHONOYA,
WA NA NIE.

In accordance with this request, I invited my "children" to attend me at four in the morning; and, instead of pitching our tents among so many needy friends, we made our beds within Fort Frances. But, while I was napping, the enemy were pelting away at me with their incantations. In the centre of a conjuring tent—a structure of branches and bark forty feet in length by ten in width—they kindled a fire; round the blaze stood the chiefs and medicine-men, while as many of the others as could find room were squatted against the walls; then, to enlighten and convert me, charms were muttered, rattles were shaken, and offerings were committed to the flames. After all these operations were supposed to have done their best, the hitherto silent spectators, at a signal given, started from their hams to their feet, and marched round the magic circle, singing, whooping, and drumming in horrible discord. With occasional intervals, which were spent by the performers in taking the fresh air, this exhibition was repeated during the whole night; so that, when the appointed hour arrived, the poor creatures were still engaged in their superstitious observances.

True to their time, two processions, one from either side of the establishment, met in the open square of the fort, waving their banners and firing their guns. They had all dressed, or rather decorated, themselves for the occasion; their costumes, being various enough to show that fashion, as it is called, had not yet got so far to the westward. Their glossy locks were plaited all round the head into tails, varying in number according to the thickness of the bush or the taste of the owner; at the ends of the different ties were suspended such valuable ornaments as thimbles, coins, buttons, and clippings of tin; their heads were adorned with feathers of all sorts and sizes; and their necks were encircled with rows of beads at discretion and large collars of brass rod.

As to clothing, properly so called, every one had leggings and a rag round the loins, while some of the chiefs, with the addition of scarlet coats and plenty of gold lace, had very much the cut of parish-beadles. The staple commodities, however, appeared to be paint and chalk. The naked bodies of the commoners displayed an inexhaustible variety of combinations of red and white, often surpassing in brilliancy as well as in tightness of fit the dashing uniforms of the grandees; and every face, whether noble or ignoble, was smeared entirely out of sight, the prevailing distribution appearing to be, forehead white, nose and cheeks red, mouth and chin black.

Meanwhile, we had been stirring, to the utmost of our ability, not to be outdone in magnificence. Lord Caledon and Lord Mulgrave had donned their regimentals; and we, civilians, had equipped ourselves like so many mandarins in our dressing-gowns, which luckily happened to be of rather showy patterns and hues. After much shaking of hands, about sixty of the Indians squeezed themselves into the apartment, while the others, with the women and children, remained outside. When all were seated, each chief, in turn, sent round his calumet among us, in the costliness of which they appeared to emulate each other.

All these preliminaries being concluded, the spokesman of the party stepped forward; and, first ostentatiously displaying a valuable present of sundry packs of furs, he commenced his harangue, in a bold and manly voice, with great fluency and animation. After a tedious prelude, which I was obliged to cut short, about the creation, the flood, &c.,—the object probably being to show how and why and when the Great Spirit had made one race red and another white,—he plunged at once from this transcendental height into the practical vulgarities of rum, complaining that we had stopped their liquor, though we, or at least our predecessors, had promised to furnish it "as long as the waters flowed down the rapids." "Now," said he, in allusion to our empty casks, "if I crack a nut, will water run from it?" In reply, I explained to the Indians that spirits had been withdrawn, not to save expense to us but to benefit them. I then pointed out the advantages of temperance, promising them, however, a small gift of rum every autumn, not as a luxury but as a medicine. In thanking them for their present of furs, I told them that, besides receiving a suitable present in return, they would be paid the usual price for every skin. In conclusion, there was another shaking of hands; and then this grand council between the English and Chippeways broke up about six o'clock, to the satisfaction of both nations.

The Salteaux, a branch of the Chippeways, were formerly one of the most powerful tribes in this country. By repeated visitations, however, of measles and small-pox, they have dwindled down to three or four thousand souls; and even this inconsiderable number, though scattered over a vast extent of territory, can scarcely keep body and soul together. As the fur trade, unless under systematic and judicious management, naturally tends to exhaust itself, the hunting-grounds of the Salteaux, as being nearer to a market than those of any other tribe, have been proportionally drained of their natural wealth; and, though the soil is fertile, producing wild rice in great abundance, yet the savages in question are at once too indolent and too proud to become, as they loftily express themselves, "troublers of the earth." This their love of a wandering life is the more deeply to be regretted, inasmuch as, till they settle down as agriculturists, they can derive little or no advantage from the proffered labours of the missionaries, whom the Hudson's Bay Company has introduced among them.

The following incident, which occurred during our short stay at Lac la Pluie, may serve to illustrate, in some important particulars, the character of these Indians. Before coming to take his seat in council, Lord Mulgrave left a dirk in his bedroom, near the open window; but, on his returning to his apartment, the weapon was nowhere to be found. As the Indians, excepting our conscript fathers, had been hanging about all the morning, they were immediately suspected; and when the chiefs were upbraided with this treacherous dishonesty, one of them addressed the people, urging them, for the honour of the tribe, to give up the offender. But, as neither the thief nor the booty was forthcoming, we started, somewhat chagrined at the occurrence. While preparing for breakfast, about ten miles below the fort, we were overtaken by a small canoe, from which three youths joyously rushed towards us with the missing dirk. The article having been discovered in the store soon after our departure, the chiefs despatched their myrmidons after us, with orders to follow us, if necessary, all the way to Red River.

Having been rewarded with a hearty meal and some tobacco, the three lads retraced their steps in excellent humour.

The river which empties Lac la Pluie into the Lake of the Woods is, in more than one respect, decidedly the finest stream on the whole route. From Fort Frances downwards, a stretch of nearly a hundred miles, it is not interrupted by a single impediment, while yet the current is not strong enough materially to retard an ascending traveller. Nor are the banks less favourable to agriculture than the waters themselves to navigation, resembling, in some measure, those of the Thames near Richmond. From the very brink of the river, there rises a gentle slope of greensward, crowned in many places with a plentiful growth of birch, poplar, beech, elm, and oak. Is it too much for the eye of philanthropy to discern, through the vista of futurity, this noble stream, connecting, as it does, the fertile shores of two spacious lakes, with crowded steamboats on its bosom, and populous towns on its borders?

In spite of a contrary wind, we next day got within fifteen miles of the farther end of the Lake of the Woods. Though the shores of this sheet of water are more rocky than those of Lac la Pluie, yet they are very fertile, producing the rice already mentioned in abundance, and bringing maize to perfection. The lake is also literally studded with woody islands, from which it has doubtless derived its name; and these islands, being exempted from nocturnal frosts, which exist chiefly in the neighbourhood of swamps, are better adapted than the mainland for cultivation.

Before sunrise in the morning, we reached our establishment of Rat Portage, situated at the head of the magnificent stream which empties the Lake of the Woods into Lake Winipeg. This river, which takes the same name as the inland sea that receives it, forms, along its rocky channel, so many falls and rapids, many of them of almost matchless grandeur, that its length of more than two hundred miles is broken by no fewer than thirty-seven portages. After an amphibious course of two days and a half, about noon on Tuesday the 8th of the month, we reached Fort Alexander, distant about a mile and a half from Lake Winipeg.

Starting again after a halt of a few hours, our progress was much impeded by a southerly wind, which had also had the usual effect of driving off the waters from this end of the lake to such an extent, that we were obliged to make a portage in a channel, which I had usually passed under full paddle.

Next morning, we entered on the grand traverse, leading to the mouth of the Red River. The adjacent shores are so low, that there is generally some difficulty in striking the entrance of the stream; but on this occasion we were assisted by a column of smoke, which, as we were informed, would guide us into our destined haven. About seven in the evening, we arrived at the Lower Fort of Red River Settlement, having previously passed a large village of Indians, settled as agriculturists under the charge of the Reverend Mr. Smithurst, of the Church Missionary Society. So far as musquitoes, sand-flies, and bull-frogs were concerned, this was our worst encampment on the whole route.

Next afternoon, we reached Fort Garry, twenty-three miles higher up the river, where we were kindly welcomed by my relatives, Mr. and Mrs. Finlayson. Thus had we accomplished in safety our long voyage of about two thousand miles. On the whole, we had been fortunate with regard to the weather. During our thirty-eight days, rain had fallen only on parts of six; and, though immediately on leaving Montreal we had encountered piercing winds and chilly nights, yet we soon had, in general, as delightful a temperature as we could wish.

About ten days after my arrival, I despatched Lords Caledon and Mulgrave to the plains, under the escort of Mr. Cuthbert Grant, an influential native of mixed origin, and a party of hunters. Being desirous of encountering as many of the adventurers of the wilderness as possible, these young noblemen had determined on passing through the country of the Sioux to St. Peter's on the Mississippi; and for this purpose they had provided themselves with guides, &c. Lord Caledon succeeded in carrying his intentions into effect, gaining golden opinions among the hunters by his courage, skill, and affability; but Lord Mulgrave, from indisposition, retraced his steps, first to Fort Garry and thence to Sault Sainte Marie,—that connecting link between the canoe and the steamboat.

CHAPTER II.

FROM RED RIVER SETTLEMENT TO EDMONTON.

Red River Settlement, position, origin, condition—Departure from Red River Settlement—Face of country—Salt lake—Fort Ellice—Qu'appelle River, crank canoes—Wolverine Knoll, native legend—Native lodges—Rain and swamps—Dog Knoll—Salt lakes—Native lodge, hieroglyphics—Halt in heavy rain—Wanderings of Tom Taylor—Bow River—Indian story—War in the plains—Carlton—The Saskatchewan—Picturesque country—Crees—Scarcity of water—Red River emigrants, love of native spot—Buffalo hunt—Turtle River—Scarcity of water—Fort Pitt—Miseries of a native lodge—Alarm of Blackfeet—Effects of hail—Extreme vicissitudes—Oddity of native names—Edmonton—Native tribes—Visitors of quality.

Having safely arrived at the Red River of Lake Winipeg—as narrated in the preceding chapter—I may, previous to the continuation of my journey, take the opportunity of here laying before my reader a brief account of the British Establishment now settled on the banks of that stream.

In the year 1811, the Hudson's Bay Company ceded to the late Earl of Selkirk, in full right, a large portion of their territories in North America. The tract of land so granted was, in every respect, well calculated for the purposes of agriculture; and it was hoped that, together with the cultivation of the soil, successful measures might eventually be adopted to promote the civilization of the Indian tribes in that quarter.

The grant in question extended chiefly along the plains, watered by the Assiniboine and the Red Rivers, and their tributary streams. From the former of these two rivers the general district received the name of Assiniboia, while the particular colony or settlement was named after the latter and larger stream, into which the waters of the former are discharged.

It was near the junction of these rivers—about forty or fifty miles from Lake Winipeg (lat. 50°, long. 97° west of London)—that Lord Selkirk first proposed to try the important experiment connected with his plans of British emigration. In the work which he published, in 1805, upon that subject—with relation chiefly to the highlands of Scotland at that time—he had fully developed his views as to the beneficial effects likely to accrue to the mother country by relieving it cautionsly of its superabundant population. He had observed, however, with anxiety, the extent to which the highlanders were migrating from their native land, their movements being unfortunately directed, not towards British possessions abroad, where British colonies might be advantageously formed, but to the territories of foreign powers, and particularly to those of the United States of America. Strongly impressed with objections to these ill-directed movements, he did all that lay in his power to divert them into a better channel. In his endeavours, however, he found that most of the principal highland proprietors were averse to emigration of any sort, and that the successive administrations, and heads of departments, to whom he had, at the time, submitted his plans, held out to him little or no encouragement. The first memorial he had presented to Government was in 1802, regarding not only the state of the highlands of Scotland, but also that of Ireland. It met, however, with no very favourable reception. But this did not prevent him from persevering. He determined to support his theory by practical exertion, and at his own expense. In more recent times, however — and after his death — it would appear that the views and opinions he had entertained on this important subject were to receive a more impartial and unprejudiced consideration; and, accordingly, for a considerable period, emigration, from Great Britain and Ireland, has been aided, supported, and directed, by the British Government.

With respect to the Red River Settlement, it may be mentioned that the Hudson's Bay Company, after making the grant of land alluded to, appointed, by virtue of the powers given to them by their royal charter, a governor of the district in which the colony was to be planted; and Lord Selkirk nominated the same gentleman to take the principal and personal charge of his settlers. The first body of emigrants was composed chiefly of a small number of hardy mountaineers from Scotland, a party well adapted to act as pioneers, to encounter and overcome the difficulties they might meet with in their route. When the new governor of the district, thus attended, first arrived at the spot fixed upon for the settlement, he immediately began to prepare for the arrival of the first detachment of the regular colonists and their families, building houses for them, and making every practicable arrangement for their reception. In the beginning of the year 1813, the settlers amounted to about a hundred persons; early in 1814, there arrived about fifty more; and, in the autumn of the same year, their numbers amounted to two hundred. An additional hundred soon afterwards arrived at Hudson's Bay from the highlands of Scotland to join the settlement; having been encouraged to migrate thither by letters they had received from their friends settled at Red River.

During the first years of the establishment—owing to occurrences of a peculiarly unfortunate nature, over which the colonists had no control — the settlement advanced but slowly. From about the year 1821, however, it seemed fixed and secure. A considerable number of the Scotch, indeed, were, at various times, tempted to remove to the United States; but the general body, consisting chiefly of highlanders, Orkneymen, together with a number of half-breeds, remained fixed at the settlement. The latter class, (half-breeds) of every stock, derive their aboriginal blood generally from the Swampy Crees, the similarity of whose language to that of the Chippeways would make one suppose they were branches of the same original trunk. Exclusive of the settlers above-mentioned, many of the old and retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company are in the habit of establishing themselves, with their families, at the settlement. Lord Selkirk died in 1820, since which event no efforts have been made to bring colonists to the Red River from Europe; but the census, which is taken at regular intervals, numbers, at present, above five thousand souls; and, in spite of the occasional emigrations from the Red River towards the Mississippi and the Columbia, it appears that the population is found to double every twenty years.

It was naturally to be expected, at the commencement of a colony of this description, located at so great a distance from any civilized district, that many obstructions and inconveniences would unavoidably occur. Every practicable step, however, was taken to alleviate or remove the difficulties. The heads of families, as they arrived, were put in possession of lots of land which they immediately began to cultivate; additional houses were speedily built; a mill was erected; sheep and cattle were sent up to the settlement; and all means adopted to promote the success of the colony. The soil proved rich and productive, and the plough met with no obstruction. The usual American step necessarily taken for clearing away the forest previous to tilling the land was not required. The plains adjoining the settlement were not encumbered with wood, though, upon the immediate banks of the rivers, there was generally to be found an abundance and variety of fine timber. The rivers abounded with fish; the adjoining prairies with buffaloes, and the more distant woods with elk, deer, &c. The hunting-grounds of the neighbouring Indians were not interfered with; and their neighbours, the Saulteaux tribe, proved, from the first, friendly and well-disposed towards the settlers.

Some years after the original formation of the colony, it gradually extended itself down along the banks of the Red River, reaching, at present, to no great distance from the shore of Lake Winipeg.

Generally speaking, the Canadians occupy the Assiniboine and the upper section of the Red River, while the Europeans, more or less intermingled, are settled at the lower section of the latter stream; and, as the Canadians are almost universally Roman Catholics, and all the rest, including settled Indians, generally Protestants, the local distribution of creeds and languages prevents those embarrassments with respect to education and religion, which perplex many other communities.

Among the Roman Catholics are a bishop and two or three priests, who, in addition to an allowance from the Hudson's Bay Company, receive tithes, amounting, as in Lower Canada, to the twenty-sixth bushel of all kinds of grain. Besides seminaries for elementary instruction, the bishop superintends a school of industry, where the young females are taught to turn their wool into cloth.

The Protestants have two clergymen of the Church of England, who do duty in four places of worship, three of them in the main settlement, and one among the aboriginal proselytes; and there are six principal schools for the ordinary branches of a plain education, two of them among the Indians, and four among the others. The charges of religion are defrayed partly by the Hudson's Bay Company, and partly by the Church Missionary Society,—the flocks neither paying their tithes nor wholly maintaining the sacred fabrics. As to the charges of education, four fifths of them fall on the pious and charitable association just mentioned, while the remaining fifth is borne by such individual parents as are able and willing to spare fifteen shillings a year for the moral and intellectual culture of a child.

Fort Garry, the principal establishment in the place, is situated at the forks of the Red River and the Assiniboine, being about fifty miles from Lake Winipeg, and about seventy-five from the frontier; and it occupies, as nearly as possible, the centre of the settlement. This, which is the official residence of the Governor of the colony, is a regularly built fortification, with walls and bastions of stone. Nearly opposite, on the right bank of the united streams, is the Roman Catholic cathedral. The principal Protestant church is about two miles further down, on the left bank.

In the immediate neighbourhood of this last-mentioned place of worship stands the Red River academy, a large and flourishing school, kept by Mr. and Mrs. Macallum, for the sons and daughters of gentlemen in the service. Below Fort Garry many respectable dwellings, most of them of two stories, belong to the wealthier class of inhabitants. The lower fort, which is about four times the size of the upper establishment, is in process of being enclosed by loopholed walls and bastions. This is my own head-quarters when I visit the settlement; and here also resides Mr. Thom, the Recorder of Rupert's Land—so named in the royal charter.

On entering Red River from Lake Winipeg, the shores, for the first ten miles, are low and swampy, abounding in wild fowl of every kind; but, farther up, they rise to a height varying from thirty to sixty feet. On the eastern or right bank there is abundance of poplar, birch, elm, oak, &c., pines also being plentiful a few miles back; while the western side, generally speaking, is one vast prairie, with scarcely any timber. Nearly as far up as the forks, the houses and farms of the settlers are almost exclusively on the left bank, while each occupier generally owns, within a convenient distance, part of the opposite bush as a wood-lot.

The soil of Red River Settlement is a black mould of considerable depth, which, when first tilled, produces extraordinary crops, as much, on some occasions, as forty returns of wheat; and, even after twenty successive years of cultivation, without the relief of manure or of fallow, or of green crop, it still yields from fifteen to twenty-five bushels an acre. The wheat produced is plump and heavy; there are also large quantities of grain of all kinds, besides beef, mutton, pork, butter, cheese, and wool in abundance. Agriculture, however, has not been without its misfortunes. In the year 1826, in consequence of the heavy snows and continued severity of the preceding winter, the thaws of the spring flooded the whole country, not only filling the channels of the two rivers, but also covering the adjacent plains to a great depth. Every stream, from mouth to source, was a torrent, and every swamp a lake; till, at last, swamp and stream, as they rose and rose, united to drown nearly all the labours of preceding years. Fence after fence, and house after house, floated away on the bosom of the deluge, while the helpless owners were huddled together on spots which the forbearance alone of the surging sea showed to be higher than the rest; and the receding waters left, and that at a period too late for successful cultivation, little but the site of Red River Settlement.

But the temporary evil, as is generally the case with the devastations of nature, brought with it a permanent benefit. The ruined hovels, (for many of the original settlers had been glad of any shelter) were gradually replaced by dwellings of more convenient structure; and the submerged lands were irrigated and manured into more than their natural fertility. For the next three seasons, however, frogs were, if possible, more numerous than ever they were in Egypt; and, in a subsequent year, the crops were almost entirely devoured by caterpillars. Previously to the great flood, whole armies of locusts most seriously damaged the crops for three successive years.

The summers, though not quite so long as in Canada, are yet pretty much the same in other respects. The winters are not only more tedious but also more severe. For weeks together, the thermometer shows, at some hour or other of the four-and-twenty, upwards of thirty degrees below zero; and there is hardly a winter in which the mercury escapes being solidly frozen. During the hardest weather, however, horses may be left out of doors to find provender for themselves under the snow, provided they have been hardened by constant exposure to the advancing cold.

But cattle, though bearing so much of a general resemblance to the buffalo, cannot forage for themselves in this way; being unable to scrape away the snow from the grass. In the winter of 1833-4, I placed five hundred head in the most favourable spots to pass the winter in the open air. Two hundred of them died in the experiment, most of them in a very singular way. In order to guard against the wolves, the cattle were confined at night within a narrow enclosure, where, to say nothing of their mutilating or destroying each other's horns, the accumulation of dung, by freezing in their hoofs, lamed and disabled them. Within the settlement, the cattle find food for themselves about seven months in the plains and woods; but, during the remainder of the year, they are maintained on the straw of the farms, and on hay cut on the boundless common behind the pasturing grounds of the flocks and herds.

In addition to agriculture, or sometimes in place of it, the settlers, more particularly those of mixed origin, devote first the summer, and then the autumn, and sometimes the winter also, to the hunting of the buffalo, bringing home vast quantities of pemmican, dried meat, grease, tongues, &c., for which the Company's voyaging business affords the best market; and even many of the stationary agriculturists send oxen and carts, on shares, to help the poorer hunters to convey their booty to the settlement.

The colony is governed by a corporation, called the Council of Assiniboia, which, under an express provision of the Charter, exercises judicial powers as well as legislative authority; and, in order to put both branches of the duty on a more satisfactory footing, the Company, two years ago, introduced into the country the professional gentleman already mentioned, as the pioneer of legislation, and the organ of the court.

To resume my journal. I had intended to remain at Red River till about the middle of July; but, having changed my contemplated route, in consequence of information obtained on the spot, I was obliged to start ten or twelve days earlier than I had proposed. As my new road was to lie through the country of the Blackfeet Indians, I was happy to obtain, for the whole way to Fort Vancouver, the escort of Mr. Rowand, who, having been in charge of the Saskatchewan for many years, had great influence among the tribes of the prairies. With that gentleman's aid, and a well-appointed party of eighteen or twenty men in all, we had but little to fear from any Indians that we could meet.

As the country was practicable for wheels as far as Edmonton, we resolved to relieve our horses by taking as much of our baggage as possible in light carts; and, in order to save us a day, or perhaps more, in calling at Fort Pelly for a relay of horses, we despatched three men, about a week before our own start, to have the requisite band of nags brought for us from that establishment to a conspicuous landmark in the sea of plains, known as the *Butte aux Chiens*. Still farther to expedite matters, we sent off, about four days afterwards, three carts of heavy baggage, with six men and a few horses.

In addition to my fellow-travellers and myself, my own immediate party was thus reduced to six men, thirty horses, and one light cart; and accordingly, about five in the morning of the 3rd of July, our cavalcade left Fort Garry under a salute. While we defiled through the gates into the open plains with an horizon before us as well defined as that of the blue ocean, the scene resembled the moving of an Eastern caravan in the boundless sands of Arabia,—a medley of pots and pans and kettles, in our single vehicle, the unruly pack-horses prancing under their loads, and every cavalier, armed to the teeth, assisting his steed to neigh and caper with bit and spur. The effect was not a little heightened by a brilliant sunrise, the firing of cannon, the streaming of flags, and the shouting of the spectators. Mr. Finlayson and his brother volunteered to accompany us on our first stage, so as to see us fairly out of the settlement.

Soon after starting, we were brought to a halt by an accident, which, besides producing more serious consequences, might have affected my comfort to a great extent. While coming out in the Caledonia, I had picked up, with a special reference to my long and arduous journey, a smart, active, and intelligent highlander of the name of M'Intyre, who also possessed the peculiar recommendation of being able to communicate with me in one of the unknown tongues, the Gaelic of the north of Scotland. Well, whether the horse was too frisky, or the rider too ambitious to show off the animal's points, M'Intyre's charger, taking fright and becoming unmanageable, contrived to dislodge its saddle, so as to throw the poor fellow heavily on his head. Though he was stunned for a few minutes, yet, on recovering his consciousness, he appeared to be but little injured; to make assurance doubly sure, however, in so important a matter, he had a little blood taken from him immediately, an operation which entirely removed every unpleasant symptom.

We halted for breakfast near the Roman Catholic chapel of the White Horse Plains, distant from Fort Garry about twenty miles. This meal, contrary to the snapping system of the aquatic part of our journey, now became quite a luxurious lounge, inasmuch as the horses could not eat, like the voyageurs, as fast as ourselves. On the important occasion in question, we regularly tarried three or four hours, turning our nags loose to make the most of their time. Having completed the grand business of internal improvement at our leisure, we killed the remaining interval, each man according to his taste, in dressing, or bathing, or sleeping, or reading, or writing, or doing nothing. As the axle of our cart had broken at the very outset, it was here repaired by the neighbouring blacksmith; and, in order to provide against the recurrence of such a calamity under less favourable circumstances, a second vehicle was engaged to accompany us.

About two in the afternoon, the Messrs. Finlayson, after many farewells, returned to Fort Garry, while we entered on our second stage. We had hardly started, when, by a coincidence equally unexpected and unpleasant, our cart upset over perhaps the only stone within twenty miles of us,—the country being nearly as free of such impediments as the tidiest garden. In fact, the mould, which, as already mentioned, forms the soil, has nothing harder than itself to bind it together; so that the banks of every little creek melt under the influence of the freshets of spring, almost as readily as if they were wreaths of snow.

As we never encamped, at least with our own will, except in the vicinity of water, we kept marching along, till we reached, about nine in the evening, a small lake, and there, after a hearty supper, we turned in for the night, or rather some of us did so, for most of my friends slept in the open air. The musquitoes were so troublesome, that the horses, hungry and tired as they were, could neither feed nor rest. The scenery of the day had been generally a perfect level. On the east, north, and south, there was not a mound or tree to vary the vast expanse of greensward, while to the west were the gleaming bays of the winding Assiniboine, separated from each other by wooded points of considerable depth.

In the morning, we forded the Champignon. The country generally bore the same appearance as yesterday, excepting that our path occasionally ran through a clump of trees. We also crossed the beds of many shallow lakes, which contain water only during the spring, brushing the luxuriant grass with our very knees; and, on the hard ground, the surface was beautifully diversified with a variety of flowers, such as the rose, the hyacinth, and the tiger-lily. The rankness of the vegetation savoured rather of the torrid zone, with its perennial spring, than of the northern wilds, which, within two or three months, had been lying cold and dead in the embrace of a hyperborean winter.

In the course, however, of our afternoon's ride, the character of the country underwent a complete change. The plains gave place to a rolling succession of sandy hills, which were generally covered with brush; and now and then we passed through spots which looked like artificial shrubberies. This ridge, evidently one of Nature's steps from a lower to a higher level, may be traced from Turtle Mountain, in the neighbourhood of the international boundary, to the banks of Swan River in lat. 52° 30′, and even round to the Basqua Hill on the waters of the Lower Saskatchewan. It appears to have been, in former days, the shore of an inland sea, comprising, in one undistinguishable mass, Lakes Winipeg, Manitoba, and Winipegos, with many of their feeders. This view may perhaps derive confirmation from the fact, that the largest of the three fragments of the primeval sheet of water, namely, Lake Winipeg, still continues to retire from its western side, and to encroach on its eastern bank.

In our evening's encampment, the musquitoes were so numerous, that they literally mottled the poor horses with black patches of great size, extending at the same time a very unreasonable share of their attentions to ourselves. We had some compensation, however, for this annoyance in the excellence of the water, for we had been fortunate enough to fix our halt on a running stream, instead of being doomed to swallow the seething dregs of half-dried lakes; and we were the more ready to appreciate the difference, as we had not yet overtaken the heavy carts that contained our wine and tea.

Breakfasting next morning on the banks of a small rivulet, we found the last night's fires of our advanced guard still burning, a discovery which diffused general joy, for, to say nothing of the want of luxuries, even our necessary provisions had begun to look very lean upon it. On resuming our journey, we passed among tolerably well wooded hills, while, on either side of us, there lay a constant succession of small lakes, some of them salt, which abounded in wild fowl. In the neighbourhood of those waters, the pasture was rich and luxuriant; and we traversed two fields, for so they might be termed, of the rose and the sweetbriar, while each loaded the air with its own peculiar perfume. On reaching the summit of the hills, that bounded the pretty valley of the Rapid River, we descried an encampment, which we supposed to be that of our own people waiting for us. On a nearer approach, however, we distinguished merely some lodges of Saulteaux.

Though we spent about an hour in fording the stream under the very eyes of the savages, yet they offered us no assistance; they endeavoured, on the contrary, to mislead us as to the grand object of our inquiries, saying that our friends ahead had passed before the sun was high, till, on being accused of telling an untruth, they admitted that the event in question had taken place several hours later. Their object, as it was now six o'clock, was to make us halt at the river for the night, that they might have an opportunity of teasing us for presents, besides the chance of increasing their stock of horses. About an hour afterwards, on reaching a slight eminence, we perceived our people just stopping to encamp; and, with our imaginations full of hyson and souchong, of tongues and biscuit, we quickly overtook our commissariat, once more enjoying the wanderer's best consolation in the shape of a good supper, washed down with tea at discretion.

Having now to regulate our pace by that of the loaded carts, we were obliged next day to march much more slowly than hitherto. Some of my utilitarian friends brought a good supply of wild fowl, which were very numerous in the small lakes among which we were still winding our way. About eight in the morning we came to a large lake, where we were prevented from attempting to breakfast by the experience of Mr. Rowand. While coming to meet me at Red River, in the spring, that gentleman, attracted by the beauty of the situation, had encamped for the night, with his kettle bubbling and steaming all comfortably about him, when, lo and behold!—the first sip of the welcome beverage revealed the horrible truth, that the lovely lake was filled with salt water!

We, therefore, jogged on for another hour, having to wait for our heavy carts till eleven at night; a delay which induced me to threaten, in case of a repetition, the stopping of the drams of the delinquents. In the morning we crossed the end of Shoal Lake, lying in a hilly and well-wooded district. Our guide, George Sinclair, having volunteered to conduct us to a fine encampment on Birdtail Creek, we urged forward our jaded cattle till nine in the evening; but, being still at fault, we were obliged to stop at a stagnant lake, swarming with musquitoes, and yielding very bad water. Our horses were now beginning to be knocked up, having often deviated from the track to-day, and even sometimes lain down with their loads and riders.

During the night, the poor animals, in order to get rid of their tiny tormentors, strayed to the top of a hill, where the breeze was too much for the musquitoes; and this circumstance, as involving the delay of a search, prevented us from starting before five o'clock. After an hour's ride over hilly and rugged ground, we reached George Sinclair's promised encampment on the Birdtail Creek, a rapidly flowing tributary of the Assiniboine; and beyond this stream was an undulating prairie of vast extent, with the river last mentioned in the distance.

On a neighbouring height we saw three bands of antelopes. Some of our party attempted to approach them by skirting round the valley; but the watchful animals, bounding away with characteristic elegance and rapidity, were quickly out of sight, preserving their venison for some more fortunate visitors. With the exception of our own nags, and, of course, also of the horrible musquitoes, these were the first animals that we had seen since leaving Red River Settlement; but we were now entering on prairies well known as the home of many varieties of the deer.

On ascending the hills, which formed the eastern embankment of the valley of the Assiniboine, we discerned, on the opposite side of the river, a large band of steeds. Thinking that the animals might belong to some of the daring tribes of the plains, we prepared our fire-arms, &c., for the possible visit of the owners, in their professional capacity of horsestealers; but, after firing signals, without attracting the attention of any human being, we came to the conclusion, and as it afterwards proved correctly, that the band in question was the stud of Fort Ellice, quietly grazing at some distance from the establishment. After breakfast we forded the river, sending our carts and baggage across in a *batteau*, which had apparently been left there for our use; then swimming the horses over; and, finally, making our own passage in the barge's last trip. About noon we arrived at Fort Ellice, remaining there three or four hours.

At this post, commonly known as Beaver Creek, from the name of the brook on which it stands, we obtained tidings of a large body of emigrants, who had left Red River for the Columbia a few days previously to our arrival from Montreal. They had reached Fort Ellice on the 22nd of June, and started again next day. As these people were pursuing the same route as ourselves, and would beat a good track, we resolved, as far as practicable, to follow their trail. In the first instance, however, we had to go out of their path, in order to keep our appointment aforesaid at the Butts aux Chiens. To arrive more quickly at this rendezvous of our relay of horses, we here engaged, as a special guide, an old fellow of an Indian, who talked largely of knowing a short cut across the country to the Dog Knoll. Before starting, we exchanged some of our cattle and vehicles for fresher and better articles of the same kind, recruiting and renovating our little brigade to the utmost of our ability.

Passing through a swampy wood, we crossed the Qu'appelle, or Calling River. Our horses and carts forded the stream; and we ourselves traversed it in a canoe of alarmingly simple construction, being neither more nor less than a few branches, covered with buffalo robes. This makeshift barely served the purpose of taking us over, before it got altogether filled with water. On surmounting the steep hill which faced us, we found ourselves on a level meadow, several thousand acres in extent; and here, being informed by our new guide that we could not possibly reach any other water that night, we reluctantly encamped at the early hour of six in the evening.

To make up for the early halt of yesterday, we were again in the saddle by half-past three in the morning, trotting away with our fresh chargers through some extensive prairies, studded with clumps of trees. We soon stumbled on some lodges of Saulteaux, one very talkative fellow accompanying us for a few miles. His grandest piece of news was, that we were likely to overtake a large party of Crees, who, after starting on a campaign some time since, had been arrested in their progress by a fearful and fatal malady. Though the Indians have the knack of inventing enormous fables, and also of fortifying them with a formidable array of circumstances, yet I issued a general order that every person should carry his gun loaded with ball. We were suffering considerable inconvenience, with regard to our provisions, from the heat of the weather. Even the meat which we had brought from Fort Ellice was already tainted; and we were, moreover, tantalized by seeing some antelopes, which, with the best intentions of hungry men, we failed to hit.

While we were encamped on a mound at breakfast, we observed some fires in the plains around us, while a solitary savage was seen firing signals. Our fears, or perhaps our discretion, immediately identified these symptoms with the Cree warriors, whom we were expecting to find in our path. Our people were quickly on the alert, answering the signals, and preparing for the reception of the enemy; who, so far as we could discern, turned out to be three poor Saulteaux, two men and a boy, on their way to Fort Ellice. In the vicinity of this mound there was a very remarkable knoll, known as the Butte à Carcajar, which, though not exceeding three hundred feet in height, is yet a conspicuous landmark in these generally level and open prairies. Like almost every river, hill, and vale, in this primitive country, it has its traditionary legend, which runs thus:—

Many, many summers ago, a large party of Assiniboines, pouncing on a small band of Crees, in the neighbourhood of this knoll, nearly destroyed them. Among the victors was the former wife of one of the vanquished, who, in a previous foray, had been carried off by her present husband from her ancient lord and master. Whether it was that her new friend was younger than her old one, or that she was conscious of having been a willing accomplice in the elopement, the lady, rushing into the thickest of the fight, directed every effort against the life of her first lover. In spite, however, of the faithless Amazon's special attentions, the Wolverine, for such was his name, effected his escape from the field of carnage, while the conquerors were gloating over the scalps of his brethren in arms. Creeping stealthily along for the whole day, under cover of the woods, he concealed himself at nightfall in a hole on the top of the rising ground in question. But, though he had thus eluded the vigilance of his national enemies, there was one who, under the influence of personal hatred, had never lost sight or scent of his trail; and no sooner had he sunk, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, into a sound sleep, than the unswerving and untiring bloodhound sent an arrow into his brain, with a triumphant yell. Before the morning dawned, the virago proudly presented to her Assiniboine husband the bleeding scalp of his unfortunate rival; and the scene of her desperate exploit was thenceforward known as the Butte à Carcajar, or the Wolverine Knoll. In proof of the truth of the story, the Indians assert that the ghosts of the murderess and her victim are often to be seen, from a considerable distance, struggling together on the very summit of the height.

In our afternoon's march, we passed through a swampy country, which was beset by underwood. The old fellow, who had undertaken to guide us to the Dog Knoll, was several times at fault; and our compass was a very unsatisfactory substitute in the matter, inasmuch as our route was constantly winding, like a river, round the extremities of lakes and swamps. At night we made our beds in a small hollow, where, in order to cheat, if possible, the renowned horsestealers of the neighbourhood, we did our best to conceal our fires and cattle from view. These rogues are so clever in their way, that they have been known, even under the very noses of a guard, to carry off every nag of a caravan at the dead of night.

Next morning, the prairie became harder and more open, while the grass was withering under the recent drought, from the want of shelter and the absence of inherent moisture. This was the very country for the antelope; and we accordingly caught many a glimpse of these beautiful creatures, bounding over the hillocks. On reaching the Broken-Arm River, we were obliged, by reason of an impassable swamp on either side, to lose a few hours in going round its sources. In the evening, just as we came in sight of the spot where we intended to halt for the night, we espied two lodges of natives; and, after waiting to collect our party, we advanced with due precaution. The savages, however, were evidently more afraid than we were, for, after much commotion, the men gradually disappeared, leaving the women and children to take their chance.

Between the two tents there was a vapour-bath, made of branches of willow, stuck in the ground and bent forward, so as to form a dome about three feet in height. This was covered with skins to confine the steam, generated by throwing water on a hot stone. On going up to the bath, we were much amused to see the legs of a man hanging out like the tail of a snake, while a wreath of willow round the body gave the fellow the appearance of a statue of Bacchus. He never stirred at our approach; and it was not till the steam was subsiding, that he deigned to take any notice of us, though we were certainly the largest body of whites that he had ever seen in the country. When he condescended to move, one of the skins fell off, disclosing another Indian quietly squatted at his ease, who was just as regardless of our approach as his companion. This affectation of an indifference, which the bathers could not feel, any more than their fugitive brethren, was more peculiarly characteristic of the Saulteaux,—the tribe to which our new friends belonged.

The lodges of these people occupied a small knoll, in the middle of a dried swamp, round which the plains were on fire. Before we had pitched our tents in the vicinity, the two bathers came dashing towards us on horseback with turbans of otter skin, necklaces of bear's claws, and various other ornaments of a similar kind; their grand object appeared to be to get presents, if possible, from us. We traded with one of our visiters to the extent of exchanging one of our exhausted hacks for a fresh horse; and, one of them having very gracefully thrown his turban over my arm, I gave him an order on our nearest establishment for double its value. After this trafficking, with the addition of a gift of ammunition, we all parted excellent friends. In order to please us, these men told us a flattering tale, according to their custom in such cases, with respect to the proximity of the Dog Knoll, assuring us that we could not fail to reach it next afternoon.

In the morning, we forded the White Sand River, with the mud up to the bellies of our horses; and one of the carts, perversely enough, managed, in this bottomless mire, to upset over a stone, though luckily without damaging its load. Hitherto our weather had been dry, clear, and warm. Now, however, a cold rain fell all the afternoon and night. To aggravate the evil, our road lay through swamps and thickets, which were often almost impassable to our carts; and our guide became quite bewildered, leading us a dance first in one direction, then in another, and so on. What with the wet, and the chilliness, and the uncertainty, we were by no means in high spirits or good humour. The weather also deprived us of an excellent supper, for, though a red deer crossed the track within a few yards of some of our people, he escaped with impunity, inasmuch as every gun was unfit for service.

We spent a miserable night under the pouring torrent, while the wolves and foxes rendered our position more hideous by their howling, to the special discomfort of the novices, who considered the serenade merely as a prelude to an attack,—a kind of war-whoop on the part of the hungry quadrupeds. In the morning, after being dragged by our blundering guide through swamp and brushwood, and across two tributaries of the White Sand river, we degraded the old fellow to the ranks, placing ourselves once more under the direction of Sinclair; and, before breakfast, we caught a distant glimpse of the object of our long and anxious search. Pushing forward with renovated spirits, we speedily came in full view of the Butte aux Chiens, towering, with a height of about four hundred feet, over a boundless prairie, as level and smooth as a pond. This vast plain has evidently once been the bed of a lake, with the Dog Knoll as an islet in its centre. It is covered with an alluvial soil of great fertility; it is strewed with water-worn stones; and it presents various aqueous deposits.

Reaching this giant among pigmies about noon, we found at the top, in a bundle of brushwood, a note to the effect, that our people, after waiting there for three days, had gone to encamp with their horses for three days more on the borders of a neighbouring lake. The note was dated on the 9th of July; and as we got it only on the 11th, we began to fear that the men might again shift their ground before we could catch them. They themselves, however, had seen us; and we soon had the satisfaction of receiving a valuable acquisition in the nineteen fresh horses. This reinforcement just came in time, for our poor animals were so jaded as to be scarcely able to go beyond a walk; and, this very morning, the sight of a wolf, which started under their noses, could not squeeze a canter or a trot out of the whole band.

For several days, I had been distressed by what I believed to be a rheumatic affection of the back; but an eruption soon showed itself on my side, depriving me of sleep and rendering me almost unable to travel. Still, however, I continued to press forward, deciding in my own mind that the pain was less of an evil than delay would have been. On leaving the Dog Knoll, we traversed about twenty-five miles of prairie, among several large and beautiful lakes. Our cavalcade now consisted in all of nineteen persons, fifty horses, and six carts, the order of our march being as follows. The guide was followed by four or five horsemen to beat a track; then came the carts, each with a driver, attended by one or two cavaliers; and lastly followed the unmounted animals, whether loaded or light, under the charge of the rest of our people. Our ordinary rate of travelling was four or five miles an hour, for ten, twelve, or fourteen hours a day,—the carts sometimes requiring a longer time to accomplish the day's march.

Next morning, we followed, for about twenty miles, the shores of Lac Salé, having waters as briny as those of the Atlantic; and we were actually obliged, for want of fresh water, to ride along without any breakfast till half-past eleven, while, even for this late meal, we had pushed forward so rapidly as to leave our carts nearly four hours behind us. What with hunger and thirst, and the pain in my side, I had a wearisome forenoon of it.

The most curious circumstance, with respect to these saline lakes, is, that they are often separated from fresh water only by a narrow belt of land. This reminds me, by the by, of a somewhat similar phenomenon recorded in the work of my friend, Baron Wrangell, on Siberia and the Polar Sea. In the coldest parts of the country, there may be found lakes of different levels, within two or three feet of each other. In that case, the subterranean communication may be supposed to be barred by perpetual frost; but, in the other case, the anomaly cannot be so easily and satisfactorily explained.

For three or four days, the soil had been absolutely manured with the dung of the buffalo, so that myriads of these animals must recently have passed over the ground; and we hoped soon to meet with a herd of them; for, independently of the sport, we wished to replenish our larder, which the heat of the weather did more to clear than our kettles and frying-pans.

Having encamped for the night within view of a native lodge, we sent a man to bring us intelligence as to the true state of affairs. He found no other lodge than the one which we had seen; and even that was deserted, while every thing betokened the rapid flight of its inhabitants,—clothes and utensils being thrown about in confusion, and the meat of a buffalo being scattered on the ground. Shouting after the fugitives, but receiving no answer, our emissary left for them an epistle, which he had written on a piece of bark, to this effect. In the first place, he drew the figure of a man with a hat on his head and a pipe in his mouth, thus presenting to the savages the well-known emblems of civilized beings and peaceable intentions; and he then added, in more mysterious hieroglyphics, "Why do you fly away and distress your children without cause, for we are your friends?" In the course of the night, the poor Saulteau, having read the letter, came to our camp, and explained that, having mistaken us for hostile warriors, he and his had fled into the woods, almost in a state of nudity. How wretched the lives of such poor creatures, obliged to wander about almost in single families for food, and scared at the sight of a fellow man, as the sheep is scared on the approach of the wolf!

Next morning, we marched till ten o'clock in a soaking rain. An encampment in such weather is by no means an exhilarating sight. On halting, we were wet and chilly, but had no place to shelter ourselves from the shower. After a drawn battle of nearly an hour with the wind and rain in the way of making a fire, we at last succeeded; and then, heaping on whole piles of wood, we contrived to keep ourselves tolerably comfortable till our tents were pitched. The horses were the very picture of misery, as they huddled themselves together. To all this add drooping spirits and a murky sky, and you have a pretty correct idea of that kind of pic-nic breakfast on which the clouds drop their fatness.

The weather improving in the afternoon, we travelled a long distance through a picturesque country, crossing the end of an extensive lake, whose gently sloping banks of greensward were crowned with thick woods. Near this lake, to our no small satisfaction, we fell upon the trail of the emigrants already mentioned, which, besides preventing any uncertainty as to our route, gave us a well beaten track for both horses and carts. The business of a guide is no trifle in these regions, possessing, as they do, so few distinctive features. Our present leader, an Indian of the name of Mis-quasquisis, or Young Grass, was peculiarly cautious and skilful, ascending every rising ground, and scanning the different objects in view, hills, lakes, woods, &c.; and then, muttering a few words to himself, he would wind his way, till he again reached some other point of observation.

In the course of this day's march, we passed a spot, whose little history, within my own experience, forcibly illustrated the sameness of the scenery and the difficulties of pilotage. On my return from the Columbia in

1825, while the grass was still so short as hardly to retain any trace of the footsteps of my party, my faithful servant Tom Taylor, and another man of the name of George Bird, dismounted to follow a red deer; and, after an unsuccessful chase, they resolved to return to our party. After halting for twenty-four hours in order to be joined by them, I gave them up for lost. At the close of six weeks, I reached Norway House, on Lake Winipeg, with a gloom on my spirits, which even the completion of a long and arduous journey could not remove. I stepped ashore, with my mind full of the sad occurrence, when who should advance to welcome me but the invaluable Tom Taylor and his companion in misfortune. Of the story of their wanderings, which might fill a volume, the outline was as follows.

After abandoning all hope of falling upon the track of our party, they set themselves seriously to work in order to find their way to some encampment of the savages, or to one of the Company's posts. After a day or two, their ammunition was expended, and their flints became useless, while their feet were lacerated by the thorns, timber, stones, and prickly grass. They had no other clothing than their trousers and shirts, having parted from us in the heat of the day; so that they were now exposed to the chills of the night, without even the comfort of a fire—a privation which placed them, as it were, at the mercy of the wolves. From day to day, they lived on whatever the chances of the wilderness afforded them, such as roots and bark, and eggs in every stage of progress.

At length, after fourteen days of intense suffering, despair began to take possession of their minds, and they were strongly tempted to lie down and die. Next morning, however, the instinctive love of life prevailed, and they slowly and painfully crept forward, when suddenly the sight of our track revived their energies and their hopes. Almost intoxicated with joy, they followed the clue of safety; till at length, after growing more and more indistinct for a time, it entirely disappeared from their eyes. At this awful moment of disappointment and despondency, Tom Taylor, as if led by a merciful Providence to the spot, slowly recognised the scenes of his infant rambles, though he had never seen them since his childhood.

Life was now in the one scale almost as certainly as death was in the other; and under the influence of this definite motive for exertion, the two famished and lacerated wanderers reached before night the Company's establishment on Swan River. Being well acquainted with Mr. M'Donell, the gentleman in charge, they crawled rather than walked to his private room, standing before him with their torn and emaciated limbs, while their haggard cheeks and glaring eyes gave them the appearance of maniacs. After a minute inspection of his visitors, Mr. M'Donell, with the aid of sundry expletives, ascertained by degrees that one of his friends was "The Governor's Tom;" and, having thus penetrated to the bottom of the mystery, he nursed them into condition, with the kindness of a father and the skill of a doctor, and then carried them to Norway House.

Next morning, we continued to follow the track of the emigrants, which led us over a great deal of burnt ground—a variety of surface, which, when it extends to more than the length of a single march, is the most embarrassing of all the obstacles to which a horseman can be exposed. Men may triumph over physical privations through moral influences, but horses, as Murat said, have no patriotism. In this part of the country we saw many sorts of birds, geese, loons, pelicans, ducks, cranes, two kinds of snipe, hawks, owls, and gulls; but they were all so remarkably shy, that we were constrained to admire them at a distance. In the afternoon, we traversed a beautiful country, with lofty hills and long valleys, full of sylvan lakes, while the bright green of the surface, as far as the eye could reach, assumed a foreign tinge under an uninterrupted profusion of roses and blue-bells. On the summit of one of these hills we commanded one of the few extensive prospects that we had of late enjoyed. One range of heights rose behind another, each becoming fainter as it receded from the eye, till the farthest was blended, in almost undistinguishable confusion, with the clouds, while the softest vales spread a panorama of hanging copses and glittering lakes at our feet.

We were now within a day's march of Carlton, the lowest of the Company's establishments on the Saskatchewan; and, in order to make sure of reaching it on the morrow, we selected, at our night's encampment, the best horses for ourselves, intending to go a-head of our baggage in the morning, with no other incumbrance than a single day's provisions.

By half-past four, our detachment of eight in all got under way. Having passed over a hilly and partially wooded district, we reached the Bow River, being the south branch of the Saskatchewan, about ten o'clock. This stream, taking its rise in the Rocky Mountains, near the international frontier, is of considerable size, without any physical impediment of any moment; but its upper waters are so much infested with warlike tribes, that, though believed to be rich in game, it is yet seldom ascended by traders. Some years back, indeed, three or four posts were established on its banks; but they were soon abandoned, after the sacrificing of several lives in their defence. In addition to these permanent forts, a flying expedition on a large scale was projected in the year 1822, with the view of testing the truth of the rumours as to the riches of Bow River.

The expedition in question, besides Messrs. M'Kenzie and Rowand, the gentlemen in charge, consisted of eight or ten subordinate officers and a hundred men. After ascending to the utmost limits of the navigation for boats, surveying detachments were despatched in every direction, which met with many natives, who had never seen a European before. These unsophisticated savages, however, had their curiosity most strongly excited by a negro of the name of Pierre Bungo. This man they inspected in every possible way, twisting him about and pulling his hair, which was so different from their own flowing locks; and at length they came to the conclusion that Pierre Bungo was the oddest specimen of a white man that they had ever seen.

These negroes, of whom there were formerly several in the Company's service, were universal favourites with the fair sex of the red race; and at the present day, we saw many an Indian that appeared to have a dash of the gentleman in black about him. Finding that the resources of the country had been overrated, our people retired the following year, with the loss of a considerable part of the original outlay of £10,000, carrying with them an enormous quantity of leather, but very few furs. They had lived in the midst of plenty, having consumed, during the winter, fifteen hundred buffaloes, besides great quantities of venison of every kind.

About twenty years ago, a large encampment of Gros Ventres and Blackfeet had been formed in this neighbourhood for the purpose of hunting during the summer. Growing tired, however, of so peaceful and ignoble an occupation, the younger warriors of the allied tribes determined to make an incursion into the territories of the Assiniboines. Having gone through all the requisite enchantments, they left behind them only the old men, with the women and children. After a successful campaign, they turned their steps homeward in triumph, loaded with scalps and other spoils; and, on reaching the top of the ridge that overlooked the camp of the infirm and defenceless of their band, they notified their approach in the proudly-swelling tones of their song of victory. Every lodge, however, was as still and silent as the grave; and, at length, singing more loudly, as they advanced, in order to conceal their emotions, they found the full tale of the mangled corpses of their parents and sisters, of their wives and children. In a word, the Assiniboines had been there to take their revenge.

Such is a true picture of savage warfare, and perhaps too often of civilized warfare also — calamity to both sides, and advantage to neither. On beholding the dismal scene, the bereaved conquerors cast away their spoils, arms, and clothes; and then, putting on robes of leather and smearing their heads with mud, they betook themselves to the hills, for three days and nights, to howl, and mourn, and cut their flesh. This mode of expressing grief bears a very close resemblance to the corresponding custom among the Jews in almost every particular.

At our crossing-place, the Bow River was about a third of a mile in width, with a strong current. About twenty miles farther down, it falls into the Saskatchewan; and the united streams then flow towards Lake Winipeg, forming at their mouth the grand rapid of about three miles in length, the finest thing of the kind in the whole country. We passed the river without difficulty in a bateau, which had been left there for our accommodation and that of the emigrants, while our horses swam over without any accident. After a rest of four hours, of which our cattle stood much in need, we had just mounted to resume our march, when Pierre Dunomais, who had guided the emigrants to Carlton, came up to us on his way back to Red River Settlement. Not to miss so favourable an opportunity of sending letters, we detained our new friend for a day.

Pierre brought news of a war, which had just begun to rage between the Crees and the Blackfeet, in the very country which we were about to traverse. This unwelcome business, in which several lives had already been lost, arose from a very trivial cause. Peace having been made, perhaps for the hundredth time, between the two tribes, the Crees visited the Blackfeet, who were then encamped near Fort Pitt, for the purpose of buying horses; and, in return for the nags, they gave all that they possessed, even their guns and ammunition.

In order to celebrate their friendly meeting, according to custom, by a race—an amusement as keenly enjoyed by these savages as by the enlightened jockeys of Newmarket and Ascot — the two tribes laid down their united stakes in a heap. The Blackfeet, inasmuch as they had taken care not to sell their best chargers, were, of course, victorious. On proceeding, however, to appropriate the prize of victory, they were anticipated by a Cree, who rescued a tattered capot, doubtless an old friend of his own, from the pile of booty; and the Blackfeet, viewing this as a violation of the peace, betook themselves to their tents. On their way, they met a celebrated chief of the Crees, known as the Crow's Shoes, with two of his men, all unarmed; and, after a little conversation, they slaughtered all three on the spot. In order to revenge the death of their friends, the Crees, first seizing arms from the Blackfeet, slew nine of them, till, finding themselves outnumbered, they fled.

Such was Pierre's story; and, however improbable or inaccurate some of the details might be, the essential fact that we had to pass through a scene of military operations was established beyond a doubt. In fact, I give all such narratives chiefly as a picture of manners, for, whether true or false in themselves, they are always sufficiently correct for that purpose.

A smart ride of four or five hours from the Bow River, through a country very much resembling an English park, brought us to Fort Carlton, on the Saskatchewan, where we found every soul in the establishment enjoying a siesta with open gates — a conclusive proof of either of the carelessness of our people or of the peaceful disposition of the neighbouring savages. Our day's work had been remarkable, almost to a ludicrous degree, from the number of falls that we encountered, for each of us had a roll or two on the turf, so harmless, however, as not to leave even a single bruise to boast of. Besides the exhausted state of our horses, the ground was drilled into a honeycomb by badger-holes, which, being pretty well-screened by grass at this season of the year, could seldom be discerned soon enough to be avoided.

At Carlton, we took up our quarters for a couple of nights. We had accomplished about six hundred miles in thirteen days—a very fair rate of travelling, considering that many of our horses had come the whole distance heavily laden. This fort stands in latitude 53° north; it is in the form of a lozenge, being surrounded by wooden stockades of considerable height, with bastions at each angle and over the gateway. In the immediate vicinity, there are large gardens and fields, which produce abundance of potatoes and other vegetables; but wheat, though it has sometimes succeeded, has been far more frequently destroyed by the early frosts of autumn, which, even on Red River, occasionally blight the hopes of the less active among the settlers.

The Saskatchewan is here upwards of a quarter of a mile wide, presenting, as its name implies, a swift current. It is navigable for boats, from Rocky Mountain House, in longitude 115°, to Lake Winipeg, in longitude 98°, upwards of seven hundred miles in a direct line; but, by the actual course of the stream, nearly double that distance. Though, above Edmonton, the river is much obstructed by rapids, yet, from that fort to Lake Winipeg, it is descended without a portage alike by boats and by canoes, while, even on the upward voyage, the only break in the navigation is the Grand Rapid already mentioned.

The post of Carlton is visited by Saulteaux, Crees, and Assiniboines in great numbers, about three hundred of these different tribes being, in some measure, attached to the establishment as hunters; and occasionally, though not of late years, the Blackfeet have made hostile forays into the neighbouring country. In this district, and indeed on the whole of the Saskatchewan, though red deer and moose are now becoming scarce, yet the buffalo appears to multiply in spite of perpetual persecution on the part alike of the whites and the savages. Besides maintaining all our people and all the natives, during the whole year, in an apparently wasteful and extravagant manner, the animal in question is made up, at our three principal posts of Carlton, Pitt, and Edmonton, into pemmican and dried meat for the general supply of the Company's service. In spite of the abundance of the larger kinds of game, the fur-bearing animals were at one time remarkably numerous; and even now the diminution has arisen chiefly from the recklessness with which the Indians destroy, often in mere wantonness, all ages at every season.

The day after that of our arrival was devoted to the writing of letters, and to the making of preparations for the rest of our journey. Late in the afternoon, the main body of our people arrived, having crossed the Bow River with a good deal of difficulty and delay, in consequence of the extreme weakness of many of the horses. As our route hence lay on the north or left bank of the Saskatchewan, the carts &c., as soon as they came, were despatched across the river in order to save time in the morning.

About noon, on Saturday the 17th of July, we resumed our journey, with about a week's work before us, to Edmonton. In place of sixteen completely exhausted horses, we received only six fresh steeds; and, as even they had strayed, we were obliged to start without them, leaving two men to bring them after us. Our route lay over a hilly country, so picturesque in its character, that almost every commanding position presented the elements of an interesting panorama. In the course of the evening, our two men with the six horses overtook us, while encamped for the night at a distance of thirty miles from the fort.

We were now in the hunting grounds of the Crees, probably the largest tribe in the country. Of this nation there are two distinct branches, the Crees properly so called, and the Swampies, who occupy the borders of Hudson's Bay, all round, from Churchill to East Main, to a depth of two or three hundred miles. Of the Swampies, nothing more is required to be said than what I have already stated under the head of Red River Settlement, while their inland brethren demand more particular notice.

About forty years ago, they were described by Sir Alexander M^cKenzie as having carried their victories as far as the borders of the Arctic Circle and across the Rocky Mountains, chiefly because the fire-arms, which they had purchased from the whites, had not yet found their way as an article of traffic to the northern tribes. Thus formidably equipped, the Crees had a great advantage over their comparatively defenceless neighbours, whom they stigmatized as slaves,—a name still applied, though without any offensive reference to its original meaning, to the Chipewyans, the Yellow Knives, the Hares, the Dogribs, the Loucheaux, the Nihanies, Dahotanies, and others on the shores of M'Kenzie's and Liard's rivers and their tributaries.

Soon afterwards, however, the relative power of the Crees was considerably diminished. The measles and smallpox, finding their way into the country from the Missouri, swept off a large portion of their tribe, while the northern races, besides being exempted from this scourge, had been provided with fire-arms through the gradual advance of the white traders into the interior, so as even to become the assailants, instead of being the victims. Thus checked in one direction, the Crees, branching off into a variety of bands, gradually advanced towards the south, no longer confining themselves as hunters to the thickwood countries, but scouring the open prairies on horseback, with the buffalo to feed and to clothe them, and also, through the Company's establishments, to supply them with arms, ammunition, and tobacco. They extend from the most southerly waters of the Assiniboine to Athabasca, which forms part of the basin of M'Kenzie's river, and to Isle à la Crosse, which is situated on the most northerly feeder of any magnitude of Hudson's Bay.

Down to 1818, the Crees were believed to be regularly diminishing in numbers; but, in that year and the next, they were carried off in thousands by a second visitation of the measles. Since then they have been recruiting their strength; and they are now perhaps fully as numerous as they were in the days of Sir Alexander M'Kenzie.

Next day, the hottest that we had yet had, we experienced a good deal of inconvenience from thirst. In the afternoon, after marching a considerable distance without seeing a drop of water, we reached a small lake; but, as the hour was too early for encamping, we passed it, more particularly as its stagnant surface was by no means attractive; but we soon regretted our fastidiousness, for, when the evening began to darken, we had seen neither lake nor brook, though searching for the luxury on both sides of our track. Having sent some men a-head to look for water, we were at length delighted, about nine in the evening, to learn, that they had discovered a large lake at some distance from our road. Huge fires were immediately lighted to serve as beacons to those who were behind; but it was not till eleven that the whole cavalcade reached the camp. The fatigues and discomforts of the day, being speedily drowned in oceans of tea, served only to make us relish our suppers and beds the more.

Since we had fallen upon the trail of the emigrants, we could observe, by the number of their encampments, that we were marching at three or four times their pace; so that, though they had started twenty-eight days before us, they were overtaken by us next morning, after we had been out exactly sixteen in all. From the information of Indians, we were looking out for these people; and accordingly, about two hours after starting, we gained a view of their lengthened cavalcade, winding its course over the plains.

These emigrants consisted of agriculturists and others, principally natives of Red River settlement. There were twenty-three families, the heads being generally young and active, though a few of them were advanced in life, more particularly one poor woman, upwards of seventy-five years of age, who was tottering after her son to his new home. This venerable wanderer was a native of the Saskatchewan, the name of which, in fact, she bore. She had been absent from this the land of her birth for eighteen years; and, on catching the first glimpse of the river, from the hill near Carlton, she burst, under the influence of old recollections, into a violent flood of tears. During the two days that the party spent at the fort, she scarcely ever left the bank of the stream, appearing to regard it with as much veneration as the Hindoo regards the Ganges.

As a contrast to this superannuated daughter of the Saskatchewan, the band contained several very young travellers, who had, in fact, made their appearance in this world since the commencement of the journey. Beyond the inevitable detention, which seldom exceeded a few hours, these interesting events had never interfered with the progress of the brigade; and both mother and child used to jog on, as if jogging on were the condition of human existence.

Each family had two or three carts, together with bands of horses, cattle, and dogs. The men and lads travelled on the saddle, while the vehicles, which were covered with awnings against the sun and rain, carried the women and the young children. As they marched in single file, their cavalcade extended above a mile in length; and we increased the length of the column by marching in company. The emigrants were all healthy and happy, living in the greatest abundance and enjoying the journey with the highest relish.

Before coming up to these people, we had seen evidence of the comfortable state of their commissariat in the shape of two or three still warm buffaloes, from which only the tongues and a few other choice bits had been taken. This spectacle gave us hopes of soon seeing the animal ourselves; and accordingly it was not long before we saw our game on either side of the road, grazing or stalking about in bands of between twenty and a hundred, to the number of about five thousand in all. In spite of their fatigue, such of our steeds as had been trained to the sport were quickly in the thick of the herd; and one old stager, that had been condemned as unfit alike for pack and rider, maintained the chace so eagerly, that he could not be brought back from the pursuit.

The buffalo is larger than the domestic cattle, excepting that its legs are shorter. Its large head, about a third part of its entire length, gives it a very uncouth appearance, while its shaggy beard and mane resemble the lion's, though on a larger scale; and, when running fast, it tosses its rugged frontispiece at every step. But, notwithstanding its terrific looks, it is really a timid creature, excepting that, when urged by despair to do justice to its physical powers, it becomes a fearful antagonist.

Several parties, of about six or eight men each, having been formed for the occasion, each division approached its own chosen quarry cautiously, till, within a few hundred feet of the devoted band, it rushed at full gallop on its prey. Taking the alarm, the animals immediately started off at a canter in single file, an old bull usually taking the lead. When alongside, as they soon were, the hunters fired, loading and discharging again and again, always with fatal effect, without slackening their pace. The dexterity with which the experienced sportsman can manage his gun is quite wonderful. While his steed is constantly galloping, he primes his lock, pours out the proper quantity of powder, first into his left hand and then into the muzzle, drops a ball upon the charge without wadding, having merely wetted it in his mouth, and then knocks down the fattest cow within his reach,—all in less than half a minute. The morning's chace resulted in about fifty killed; but so abundant were provisions at this moment, that, after taking the tongues, we left the carcases to the mercy of the wolves.

The affair, however, is very different when the professional hunters go in hundreds to the plains to make as much as they can of the buffalo. When they meet the herd, which often makes the whole scene almost black with its numbers, they rush forward, pell-mell, firing and loading as already mentioned; and, while the bullets fly, amid clouds of smoke and dust, the infuriated and bewildered brutes run in every direction with their tormentors still by their sides. By reason of the closeness of the conflict, serious accidents from shots are comparatively rare; and nearly all the casualties are the result of falls, which few riders have leisure either to prevent or to soften.

When the buffaloes are dispersed, or the horses exhausted, or the hunters satisfied, then every man proceeds to recognise his own carcases, having marked one with his cap, another with his coat, a third with his belt, a fourth with his fire-bag, and so forth; and then come into play the science and art of curing what has been killed. Sometimes dried meat is preferred, the bones being taken out, and the flesh hung up in the sun; but, if pemmican be the order of the day, the lean, after being dried, is pounded into dust, which, being put into a bag made of the hide, is enriched with nearly an equal weight of melted fat.

The buffaloes are incredibly numerous. In the year 1829, for instance, I saw as many as ten thousand of their putrid carcases lying mired in a single ford of the Saskatchewan, and contaminating the air for many miles round. They make yearly migrations from one part of the country to another, reversing, in this respect, the ordinary course of birds of passage. During the winter, they go north in order to obtain the shelter of the woods against the severity of the weather, while, on the approach of summer, they proceed to the open plains of the south with the view of eluding the attacks of the musquitoes. At this time of the year, they had deserted the country through which we had been travelling of late; and the wolves, thus deprived of their staple food, were so wretchedly thin, that we could have easily counted their ribs with the eye alone. During the autumn, the buffaloes resort in large numbers to the salt lakes, led thither by instinct to purge themselves.

While the hunting-parties were eagerly pursuing their game, the rest of the cavalcade moved slowly forward till about noon, when we halted for breakfast at the Turtle River, the emigrants still being in company. In order to do honour to the day,—the first occasion perhaps on which two large bands of civilized men had met as friends in these vast prairies,—I put the men in high spirits with a dram, while a donation of wine, tea, and sugar rendered the women the merriest and happiest gossips in the world.

The elders of this little congregation sat in council with Mr. Rowand and myself on the subject of their route and various incidental matters. On leaving Red River, the emigrants had intended to perform the whole distance by land. Hitherto, however, they had been so slow in their movements, having taken forty-three days to one third of their journey, that, in this way, they could hardly reach their destination before the commencement of the winter. We, therefore, proposed that they should proceed by the Athabasca Portage of the Rocky Mountains to the Boat Encampment, and thence descend the Columbia to Vancouver. The people agreed to this change of their plan; but they subsequently, in accordance with the original arrangement, followed our track all the way to the westward.

Our breakfast was a complete specimen of a hunter's meal, consisting of enormous piles of roasted ribs, with marrow and tripe at discretion,—the spoils of the morning's chace. About three in the afternoon, we took leave of our fellow-travellers with mutual wishes for a prosperous journey, soon falling again upon the Turtle River. Of this stream the tortuous windings are very remarkable, sometimes flowing east, then north, next west, and finally south, and returning again, after all, within a few paces of its original point of departure. As we were now on the verge of an immense prairie, where no water could be obtained, we filled every pot and kettle for our supper. During the whole day, comprising a march of fifty miles, we saw no other water than that of the Turtle River; nor was there any, for more than half that distance beyond our night's encampment.

Notwithstanding the scarcity of this necessary of life, animals of various kinds were abundant. In addition to the buffaloes, we saw wolves, badgers, foxes, beaver, and antelopes. Of the last-mentioned species, one of our men succeeded in bringing down a fine buck; but, as it was at some distance from the road, we were contented, in the present state of our larder, with the tongue alone. Soon after going to bed, we were startled by the cry of "Indians are coming!" With our imaginations full of horse-stealers, every man shook off his sleep, cocked his gun, and prepared himself for the worst. Indians did come, but they proved to be Crees, who, as their tribe had no reputation in this way, were allowed to remain with us all night.

It was the noon of next day before we found water, the grass along our route being completely withered; and, as a general rule, any neighbourhood that refused drink to our horses yielded them very little food. By five in the afternoon, we again entered the immediate valley of the Saskatchewan for the first time since leaving Carlton; and at this spot we came upon the only pines that we had seen after our departure from Red River. We reached Fort Pitt about dark; and, before passing through the gates, we were saluted by a volley from eleven lodges of Crees,—an honour which our nags by no means appreciated, for, tired as they were, they evinced their terror by kicking and plunging.

These Crees, like all those that we had previously met with, were keeping out of the way of the Blackfeet. We visited one of the lodges, where a favourite warrior, who had been severely wounded at the battle of the racecourse, was lying. On betaking himself to flight with his companions, this poor fellow had leant forward on his horse's neck, receiving, in that position, a wound of the most singular character. A ball hit him below the right shoulder, passed in a curved direction across the spine, and finally lodged near the joint of the left shoulder. After an interval of thirty-three days, we found his left arm dreadfully inflamed and swollen, while the rest of his body was a mere skeleton. With the view of extracting the bullet, the Indians, who profess surgery as well as physic in their own way, had made several punctures to no purpose; and all that any of us could do for the unfortunate sufferer was to administer a little medicine for temporary relief.

The whole scene in this lodge was of a most melancholy nature. On one side lay the dying warrior, his glassy eye and haggard looks revealing the agony which neither voice nor gesture deigned to tell; near him was a child about three years old, with its shrivelled flesh barely concealing its bones, whose ceaseless moaning formed a striking contrast with the stubborn endurance of its father; and perhaps the most pitiable object in the tent was the hapless wife and mother, sinking under anxiety and fatigue, and blending, as it were, in her silent dejection at once the apathy of her husband and the sensibility of her boy. But this physical misery excited more of our sympathy on account of its superstitious accompaniments. During the night, the medicine-man was plying his mystic arts to restore health to the sick, while, to provide against the worst, drums were beating to drive away all evil spirits. What a picture of the fruits of barbarism and heathenism united!

Fort Pitt is prettily situated on the north or left bank of the river. It is frequented by the Crees, Assiniboines, and Blackfeet, having been planted among them only about ten years before our visit; and, as it is thus comparatively new among these dangerous tribes, it still keeps up, both by day and by night, the system of watch and ward, which has been discontinued at our older establishments on the Saskatchewan, Edmonton, Carlton, and Rocky Mountain House. At this place we exchanged all our horses, with the exception of two or three of the more hardy of the band; most of them had been rendered useless for any present purpose by soreness of backs, weakness of joints, &c.

Soon after our arrival, several mounted men were observed crossing from the opposite shore: they proved to be the commissariat of the fort returning home perfectly light. In the course of the morning, these hunters, while watching for moose in the neighbourhood of a wood and a lake, had discovered two Blackfeet crawling towards their horses. They fired at the thieves, learning immediately from a groan that they had not missed their aim; but, not knowing how many more of the enemy might be at hand, they fled, without taking time even to saddle their animals. However disagreeable this intelligence might be, we consoled ourselves by reflecting that, if travellers were to be influenced by wars and rumours of wars, they would never pass through these plains at all.

Though we were now on the safer side of the Saskatchewan, in the country of the Crees, yet, in order to save a day's march on the distance between Fort Pitt and Edmonton, we resolved to cross the river into the territory of the Blackfeet, merely taking care to move in somewhat closer order than usual. Starting accordingly from the establishment about eleven in the morning, we had hardly gained the opposite shore, when an Indian dog on the track, whose master could not be far off, excited our vigilance, if not our fears.

On passing the spot where the hunters had seen the Blackfeet, we halted to make a search, but discovered no trace of an enemy, whether living or dead. We travelled about thirty miles through bolder scenery than that which we had previously traversed, breaking the axle of one of our carts, and replacing it by a rough kind of makeshift at the encampment. As unremitting caution was now indispensable, our horses were hobbled, and a guard mounted, for the night.

Next morning, being the 22nd of July, we had a sharp frost before sunrise, and afterwards a heavy dew. The whole country was so parched up, that no water could be found for breakfast till eleven o'clock; and again in the afternoon we passed over a perfectly arid plain of about twenty-five miles in length, encamping for the night at the commencement of the Chaine des Lacs, a succession of small lakes stretching over a distance of twenty or thirty miles. During the afternoon, we saw our first raspberries; they proved to be of large size and fine flavour. Two days previously, we had feasted on the service-berry, or missasquitomina, a sort of cross between the cranberry and the black currant; and, before leaving Red River, we had found wild strawberries ripe. The missasquitomina, by the by, is generally an ingredient in the better sort of pemmican, which is made with marrow-fat instead of ordinary grease. In the course of the day, Mr. Rowand's horse, stepping into a badger-hole, gave him a very heavy fall, by which his face was much cut, and by which also, as appeared some months afterwards, his breastbone was broken.

Next afternoon we passed over a space of about four miles in length, where the grass was thoroughly beaten down, apparently the work of hail. Such storms, which are almost always partial in their operation, are often remarkably furious in this country. While travelling from Red River to Canada in the fall of 1837, I was overtaken near Lac la Pluie by a violent tempest of the kind, which, if we had not gained the fort in time, might have proved fatal. As the angular masses of ice rattled on the roof, we entertained fears for the safety of the building; and, in point of fact, the lodges of the Indians were thrown down and their canoes shattered; while their luckless dogs, tumbling about like drunken men, scrambled away howling in quest of shelter. Some of the pieces, measured in presence of Mr. Finlayson, of Red River, and Mr. Hargrave, of York Factory, we found to be fully five inches and a half in circumference.

Throughout this country every thing is in extremes—unparalleled cold and excessive heat; long droughts, balanced by drenching rain and destructive hail. But it is not in climate only that these contrarieties prevail;

at some seasons both whites and natives are living, in wasteful abundance, on venison, buffalo, fish, and game of all kinds; while at other times they are reduced to the last degree of hunger, often passing several days without food.

In the year 1820, when wintering at Athabasca Lake, our provisions fell short at the establishment, and on two or three occasions I went for three whole days and nights without having a single morsel to swallow; but then again I was one of a party of eleven men and one woman, which discussed three ducks and twenty-two geese at a sitting. On the Saskatchewan the daily rations are eight pounds of meat a head, whereas in other districts our people have been sent on long journeys with nothing but a pint of meal and some parchment for their sustenance.

Towards sunset we encamped on the confines of an extensive forest, a tongue of which, stretching away to the northward, is known as La Grande Pointe. In the afternoon we had come upon a large bed of the eyeberry, or oosquisikoomina, very nearly resembling the strawberry in taste and appearance. It grows abundantly in Russia; and flourishing, as it does, in the same soils and situations as the strawberry, it would doubtless thrive in England. The nights were getting chilly; and, whenever the sky was clear, a heavy dew fell from sunset to sunrise on particular spots, so as to look, when morning dawned, like large lakes in the distance. As the power of the sun increased, these mists gradually resolved themselves into streaks of various shapes and sizes, which, rising from the ground in the form of clouds, finally disappeared.

Next morning, being anxious to reach Edmonton before night, we proceeded in advance of our heavy baggage. For the first three or four leagues the country appeared to have been the bed of some large lake; and many spots, of several miles in area, were as smooth and flat as if they had been levelled by artificial means. The whole plain was covered with a luxuriant crop of the vetch, or wild pea, almost as nutritious a food for cattle and horses as oats. As we drew near to the Saskatchewan, we had to cross as many as five creeks, with steep and lofty banks, the last, in particular, being a stream scarcely twenty feet in span, between rugged declivities about two hundred feet in height.

The summit of one of the rising grounds in the neighbourhood of these creeks presented a man on horseback, who, catching a glimpse of us, suddenly disappeared down the opposite side of the hill. We urged our horses forward at full speed, in order to overtake the fugitive, closely examining every bush and every hollow, till, on reaching the last five creeks, we found the object of our pursuit in the shape of a native hunter attached to the fort. This man, who rejoiced in the name of Potato, while his brother was equally blessed with the title of Turnip, had, in two days, knocked down a moose, a red deer, and a buffalo—pretty good wages for less than half a week's work. While speaking of names, I cannot help mentioning that our guide from Fort Pitt was one of three brothers, who bore the congenial or uncongenial appellations of Sand-fly, Musquito, and Napoleon Bonaparte.

On arriving in front of Edmonton, which was on the opposite bank of the Saskatchewan, we notified our approach by a volley of musketry, which was returned by the cannon of the fort. A boat was quickly despatched to convey us across the river; and on landing we found the residents of the establishment, and more particularly Mrs. Rowand and her daughters, assembled to receive us.

Edmonton is a well-built place, something of a hexagon in form. It is surrounded by high pickets and bastions, which, with the battlemented gateways, the flagstaffs, &c., give it a good deal of a martial appearance; and it occupies a commanding situation, crowning an almost perpendicular part of the bank, about two hundred feet in height. The river is nearly as wide as at Carlton, while the immediate banks are well wooded, and the country behind consists of rolling prairies.

This fort, both inside and outside, is decorated with paintings and devices to suit the tastes of the savages that frequent it. Over the gateways are a most fanciful variety of vanes; but the hall, of which both the ceiling and the walls present the gaudiest colours and the most fantastic sculptures, absolutely rivets the astonished natives to the spot with wonder and admiration. The buildings are smeared with a red earth found in the neighbourhood, which, when mixed with oil, produces a durable brown.

The vicinity is rich in mineral productions. A seam of coal, about ten feet in depth, can be traced for a very considerable distance along both sides of the river. This coal resembles slate in appearance; and though it requires a stronger draught of air than that of an ordinary chimney, yet it is found to answer tolerably well for the blacksmith's forge. Petrifactions are also found here in abundance; and at the fort there was a pure stone, which had once been a log of wood about six feet in length, and four or five in girth; the resemblance being so complete, as even to deceive the eye.

The storm, of which we yesterday observed the effects in the beating down of the grass, had been severely felt here, though in the shape rather of lightning than of hail. One flash had fallen on the bank within a few yards of the walls, cutting two deep gulleys down to the water's edge.

The number of the native inhabitants of the Saskatchewan district may serve to demonstrate how scanty is the aboriginal population of North America at the present day, more particularly as the tract in question is, perhaps, the most populous in the country :—

SASKATCHEWAN DISTRICT.

TRIBES.	TENTS.	SOULS.
Crees	500	3,500
Assiniboines . . .	580	4,060
Blackfeet	300	2,100
Piegans	350	2,450
Blood Indians . . .	250	1,750
Sarcees	50	350
Gros Ventres . . .	300	2,100
Saulteaux . . .	20	140
Half-breeds . . .	40	280
Totals . . .	2,390	16,730

Small as this census is for a territory at least as large as England, the force of the Company's servants is infinitely smaller. But, in any case of inevitable collision, our people never recede from their purpose. To give an instance:—a band of Assiniboines had carried off twenty-four horses from Edmonton; and, being pursued, they were overtaken at the small river Boutbière. One of the keepers of the animals, a very courageous man, of the name of François Lucie, plunged into the stream, grappling in the midst with a tall savage; and, in spite of his inferiority of strength, he kept so close, that his enemy could not draw his bow. Still, however, the Indian contrived to strike his assailant on the head with the weapon in question, and thereby to knock him off his horse into the water. Springing immediately to his feet, Lucie was about to smite the Assiniboine with his dagger, when the savage arrested his arm by seizing a whip which was hanging to his wrist by a loop, and then, turning round the handle with a scornful laugh, he drew the string so tight as to render the poor man's hand nearly powerless. François continued, nevertheless, to saw away at the fellow's fingers with his dagger till he had nearly cut them off; and when, at length, the Assiniboine, of necessity, relaxed his grasp, François, with the quickness of thought, sheathed the deadly weapon in his heart.

In the spring of the year, Mr. Rowand had secured, as a guide to conduct us as far as the Rocky Mountains, a man of the name of Peechee, who, though himself a half-breed, had been brought up among the savages, and was, in fact, a chief of the Mountain Crees. Beyond Edmonton the country is impracticable for carts, so that all our baggage would have to be conveyed on horseback; and on this account we reduced our wardrobes to the smallest possible compass, taking with us only such articles of clothing as were absolutely necessary for the voyage.

On the third day after our arrival, the firing of guns on the opposite side of the river, which was heard early in the morning, announced the approach of nine native chiefs, who came forward in advance of a camp of fifty lodges, which was again followed by another camp of six times the size. These chiefs were Blackfeet, Piegans, Sarcees, and Blood Indians, all dressed in their grandest clothes and decorated with scalp-locks. I paid them a visit, giving each of them some tobacco. Instead of receiving their presents with the usual indifference of savages, they thanked me in rotation, and, taking my hand in theirs, made long prayers to me as a high and powerful conjurer. They implored me to grant, that their horses might always be swift, that the buffalo might constantly abound, and that their wives might live long and look young. One of them vented his gratitude in a song; and another blessed the house in which he had been so well treated.

Our nine visitors remained the whole morning, smoking and sleeping: nor would they take their departure till they had obtained a present for each of the chiefs that were coming behind them. Though we had resolved to make a start to-day, yet we could not safely resume our journey while these Indians were hanging about the place, inasmuch as they would have given information to the approaching bands; and then we should have been annoyed, and perhaps plundered, by the fellows for whole days in succession.

In order to escape unseen and unsuspected, we adopted the following expedient. A boat, which was loaded with our baggage, was sent about six miles up the river in the evening with orders to be concealed as much as possible; and early next morning we were to proceed with the horses, under cover of the woods, along the northern bank to join it. Then and there we were to cross the Saskatchewan, and pursue our journey towards the south-west.

On this our last afternoon, we made a tour of the farm. The pasturage was most luxuriant; and a large dairy was maintained. Among the cattle was a buffalo heifer seven years of age, procured for the purpose of crossing the breed; but every domestic bull had always appeared to be afraid of her. Sheep could not be kept, for, in addition to the severity of the climate, the packs of dogs and wolves in the neighbourhood would have destroyed them. Barley generally yielded a fair return; but wheat was almost sure to be destroyed by the early frosts. The garden produced potatoes, turnips, and a few other hardy vegetables.

CHAPTER III.

FROM EDMONTON HOUSE TO FORT VANCOUVER.

Departure from Edmonton—Rev. Mr. Rundle—Gull Lake—Native gossips—Duck hunt—Red Deer's River—Unexpected meeting—March through wet bush—Altered character of vegetation—State of commissariat—Difficulties of march—Rugged scene—Peechee's home—Perpendicular rocks—Indian skirmish, courage of a woman—The spout—Bow River Traverse—Porcupine—Natural gateway—Height of land—Reminiscence of Scotland—Improvement in climate—Kootonais River—Adventures of two of our men—Scarcity of water—Bad road—Columbia River—Search for horses—Gloomy ravine—Hieroglyphics—Tenacity of musquitoes—Fresh horses—Scenery now softer—Flatbow Indians—Hot springs—Burning forests—Park-like prairie—Kootonais Indians, chief's son—Grande Quête Lake, missing companion—Grande Quête River—Improvement in vegetation—Plunge of two loaded horses—Use of a horse—Starvation among natives—Female horse-dealer—Extensive and interesting view—March through wet bush—Kootonais River Traverse—Peculiar canoe—Kootonais village—Food of natives—Mr. and Mrs. Charlo—Natural pit—Burning woods—Kullespelm Lake—Pend' d'Oreille River—Pend' d'Oreille Indians—Card-playing—Results of education—Native dress—Fresh horses—Supper or no supper?—Mr. M'Donald from Colvile—Excellent breakfast—Ludicrous accident—Fort Colvile—Fine farm—Chaudière Indians—Peechee—Departure from Colvile—Chaudière Falls—Grande Coulée—Okanagan—Murder of Mr. Black—Scarcity of wood—Isle des Pierres Rapids—Sault du Prêtre—Rattlesnakes—Snake River—Wallawalla—Rev. Mr. Mungh—M'Kenzie's and Ross's Heads—Prairie fowl—Snake Indians—Basaltic rocks—Cayuse chief in love—Les Chutes, past and present—Petites Dalles—Long Narrows—Hair seals—Mission of Whaspicum—Aquatic forest—Cascades—Pillar Rock—Arrival at Vancouver.

About five in the morning of the 28th of July, we started from Edmonton in high spirits, with a fresh band of forty-five fine horses, and struck into the adjacent woods, before the Indians made their appearance on the opposite side of the river. Crossing the Saskatchewan at the place, where we found our boat, we breakfasted in a secluded spot; and thence we pursued our course, during the whole day, through a land of marshes and thickets, forming a remarkable contrast with the rolling prairies which we had recently traversed. As the forests had been almost entirely destroyed by fire, the fallen timber, often concealed alike from horse and rider by the high grass, occasioned a good deal both of delay and of danger. In spite, however, of all our difficulties, we contrived, with our new stud, to accomplish sixty miles by eight in the evening.

In the afternoon, we had met Mr. Rundle, the Wesleyan missionary of Edmonton, who had been visiting a camp of Crees on the borders of Gull Lake; and, as that gentleman was anxious to have some communication with me, he returned with us to our encampment, which we made near the Atcheskapesequa Seepee, or Smoking-weed River. This stream flowed in a deep and shady valley; and its clear water afforded us an exquisite treat after our long and hot ride.

In the morning, Mr. Rundle accompanied us as far as the Battle River, which falls into the Saskatchewan, near Fort Pitt. We were now beyond the level prairie with its badger holes, which have obtained for the people of the Saskatchewan the name of Les Gens des Blaireaux; but we had woods instead, which, if they were less perilous, were fully more embarrassing. The scenery, as we approached the mountains, was becoming bolder every hour. The plains were replaced by ranges of lofty hills; and we were straining our eyes to catch the first glimpse of the perpetual snows of the mighty barrier that lay in our path. The weather continued to be exceedingly warm, the thermometer showing 83° in the shade; and the flies of every species, from the bull-dog, which takes out the bit from man and beast, to the diminutive moustique, annoyed, to an almost insupportable degree, both ourselves and our cattle. To make matters worse, we were this morning attacked, for the first time, by wasps, which every now and then made our poor animals dance and bolt, and roll on the ground; and so much did the horses dread the insect in question, that not one in the band would approach the spot where any other had been stung,—the whole of them sometimes dashing off, in all possible directions, at full gallop.

After passing two or three very beautiful lagoons, we encamped for the night on the banks of the Gull Lake, a fine sheet of transparent water of about twenty miles in length by five or six in width, surrounded by high hills, of which the remotest summits to the westward command a view of the Rocky Mountains. Though we saw no traces of Mr. Rundle's Crees, yet the report of a musket, booming like that of a cannon along the lake, indicated their vicinity; and, on our answering what was probably meant as a signal, we were visited by a few of them, who proved to be relations of some of our men. Our object in desiring an interview was to obtain, if possible, a supply of fresh meat, inasmuch as the small stock, which we had brought from Edmonton, was already exhausted. The Indians, who were almost as badly off as ourselves, had nothing to spare but the remains, the inferior joints of course, of a red deer; but these, such as they were, they promised to bring us in the morning.

On decamping, a heavy fog threatened us with a wet day. Gradually, however, the sun dispersed the vapours; and, as there was no wind, the heat became excessive, while our work grew harder in consequence of the gradual rise of the country. After fording the Paskap Seepee, or Blind River, we reached Reedy Lake; and thence, crossing a range of high hills, we breakfasted on an extensive prairie beyond them. Our friends of Gull Lake had brought us a little meat, and that not very tempting in its appearance; but, such as it was, it saved our pemmican for one day longer. They remained with us two or three hours, smoking and chatting; and, our guide Peechee being a great man among them, they formed a circle round him, whiffing and talking and listening; for, notwithstanding the taciturnity of savages among whites, they are, when by themselves, the most loquacious of mortals, apparently regarding idle gossip as one of the grand objects of life. In addition to the venison, which we got from the Indians, our breakfast was enriched by the presence of a few ducklings—without green peas. We had caught a sight of a colony of ducks in a small swamp; and, after scrambling in the high grass and shallow water with a most zealous combination of all our talents and appetites, we succeeded in bagging seven of the rising brood. The excitement of such a hunt cannot possibly be appreciated by your civilized sportsman, inasmuch as his larder is not materially interested in the question of failure or success.

Soon after the commencement of our afternoon's march, we had to cross the Red Deer's River, a large and beautiful stream flowing between well wooded banks of considerable height; and, while we were riding three or four miles down the current in quest of a ford, we found on the bank perfectly fresh tracks of bear, red deer, moose, antelopes, and wolves. Had we been on a hunting excursion instead of travelling against time, we might here have enjoyed a few days of excellent sport. While the horses were fording the river, we had a pleasant bath, after which we continued our march across a prairie almost covered with dwarf willows.

While quietly forcing our way through the bushes with our party very much scattered, we suddenly encountered a small band of Sarcees, the boldest of all the tribes that inhabit the plains. The savages appeared to be taken as much by surprise as ourselves; and, in a moment, the guns were uncovered on both sides. A halt, of course, was made; and a parley ensued, the subject of discussion being the present war between the Crees and the Blackfeet. The Sarcees, as allies of the latter tribe, naturally blamed the former; and we took credit to the whites for having kept their common enemy comparatively quiet. With the aid of a little tobacco and ammunition, we prolonged the conversation for a sufficient length of time to allow all our people to get fairly out of sight; and we then parted from our fickle customers on the most friendly terms. We came almost immediately to a small river, whose banks of two hundred feet in height were so steep, that our horses slid sideways the greater part of the distance to the water's edge; and, however troublesome the operation was in itself, we were not sorry to place so formidable a barrier between the Sarcees and ourselves. In order to give our somewhat doubtful friends as wide a berth as possible, we marched more briskly than usual till the evening, selecting for our night's encampment a rising ground which commanded the view to a considerable distance; and, to make assurance doubly sure, every gun was loaded, while four men mounted guard.

Still remembering the Sarcees, we made an early move, and marched vigorously for about seven hours. Before breakfast, however, we met a new object of alarm in the fresh trail of a large party of horsemen, who must have passed as late as last evening; but, on second thoughts, we were glad to observe that the band in question had kept a good deal to the westward of our track. In this same neighbourhood, we got up an amusing scene in the shape of a hunt of some young geese. Some of the men, without taking time to strip, jumped into the water, splashing and tumbling about after their prey, while the others from the bank kept up a constant fire on the birds; and thus, between killed, and wounded, and taken, the whole flock fell into the hands of our cooks.

In the course of the afternoon, we descended into a glen between ranges of steep and lofty hills, through which flowed the river La Biche, at one place contracted into a mere rivulet, and at another spread over a channel of two hundred feet in width. In forcing our way through the tangled underwood of this valley, we were almost as thoroughly drenched by the deposits of a recent shower on the leaves, as if we had been actually exposed to the rain itself; and this thicket again led us into a dense forest of pines, through which the track, besides being obstructed by fallen timber, was so narrow as seriously to impede the pack-horses.

We encamped for the night in an open space amid an amphitheatre of towering hills, which were covered with dark forests. Every hour of this day's march had marked our ascent to a higher level. At Fort Pitt, as already mentioned, we had seen our first pines; since then we had passed few trees of the kind, till they began, this morning, to increase rapidly in number, while, in the same proportion, every other species gradually disappeared. The willow and poplar were the last to dispute the sway of this evergreen child of the mountains, though, before reaching our encampment, even they had given up the contest; and nothing was to be seen but the black, straight, naked stem of the pine, shooting up to an unbroken height of eighty or a hundred feet; while the sombre light, as it glimmered along numberless vistas of natural columns, recalled to the imagination the gloomy shades of an assemblage of venerable cathedrals.

In the way of eating, we had now little to expect beyond our own stores of pemmican and dried meat. Our supper of to-day was the first meal, at which we had not fresh viands of some kind or other; and we had no great reason to expect any considerable improvement for some time to come. Next day, indeed, we crossed several small plains, which are often well stocked with buffalo, one of them in particular being on this account distinguished as La Prairie de la Graisse; but, as our luck would have it, not a hoof was to be seen. This disappointment was the more to be regretted, inasmuch as the increasing cold — increasing both with the advance of the season and with our own elevation — would now have kept any booty much longer sound and sweet.

In La Prairie de la Graisse we caught our first view of the white peaks of the mountains, looking like clouds on the verge of the horizon. Beyond this point, our track lay through swamps, which, even in this ~~the~~ driest month of a dry season, were almost impracticable. The horses constantly sank to their girths; and, in endeavouring to extricate themselves, they occasionally dislodged their packs or riders into the seething morass. Nor was our progress much more expeditious in the woods than in the bogs. The horses were, every now and then, diving into the pathless forest, with the drivers at their heels, whose cries might be heard ringing through the usually solitary glades for miles; and the fugitives, when overtaken, were generally found to have either slipped their packs altogether, or else to have them hanging loose under their bellies. In adjusting all this, the men would lose the track, so that we had to make occasional halts to collect our people. One man in particular was missing for several hours this morning; and others, who were sent in search of him, found him trying to drive three obstinate brutes before him. Though this poor fellow had fired fifteen signals for assistance, yet not one of them had been heard by us; and this was the more extraordinary, as the report of one's own gun appeared to reverberate through the woods like the discharge of a heavy piece of ordnance.

About ten we halted for breakfast, that some of our hunters might follow a recent track of the buffalo; but they saw only three stragglers, which, however, were out of reach. In the afternoon, we emerged from the woods on a long open valley terminating in a high ridge, whence we obtained one of those majestic views, found only "'midst mountain fastnesses." As far as the eye could reach, mountain rose above mountain, while at our feet lay a valley surrounded by an amphitheatre of cold, bare, rugged peaks. In these crags, which were almost perpendicular, neither could tree plant its roots nor goat find a resting-place; the "Demon of the Mountains" alone could fix his dwelling there. On the stony bosom of the valley in question we pitched our tents for the night. Here we found one of the sources — in spring, a torrent, but now almost dry — of the river La Biche; and here we bade adieu to that stream, which, during the last three days, we had crossed at least forty times. One of the overhanging peaks, from its bearing a rude resemblance to an upturned face, is called the Devil's Nose.

The path, which we had been following, was a track of the Assiniboines, carried, for the sake of concealment, through the thickest forests. The Indians and Peechee were the only persons that had ever pursued this route; and we were the first whites that had attempted this pass of the mountains.

In the morning, we entered a defile between mountainous ridges, marching for nine hours through dense woods. This valley, which was from two to three miles in width, contained four beautiful lakes, communicating with each other by small streams; and the fourth of the series, which was about fifteen miles by three, we named after Peechee, as being our guide's usual home. At this place he had expected to find his family; but Madame Peechee and the children had left their encampment, probably on account of a scarcity of game. What an idea of the loneliness and precariousness of savage life does this single glimpse of the biography of the Peechees suggest!

Having marched for nine hours over broken rocks and through thick forests, we found, on halting for breakfast, that six of our horses, three of them with packs, were missing; and we instantly despatched all our men but two in quest of them, determining at the same time to remain for the rest of the day in order to await their return. The beauty of the scenery formed some compensation for this loss of time. Our tents were pitched in a level meadow of about five hundred acres in extent, enclosed by mountains on three sides, and by Peechee's lake on the fourth. From the very edge of the water, there rose a gentle ascent of six or eight hundred feet, covered with pines, and composed almost entirely of the accumulated fragments of the adamantine heights above; and on the upper border of this slope there stood perpendicular walls of granite, of three or four thousand feet, while among the dizzy altitudes of their battlemented summits the goats and sheep bounded in playful security.

As ill luck would have it, one of the missing horses carried our best provisions; but, by stewing two partridges and making a little pemmican into a kind of burgoo, we contrived to produce both breakfast and supper for eight hungry travellers. Though we had considerably increased our elevation by this morning's march, yet the heat was great, reaching as high as 70° in the shade.

The defile, through which we had just passed, had been the scene of an exploit highly characteristic of savage life. One of the Crees, whom we saw at Gull Lake, had been tracked into the valley, along with his wife and family, by five youths of a hostile tribe. On perceiving the odds that were against him, the man gave himself up for lost, observing to the woman that, as they could die but once, they had better make up their minds to submit to their present fate without resistance. The wife, however, replied that, as they had but one life to lose, they were the more decidedly bound to defend it to the last, even under the most desperate circumstances; adding that, as they were young and by no means pitiful, they had an additional motive for preventing their hearts from becoming small. Then, suiting the action to the word, the heroine brought the foremost warrior to the earth with a bullet, while the husband, animated by a mixture of shame and hope, disposed of two more of the enemy with his arrows. The fourth, who had by this time come to pretty close quarters, was ready to take vengeance on the courageous woman, with uplifted tomahawk, when he stumbled and fell; and, in the twinkling of an eye, the dagger of his intended victim was buried in his heart. Dismayed at the death of his four companions, the sole survivor of the assailing party saved himself by flight, after wounding his male opponent by a ball in the arm.

It was six o'clock next morning before our people returned with the missing horses, which they had found about fifteen miles behind. On starting, we proceeded up a bold pass in the mountains, in which we crossed two branches of the Bow River, the south branch, as already mentioned, of the Saskatchewan. From the top of a peak, that rose perpendicularly at least two thousand feet, there fell a stream of water, which, though of very considerable volume, looked like a thread of silver on the gray rock. It was said to be known as the Spout, and to serve as a landmark in this wilderness of cliffs.

About two in the afternoon, we reached, as Peechee assured us, the Bow River Traverse, the spot at which a fresh guide from the west side of the mountains, of the name of Berland, was to meet us with a relay of horses. But, whether this was the Bow River Traverse or not, no Berland was here to be found. Thinking that the two guides might have different notions as to the precise place of rendezvous, we despatched two men to another crossing-place about two miles farther up the stream, instructing them, according to circumstances, either to return to this point and pursue our track, or else to cut across the country in order to join us. The river, the same as that which we crossed before reaching Carlton, was here about a hundred and fifty yards in width, with a strong and deep current. We conveyed baggage and horses, and everything else, on a raft covered with willows; and, as we finished the operation only at sunset, we encamped for the night on the south or right bank of the stream.

As we were always glad to make our guns save our pemmican, we had to-day knocked down a porcupine which, being desperately hungry, we pronounced to be very good fare. We had also tried, but in vain, to get within shot of some of the goats and sheep that were clambering and leaping on the peaks; the flesh of the latter is reckoned a great delicacy; but that of the former is not much esteemed.

The water of the river was cold, being formed chiefly of melted snow; and the temperature of a small tributary in the neighbourhood of our camp proved to be only 42°, while, in the course of the afternoon, the mercury had stood at 70° in the shade. We enjoyed the coolness both for drinking and bathing, though the water, like that of the Alps, was known to give the goitres, even as far down as the fork of the two grand branches of the Saskatchewan, to such as might habitually and permanently use it. Our men, poor fellows, had had quite enough of the luxury, in the swimming way, for, in managing the raft, they had been three or four hours in the current.

Next morning, we began to ascend the mountains in right earnest, riding where we could, and walking where the horses found the road too steep to carry us, while by our side there rushed downwards one of the sources of the Bow River. We were surrounded by peaks and crags, on whose summits lay perpetual snow; and the only sounds that disturbed the solitude were the crackling of prostrate branches under the tread of our horses, and the roaring of the stream, as it leaped down its rocky course. One peak presented a very peculiar feature in an opening of about eighty feet by fifty, which, at a distance, might have been taken for a spot of snow, but which, as one advanced nearer, assumed the appearance of the gateway of a giant's fortress.

About seven hours of hard work brought us to the height of land, the hinge, as it were, between the eastern and the western waters. We breakfasted on the level isthmus, which did not exceed fourteen paces in width, filling our kettles for this our lonely meal at once from the crystal sources of the Columbia and the Saskatchewan, while these feeders of two opposite oceans, murmuring over their beds of mossy stones as if to bid each other a long farewell, could hardly fail to attune our minds to the sublimity of the scene. But, between these kindred fountains, the common progeny of the same snow wreaths, there was this remarkable difference of temperature, that the source of the Columbia showed 40°, while that of the Saskatchewan raised the mercury to 53½°, the thermometer meanwhile standing as high as 71° in the shade.

From the vicinity of perpetual snow, we estimated the elevation of the height of land to be seven or eight thousand feet above the level of the sea, while the surrounding peaks appeared to rise nearly half of that altitude over our heads. Still this pass was inferior in grandeur to that of the Athabasca Portage. There, the road, little better than a succession of glaciers, runs through a region of perpetual snow, where nothing that can be called a tree presents itself to relieve and cheer the eye. There, too, the relative position of the opposite waters is such as to have hardly a parallel on the earth's surface; for a small lake, appropriately enough known as the Committee's Punch-bowl, sends its tribute, from one end to the Columbia, and from the other to the M^cKenzie.

In addition to the physical magnificence of the scene, I here met an unexpected reminiscence of my own native hills in the shape of a plant, which appeared to me to be the very heather of the Highlands of Scotland; and I might well regard the reminiscence as unexpected, inasmuch as, in all my wanderings of more than twenty years, I had never found anything of the kind in North America. As I took a considerable degree of interest in the question of the supposed identity, I carried away two specimens, which, however, proved, on a minute comparison, to differ from the genuine staple of the brown heaths of the "land o' cakes." We made also another discovery, about which there could be no mistake, in a troublesome and venomous species of winged insect, which, in size and appearance, might have been taken for a cross between the bull-dog and the house-fly.

On resuming our march, we had not descended half a mile, before we felt a difference in the climate, a change noticed by all travellers in these regions; and the trees were also of fine growth. Whatever may be the reason of the sudden alteration, the same clouds have been known to clothe the eastern side with hail and snow, and to refresh the western with gentle rain. With reference, however, to this state of the atmosphere, the temperature of the water is somewhat anomalous, for, after a lapse of two or three days, the stream, which we followed, was subsequently found to be still half a degree cooler than the source of the Bow River on the height of land. In the progress of our descent, we took some interest in tracing, as it were, Nature's manufacture of a river; as every rill that trickled down the rocks, with its thread of melted snow, contributed its mite to the main current of various names, the Kootonais, or the McGillivray, or the Flat-bow. Even at our first encampment, after only half a day's march, the flood had already gathered a breadth of fifty feet.

Next morning, we forded the river twenty-three times, each attempt becoming, of course, more difficult than the preceding one; and we crossed it once more, immediately before breakfast, near its confluence with another stream of about equal magnitude. During this single march, the fifty feet of yesterday evening had swollen out into a hundred yards; and the channel was so deep, that the packs got soaked on the backs of the horses. Here we made a meal of our third porcupine, the only fresh meat that we could get; for, though our track bore the recent marks of the bear, the buffalo, the antelope, the sheep, the moose, the red deer and the wolf, yet the noise of our cavalcade seemed to scare all these animals into the woods.

Our two men, who had been sent to the upper traverse of the Bow River in quest of Berland, were here to rejoin us; and accordingly, just as we were mounting for our afternoon's march, they arrived with the unwelcome news that they had seen no trace either of horses or of guide. If Berland had kept his appointment at all, our only remaining chance was to look for him at a crossing place on the Bow River, about a day's march below our own traverse; and accordingly, as La Graisse, one of the men who had just returned, gallantly volunteered, along with an Iroquois of the name of José Tyantas, to undertake this forlorn hope of an expedition, we forthwith despatched the hardy fellows with a little pemmican and a few pairs of mocassins, leaving them to supply all other wants with their guns. In fact, they were not so liable to starve as ourselves; for, being on foot, they were less likely to frighten the game of the country to a distance; and, in proof of this, La Graisse had brought us part of a red deer that he had shot, which, though tough and hard, we relished as a great luxury.

Our afternoon's work was exceedingly slow and laborious, as we had to pass through an intricate forest along the banks of the river. Having crossed a very steep hill with the view of encamping, by Peechee's advice, on the borders of a small lake, we were disappointed to find nothing but its dried bed without a single drop of water in it; and, being alike unable to advance and unwilling to return, we sent back our men for water with the whole of our surviving stock of pots and kettles. As an evidence of the difficulties of our route, our whole day's march did not exceed twenty miles.

Next morning, however, our bad roads surpassed themselves. Besides being mountainous, the ground was rugged and boggy; the forests were thick and tangled; and prostrate trees of large dimensions, piled and interlaced together, barricaded our track. Leading our horses, we forced our way along by winding about in every direction, by hewing or removing fallen trunks, and by making the animals, according to circumstances, leap, or scramble, or crouch. At the end of about four hours, we had not accomplished more than two miles.

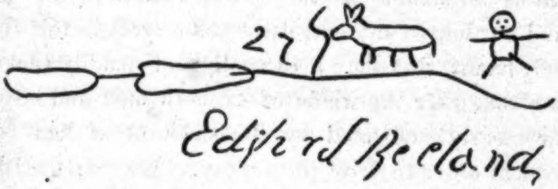
Emerging from this labyrinth on a clear plain, where a good road lay along the precipitous bank of the river of about a hundred and fifty feet in height, one of the horses, which fortunately had neither rider nor pack, missed its footing, but was caught by the trees on its way down. We breakfasted near a lofty mountain, which was to form our afternoon's mark. Its base was marked not only by the Kootonais but also by the Columbia properly so called, the former sweeping far to the south, and the latter still further to the north, in order to unite their waters a little above Fort Colvile. After marching about an hour, we reached the nearer side of the mountain, where, in consequence of Peechee's representations as to the impossibility alike of our crossing it before dark, and of encamping on it for the night, we reluctantly halted at the early hour of five o'clock. Three wearied and disabled horses were here abandoned with a faint hope of their being subsequently recovered, if, in their present helpless condition, they could only protect themselves from the wolves.

Soon after midnight, the people began to search for the horses, some of which were found in the woods at a distance of five or six miles; and the mere fact that the animals could be caught at all amid thick forests in the dark, spoke volumes for the patience and steadiness, the carefulness and sagacity, the skill and tact, of our half-breed attendants. Perhaps, all the grooms in an English county could not have done that morning's work. After all the delay, we were still able to start by five.

The ascent of the mountain was rugged and difficult. Though the forests were more practicable than those of yesterday, yet our track lay generally on the steep and stony edge of a glen, down which gushed the sources of the Columbia. At one very remarkable spot, known as the Red Rock, our path climbed the dry part of the bed of a boiling torrent, while the narrow ravine was literally darkened by almost perpendicular walls of a thousand or fifteen hundred feet in height; and, to render the chasm still more gloomy, the opposite crags threw forward each its own forest of sombre pines, into the intervening space. The rays of the sun could barely find their way to the depths of this dreary vale, so as to render the darkness visible; and the hoarse murmur of the angry stream, as it bounded to escape from the dismal jaws of its prison, only served to make the place appear more lonely and desolate. We were glad to emerge from this horrid gorge, which depressed our spirits even more than it overawed our feelings.

Our road then lay over some high hills of parched clay, where the reflection of the heat from below and a scorching sun above almost roasted us alive; every shrub and every blade of grass was brown and sapless, just as if newly swept by the blast of a sirocco. During the hottest part of the day, our thermometer was stowed away in one of our packages; but, when obtained in the evening, it still stood at 81° in the shade.

From these hills an abrupt descent brought us into a large prairie, through which our river wound a serpentine course; and, as the loaded horses did not arrive till five o'clock, we here encamped for the night, making one hearty meal for the day after a fast of twenty-four hours. Our day's work of twenty miles had fatigued us all to excess; for, by reason of the steepness and ruggedness of the road, we had been obliged to walk, or rather to climb and slide, a great portion of the way. On one of the trees, however, we found something that made us forget our toils—a hieroglyphic epistle, sketched thus with a piece of burnt wood:



We speedily interpreted this welcome letter to mean, that Edward Berland was waiting us with a band of twenty-seven horses at the point where our river received a tributary before expanding itself into two consecutive lakes. As the spot in question was supposed to be within a few miles of us, Peechee was despatched to secure our phantom guide; and two men were also sent in the opposite direction to bring up a missing pack-horse.

This prairie had perhaps been selected by our correspondent as his post-office, from its being the place at which the only two routes, by which we could have crossed the height of land in this part of the country, happened to converge. The emigrants, having been treacherously deserted at Bow River by their guide, a half-breed of some education, providentially met an Indian of the name of Bras Croche, who, being better acquainted with the mountains than Peechee, carried them through a little to the southward by a pass infinitely superior to ours; and they fell upon our track again near our present encampment.

The valley, for the prairie was surrounded by mountains, swarmed with musquitoes to a greater degree than any place that we had hitherto seen. These insects were as formidable as they were numerous, for they found our horses and ourselves such a treat in this their lonely haunt, that they kept coolly and steadily sucking our blood, after the whole of us, both men and beasts, were nearly suffocated by the smoke that had been raised in order to drive them away. We could neither eat, nor write, nor read, our hands being constantly employed in repelling or slaughtering our small but powerful enemies. The Canadians vented their curses on the old maid, who had the credit of having brought this scourge upon earth, by praying for something to fill up the hopeless leisure of her single blessedness; and, if the tiny tormentors would but confine themselves to nunneries and monasteries, the world might see something more like the fitness of things in the matter.

Wherever the soil was composed of clay, we had noticed large holes at the roots of trees, which had literally been eaten out by the wild sheep. These animals use argillaceous earth as a medicine, just as the dog nibbles grass and the fowl swallows gravel; and probably their instinct teaches them that, in the situations in question, the vegetable fibres, something in the nature of yest, render the stuff both softer and lighter.

About nine in the morning, Peechee brought Berland to us, who had been prevented, as he said, by illness, but, as we suspected, by laziness, from going forward to the Bow River. Of our new guide's horses, many, having never carried either rider or pack, were comparatively useless; and we were, therefore, obliged to complete our muster with a few of the best and hardiest of our old band. We left three men to take back the remainder to Edmonton; and by them we forwarded letters to the east side of the mountains.

It was eleven o'clock before we evacuated this fearful nest of musquitoes. As we advanced, the mountains gradually became softer, while their summits were no longer clad with snow. The scenery, from having been sublime, was now merely picturesque. Our path lay along a prairie of about two miles in width, skirted on the right by sloping hills, and on the left by the mountains, presenting at their bases an apparently artificial arrangement of terraces and shrubberies. In consequence of the recent drought, every horse raised such a cloud of dust as almost to conceal itself from view; and as, through the same cause, the country was on fire, the atmosphere was filled with smoke, which gave the sun the same appearance of a red wafer which he so often assumes in the murky skies of London.

In the afternoon we saw a lodge of Flat-bow Indians, our first natives on the west side of the continent. Compared with the Crees, their skins were darker, their features less pleasing, and their figures less erect. The head of the house wore a robe thrown over his shoulders; the mother sported a chemise of leather, rather short and dirty; the younger children had no other dress than what nature had given them; and two grown lads, whose bodies were mapped with shreds and patches, had decorated themselves with caps of green baize and plumes of feathers. We encamped at the commencement of the second Kootonais Lake, obtaining for supper a few small trout of excellent flavour, absurdly enough called by the Canadians *poisson conny*.

About six in the morning, the two men returned with the missing packhorse. Near our encampment we observed that the stones in the bed of a little stream were covered with a yellow crust. Before starting for the day, Berland conducted us to three hot springs, about three miles distant, which doubtless caused the phenomenon in question. The waters tasted slightly of alum, and appeared to contain a little magnesia; and, though we had neglected to take our thermometer with us, yet, on returning to the camp, we estimated the three temperatures respectively at about ninety, a hundred, and a hundred and twenty degrees. Two winters back, Berland, while suffering from a severe illness, made a bathing-place of these springs; and he either actually was, or believed that he was, benefitted by them.

Our route lay at first along the face of a steep hill, which rose abruptly from the shores of the lake; and the footing was so bad, that two of the wild horses, which had been loaded with packs by way of experiment, slid or rolled down the rugged surface, thereby lacerating themselves dreadfully. After getting beyond the end of the lake, we crossed over a lofty mountain to the well-wooded banks of the river. The forest, which was still burning, had been on fire for some weeks, and many a magnificent tree lay smouldering in our path. We encamped in a thick and gloomy wood, on an uncomfortable bottom of decaying vegetables and rank weeds. To-day we had left an Indian, with horses, provisions, &c., for the use of our two men, who had gone back a second time to Bow River; and on the occasion of sending our tired cattle to Edmonton, we had provided in the same way for the safety and comfort of our courageous emissaries.

On decamping, we marched three hours through burning forests, in which our track was blocked up by fallen piles of still smoking timber. After crossing a small river, we entered a prairie lying along the Kootonais, which bore a considerable resemblance to a fine park. Here and there were thick clumps, which yielded an inviting shade; in other places, the trees, standing apart, formed themselves into grand avenues; and the open sward was varied with gentle slopes and mounds. We here encamped for breakfast, a temperature of 85° in the shade imparting an exquisite zest to the cold and clear water of the Kootonais; and the stream afforded us a highly agreeable addition to our meal, in the shape of some fine trout.

However dexterous our people were in collecting our horses from the pasture for each of our two daily starts, they were rather reckless and cruel in their treatment of the poor animals. We had an example of this to-day, when one of our best horses had its skull wantonly fractured by a blow. Continuing our march along the prairie, we reached, towards sunset, a camp of six or eight lodges of Kootonais Indians. The whole premises appeared to be in a state of great consternation, till we were ascertained to be only whites; and then all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, rushed forth, to the number of sixty or seventy, to shake hands with us. They were a miserable set of beings, small, decrepit, and dirty. Though of the men there were two that might be called handsome, yet of the women there were none; and, in fact, the more venerable members of the fair sex, particularly when they shut their eyes and scratched their heads, hardly bore the semblance of human beings. The camp was under the command of an old chief, who, in virtue of a long pigtail, had formerly got the name of Grande Queue. Many years ago, when selecting some boys to be sent from the Columbia to Red River for their education, I had taken a son of this chief as one of them, naming him Kootonais Pelly, after his own tribe, and the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. The youngster, a fine, clever, docile lad, died—a blow from which the father never recovered; and though the mention of the deceased would have been utterly repugnant to savage etiquette, yet I was pretty sure that the Grande Queue, as well as myself, was thinking rather of the poor boy than of any thing else.

Being in great want of provisions, we offered a liberal reward to such as would follow us to our next encampment with either meat or fish; and though we travelled ten or twelve miles farther, till we reached Mac Donald's River, near its confluence with the Kootonais, yet almost all our friends, young and old, male and female, were there as soon as ourselves, bringing with them some raspberries and a considerable quantity of dried moose. Hungry as we were, this meat was so dry and tough as to be scarcely eatable. These people remained with us the whole night, squatting themselves in a double ring, the men in the inner circle, and the women and children in the outer one; and in this position they were contented to smoke and sleep. While we were drinking our wine, they looked very wistfully at the flagon; and, to humour their silent solicitations, we gave a glass to two or three of the leaders, who drank it, with all becoming gravity, as "Great Chief's Rum," though they were evidently disappointed by the want of pungency in the draught. They were all very dirty, dressed in skins; but, squalid and poor as they were, they possessed a band of about two hundred fine horses. The hair of the oldest among them was as long, and dark, and luxuriant as that of the young people—a peculiarity observable among Indians in general, arising probably from their knowing neither care nor thought, or perhaps from their always going bareheaded.

After passing slowly through some woods in the morning, we crossed a hill of considerable height; and on reaching the valley below, where we intended to breakfast, we were surprised to find it preoccupied by a party of whites and their horses. Our new friends proved to be a guide and two men, whom Mr. McDonald, of Fort Colvile, immediately on hearing of Berland's illness, had sent to take his place. They, of course, brought no horses, expecting to have to take charge of the sick man's band. This was unfortunate, for at this particular time we had far greater need of cattle than of guides. The three men, however, did bring us letters from the Columbia, which gave satisfactory intelligence of both friends and business in that quarter.

In the afternoon, we skirted along the shore of the Grand Quête Lake of about twenty miles in length and four in width. From the borders of this sheet of water there rose abruptly on all sides lofty mountains of black rock, covered from base to summit with cheerless forests of pine, while the fathomless depths of the mirror that reflected them might have been taken for a lake of ink, in which the very fishes might have been expected to perish. Through the woods on the eastern side lay our path,—if path it could be called, where fragments of ironstone, with edges like scythes, were cutting the feet of our poor horses at every step.

On encamping for the night at the southern end of the lake, one of the party was found to be missing, a circumstance which—considering the perils that we had encountered even with the help of daylight—excited a good deal of alarm. Signals were fired, and people were sent to search for him. At length, about eleven o'clock, the night being as dark as pitch, we were planning a closer and more extensive exploration of the scene of our afternoon's march, when, to our infinite relief, our missing companion was brought to the camp safe and sound. Having lingered behind the party, he had lost his way, which he succeeded in finding again only by the last glimmer of the twilight; and had not his good fortune thus come to his aid, his night's lodging would have been on the cold ground, with no other covering than what he had been wearing during the heat of the day. This little event reminded us more forcibly than ever of the long absence of our two men who had gone back to Bow River; and we could only hope and trust for the best. Nor was this adventure the sole misfortune of the day, for one of our horses had strayed with a valuable box of papers, and had only been again caught, after an anxious hunt of several hours.

Next morning, our new guide, a half-breed of the name of Pion, was installed in office, while Berland was sent ahead as far as the Kootonais River Traverse with a letter, which he was thence to despatch to Fort Colvile by some of the neighbouring Indians. Our path led us along the Grand Quête River, a stream which, in depth and blackness, appeared to retain the characteristics of its reservoir. The trees and underwood, however, beset us so closely that we could catch only occasional glimpses of anything beyond them. We were now getting down into a region of varied vegetation. In addition to the pine, of which one of our party counted no fewer than sixteen sorts, there were the poplar, the birch, the cedar, &c.; and the underwood, which gave us a vast deal of trouble, consisted of willow, alder, thorn, rose, and poire. Of wild fruits we found a large choice, raspberry, service-berry, gooseberry, currant, bear-plantberry, grain de chapeau, grain d'original, atchekapesequa, hips and haws, &c., with two almost unknown berries—a red one, that was deemed poisonous, and a white one, that was said to be eaten by the natives. The blue berry, usually growing here in great abundance, had this season entirely failed.

The banks of the river showed good signs of beaver, that animal having been carefully protected against destructive waste by the comparatively thrifty and provident Kootonais; and there were also many fresh tracts of deer and bighorn, which, as they crossed our line of march in every direction and at every angle, were sometimes apt to be confounded with our own road—our nags, in such cases, being generally better pilots than ourselves. Some of our party, having got bewildered to-day among the numerous paths, determined to follow a couple of pack-horses that were trotting along before them, when both the animals, probably thinking rather of allaying their thirst than of prosecuting their journey, suddenly dropped into the current through its screen of brushwood. The foremost of those who were following these faithless guides had barely time to rein up his steed within a single step of the shelving bank, while the apparently lost horses were seen swimming away as if nothing had happened. With considerable difficulty the animals were extricated from the deep water, though, as ill luck would have it, one of them had soaked part of our clothing, and the other our lighter provisions, such as biscuit, tea, sugar, salt, and the like. The accident might have been more serious, for, if the two nags had not been followed in their aberrations, they would have made a total loss of it.

Next morning, we met a few miserable Kootonais with some horses, which they appeared to turn to profitable account. Each of the animals might well be styled a family horse, being led by the father, and loaded with the mother and younger children, along with pots, kettles, mats, &c. On asking one of them, who was more destitute than the rest, how he came to be so wretchedly poor, we were told by him, with a boastfulness of tone and manner, that he had lost his all by gambling,—the grand amusement of Indians in general, but more particularly of those on the west side of the mountains. Where we halted for breakfast, we were gradually joined by thirty or forty more of these miserable savages, all wending their way after their friends to the lake. These unfortunate creatures were very grateful for some victuals and a little tobacco, which we bestowed on them out of our own rather meagre stores. They declared that they were starving, while, even if their tongues had been silent, their haggard faces and emaciated bodies would have told the same melancholy tale.

Before leaving these Indians, we had a specimen of their ingenuity at a bargain. From a female chief we had bought a fine mare with her colt of two years of age, giving in exchange one of our own horses, a blanket, twenty rounds of ammunition, and a fathom of tobacco. When we were all ready, however, for starting on our afternoon's march, the lady, who had doubtless come to the conclusion that she had sold her favourite too cheap, tried to jockey us into paying for the foal which the mare was to produce next spring. This demand, though most seriously meant, we treated as an excellent jest, setting out forthwith, in order to avoid any farther extension of so fertile a principle of extortion.

In the afternoon, while traversing some thick forests, we met about fifty or sixty of the same tribe, all starving like those that had gone before them, while the red paint with which their faces were smeared did not at all tend to improve their appearance. With but two or three exceptions, the women were diminutive in size, and absolutely ugly. One female, who was tolerably comely, was riding a beautiful horse, cross-legged, of course, with a pet dog in her arms, and when we shook hands with herself, we drew forth her blandest smiles by patting her little favourite also.

After several hours of execrable travelling, we obtained, from the top of a high hill, a very extraordinary view. At our feet lay a valley of about thirty miles in length, and six in width, bounded on the western side by lofty mountains, and on the eastern by a lower range of the same kind, while the verdant bottom, unbroken by a single mound or hillock, was threaded by a meandering stream, and studded on either side with lakes, diminishing in the distance to mere specks or stars. As a recent fire had cleared the eminence on which we stood, excepting that, towards the foot, the more abundant moisture had preserved a rich belt of timber from the flames, there was not a single tree or shrub to obstruct our prospect. To heighten the interest of the scene, the sun's rays gilded one part of the valley, while the rain was falling in another; and, as the clouds flitted athwart the sky, the rapid succession of light and shade gave an endless variety to the landscape. Before halting for the night, we passed through ground where the fire was still raging in the woods; and many a noble tree lay prostrate, while other blackened trunks were ready to fall under the first gale that might visit them.

Rain alone was wanting to complete the misery of forcing our way through thick forests and prickly underwood, over almost impassable tracks; and a heavy storm during the night supplied this deficiency, for, in our morning's march, every twig and every leaf gave forth its little shower on the slightest touch. About noon we reached the Kootonais River Traverse, whence Berland had despatched my letter to Fort Colvile by two of the natives the night before. We crossed the stream, which was here very deep and wide, in canoes of a peculiar construction. They are made of a slight framework, covered with sheets, and sometimes even with a single sheet, of the bark of the pine, the bottom being broader and longer than the top. They will carry two or three people, being both steered and propelled by one man in the stern, who, with a single paddle, gives a stroke first on one side and then on the other. These little vessels, however, are so crank, that the least movement will upset them; and, while crossing the river, we were afraid to budge an inch, lest we should have capsized our frail bark.

In the immediate neighbourhood was a standing camp of the Kootonais, beautifully situated within a furlong of the river. An amphitheatre of mountains, with a small lake in the centre, was skirted by a rich sward of about half a mile in depth, on which were clumps of as noble elms as any part of the world could produce. Beneath the shade of these magnificent trees the white tents were pitched, while large bands of horses were quietly grazing on the open glades. The spot was so soft and lovely that a traveller fresh from the rugged sublimities of the mountains might almost be tempted here to spend the remainder of his days amid the surrounding beauties of nature. We had the good fortune, however, to see this little paradise in its best state, for the lake was said to rise in the spring to the height of twenty feet—to form, in fact, one sheet of water out of all the lower grounds.

The lake in question was the rendezvous, where Berland, on behalf of the company, used to collect the hunts of the Kootonais; and, as he was now daily expecting his goods, we left him here to commence his trading. The people of this neighbourhood were superior in appearance to such of their tribe as we had hitherto met, while they were extremely ready to assist us in carrying our baggage, catching our cattle, &c. They numbered about a hundred and fifty souls in all, possessing, notwithstanding their apparent poverty, upwards of five hundred fine horses, besides a large stud concealed in the mountains from the inroads of the Blackfeet; and these marauders, when they openly show themselves, are generally beaten off by the Kootonais, who, when they must fight, are bold and unyielding.

After exchanging three of our horses, we resumed our journey; and, having passed the lake, we ascended a very steep mountain, near the top of which we met a

Kootonais on his way to the camp with the meat of an antelope, which he had killed. He proved to be one of three, whom Berland, immediately on arriving among them with my letter, had despatched to procure some fresh provisions for us. Though the supply was thus destined for us, yet we hesitated about depriving the poor man of an article which he most probably required for himself; and, when we asked him how much he could spare, his only answer was to repeat several times, "My children are starving, but take as much as you please." We paid the man liberally for one half of his booty, leaving the other half to his family; and, as a proof of the scarcity of game at this season, the two other hunters either failed, or pretended to have failed, to obtain any thing. This venison was a seasonable relief, for, during several days, we had been reduced to a skinny description of dried meat, which was little better than parchment.

Along our route, and especially in the vicinity of native camps, we found many large trees cut down, which from their enormous size must have cost great labour; and as they had not obstructed the track, we were very much at a loss to account for the expenditure of so much toil. We afterwards learned, however, from the Indians, that their object was to collect from the branches a moss having the appearance of horse-hair, which they used as food. By being boiled for three days and nights, this moss is reduced to a white and tasteless pulp; and in this state it is eaten with the kammas, a root somewhat resembling an onion. To these unsavoury viands are occasionally added insipid, or rather nauseous, cakes of hips and haws. Such was the principal, if not the only, food of these Indians at the present time.

Just as we were ready to start in the morning, La Graisse and José Tyantas made their appearance to our great satisfaction, having been absent from us no less than ten days in the second fruitless search for Berland. So far from suffering, as we dreaded on their behalf, from hunger, they had never missed a single meal, having killed partridges, porcupines, a red deer, &c., and having moreover stumbled on Peechee's family, who, out of their own abundant stock, supplied them with provisions.

We had not proceeded far on our morning's march, when we met a man of the name of Charlo, conveying from Fort Colvile the goods that Berland was expecting at the grand camp of the Kootonais, in company with Madame Charlo and a child. The lady, a smart, buxom woman of the Pend' d'Oreille tribe, sat cross-legged on a fine horse, while the youngster, about four years old, was tied on his saddle on a steed of his own, managing his reins and whip in gallant style. Charlo had with him a bag of biscuit and another of flour for our use; and he also informed us that he had left a boat at the Kullespelm Lake to carry us down the Pend' d'Oreille River to a place where we should find a band of fresh horses waiting us. This intelligence was highly agreeable in both its branches. The exchange of the saddle for the boat would be a great relief to ourselves; and, as to our present animals, to say nothing of mere exhaustion, their backs were galled and their legs were lacerated.

During our afternoon's march, one of the loaded horses was observed suddenly to disappear. On running to the spot, one found a hole of about ten feet deep, apparently too small to admit the body of a horse, and could just distinguish the poor animal lying on its load with its legs uppermost. This pitfall, perhaps the bed of an old brook, had apparently been concealed from view by the spreading roots of trees, which had gradually got covered with moss. After widening the mouth of the cavity and cutting the straps which attached the load, we drew the animal out of the pit first by cords tied to its legs. If a rider had occupied the place of the pack, he must have been crushed to death on the spot.

About six in the evening we reached the Kullespelm Lake, a beautiful sheet of water, embosomed in mountains, to which the burning woods, more particularly at night, gave the appearance of volcanoes. Our boat proved to be a flat-bottomed bateau, capable of carrying all our baggage and ourselves, with a crew of five men. The rest of our party went forward by land to the rendezvous, where we were to meet our fresh horses.

Starting about five in the morning, we crossed the lake in two hours; and, thence running down the Pend' d'Oreille River, we reached our rendezvous about eight in the evening. The banks were well covered with excellent timber, while behind there rose on either side a line of lofty hills. The soil appeared to be rich; and the stream was deep and navigable, excepting that, at one cascade, a portage was necessary. At our landing-place we found an encampment of two or three hundred Pend' d'Oreilles, who were preparing to go to hunt the buffalo. We were soon visited by about a dozen chiefs, who remained with us two or three hours. They were handsomer in their appearance and more stately in their manners than any savages that we had yet seen on this side of the mountains; and their graceful bow, as they shook hands, was rivalled only by their bland smile. In fact, their behaviour was elegant and refined. Amongst our visitors was one individual, who had been intrusted with Charlo's horses; and he promised to bring them to us next morning.

Near our encampment there was a native cemetery, the neat little tombs being surrounded by pickets. We were surprised, however, to see a wooden cross placed at the head of each grave, the result of a recent visit of some Catholic priests; but, as a practical illustration of the value of such conversions, we found on a neighbouring tree a number of offerings to one of the departed spirits, and a basket of provisions for its voyage to the next world. If the Indians had any definite idea at all of the cross, they put it merely on the same footing as their other medicines or charms.

Next day, while we were waiting the arrival of such of our people as were coming by land from the Kullespelm Lake, we employed our leisure in paying a visit to the native camp, crossing, for this purpose, a small stream in canoes closely resembling those that we had seen on the Kootonais River. On our arrival, all the inmates of about twenty-five lodges,—at least, all such as could move,—rushed to shake hands with us. The tents were of every conceivable shape, some oblong, others round, and so on, while the clumsy framework was covered with mats, or bark, or boughs, or skins, or any thing else that had come in the way. The interior, to say nothing of swarms of vermin, contained a most heterogeneous collection of mats, skins, guns, pots, pans, baskets, kammas, berries, children, dogs, ashes, filth, and rubbish; and round the sides were arranged the beds of mats, generally raised a little from the ground. Though the men were doing little or nothing, yet the women were all busily employed in preparing kammas and berries, including hips and haws, into cakes against the winter.

The kammas, which deserves a more particular description, is very like the onion, excepting that it has little or no taste. It grows on swampy ground; and, when the plant, which bears a blue flower, has produced its seed, the root is dug up by the women by means of a stick about two feet long with a handle across the head of it, and thrown into baskets slung on their backs. As the article is very abundant, each of the poor creatures generally collects about a peck a day. When taken home, the kammas is placed over a gentle fire in the open air, fermenting, after about two days and nights, into a black substance, which has something of the flavour of liquorice. After being pounded in a trough, this stuff is formed into cakes, which, when thoroughly baked, are stowed away in baskets for the winter. After all this preparation, the kammas is but a poor and nauseous food. These people, however, were likely soon to have something better as a result of their contact with civilization. In one of their lodges, we were surprised to find several baskets of potatoes; and, in answer to our inquiries on the subject, we were shown two patches of ground where they had been produced, the seed and implements having been supplied from Fort Colvile.

We next crossed the river, to a camp of about the same size on the other side, where the men were lounging and the women labouring pretty much in the same way as those that we had just left. In one tent a sight presented itself, which was equally novel and unnatural. Surrounded by a crowd of spectators, a party of fellows were playing at cards obtained in the Snake Country from some American trappers; and a more melancholy exemplification of the influence of civilization on barbarism could hardly be imagined than the apparently scientific eagerness with which these naked and hungry savages thumbed and turned the black and greasy pasteboard. Though the men who sold the cards might have taught the use of them, yet I could not help tracing the wretched exhibition to a more remote source,—a source with which I was myself, in some measure, connected. In this same hell of the wilderness, I found Spokan Garry, one of the lads already mentioned as having been sent to Red River for their education; and there was little reason to doubt that, with his superior knowledge, he was the master spirit, if not the prime mover, of the scene. On his return to his countrymen, he had, for a time, endeavoured to teach them to read and write; but he had gradually abandoned the attempt, assigning as his reason or his pretext that the others "jawed him so much about it." He forthwith relapsed into his original barbarism, taking to himself as many wives as he could get; and then, becoming a gambler, he lost both all that he had of his own and all that he could beg or borrow from others. He was evidently ashamed of his proceedings, for he would not come out of the tent to shake hands even with an old friend.

Some of the Indians were almost destitute of clothing; some had blankets, and others had shirts. The prevailing dress, however, was the native costume, which, when clean, might be deemed classical. It consists of a tunic reaching to the knees, leggings of dressed skin and moccasins, the whole being fringed and garnished according to the taste or means of the wearer; and the head-gear is nothing more than the indigenous crop of black locks, streaming over their shoulders. The apparel of both sexes is pretty much the same, excepting that the tunics of the ladies are longer and gayer than those of the gentlemen.

Several individuals of both sexes were comely enough; and in particular, one girl of fourteen or fifteen, the newly-married wife of a young chief, might have passed for a beauty even in the civilized world. On the whole, the Pend' d'Oreilles possessed more regular features and better figures than any savages that we had hitherto seen, excepting the tribes of the plains. But how they had become so superior I could not imagine, for the naked urchins of both sexes, that were swarming in the camp like so many fleas, afforded very little promise of passable men and women, tottering, as they were, on their spindle shanks under the weight of enormous heads and bellies.

During our visit, the Indians showed us every attention. They explained all that we saw; but, as our knowledge of their language was limited to *kammas* and *patac*, we profited very little by their communicativeness. Thinking that we might like a ride, they caught horses for us; and at the same time they made a still greater sacrifice in offering us a share of their scanty stock of food. But the most agreeable evidence of their politeness was the fact, that many of them washed themselves, but more especially their hands, before they came to salute us. After rewarding them for their civility with presents of tobacco, ammunition, provisions, &c., we parted with mutual expressions of friendship.

The Pend' d'Oreilles are generally called the Flatheads, the two clans, in fact, being united. They do not muster in all more than a hundred and fifty families. Like their neighbours, the Kootonais, they are noted for the bravery with which they defend themselves and also for their attachment to the whites. Still, the two races are entirely distinct, their languages being fundamentally different. The variety of tongues on the west side of the mountains is almost infinite, so that scarcely any two tribes understand each other perfectly. They have all, however, the common character of being very guttural; and, in fact, the sentences often appear to be mere jumbles of grunts and croaks such as no alphabet could express in writing.

Early in the afternoon our people arrived from the Kullespelm Lake, bringing us such a report of the roads as made us doubly thankful for the accommodation of the boat. Leaving our old band of horses under the charge of the Indians, we immediately started with thirty-two fresh steeds. After crossing a prairie of two or three miles in length, we spent two hours in ascending a steep mountain, from whose summit we gained an extensive view of ranges of rocky hills; and, while the shadows of evening had already fallen on the valley at our feet, the rays of the setting sun were still tinging the highest peaks with a golden hue.

We encamped at the foot of the mountain with wolfish appetites, for, though we had a good deal of exercise during the day, yet we had eaten nothing since seven in the morning; but what was our disappointment to find that six horses,—one of them, as a matter of course, being the commissariat steed,—were missing! Having exhausted our patience, we went supperless to bed about midnight; but hardly had we turned in, when a distant shout made us turn out again in better spirits. The horses quickly arrived; and, before an hour had elapsed, we had despatched a very tolerable allowance of venison-steaks and buffalo-tongues.

This had been a very hot day, the thermometer standing at 85° in the shade. The nights, however, were chilly, while in exposed situations there was even a little frost. The power of the sun was very strikingly evinced by the gradual rise of the temperature during this forenoon. At eight the mercury was still down at 45°; by ten it had mounted to 67°; and in two hours more it stood, as already mentioned, at 18° higher. In consequence of these rapid changes, we felt the heat so much more oppressive, that we were obliged to throw off nearly all our clothing.

Next morning, as Fort Colvile was only fifty miles distant from our encampment, we resolved, in reliance on fresh horses and tolerable roads, to wind up with a gallop. We accordingly raced along, raising from the parched prairie such a cloud of dust as concealed every thing from our view. In about five hours we reached a small stream, on the banks of which four or five hundred of the Company's horses were grazing. Not to lose so fine an opportunity of changing our sweating steeds, we allowed our cavalcade to proceed, while each of us caught the animal that pleased him best; and then, dashing off at full speed, we quickly overtook our party at a distance of six miles. Being again united, we here halted for breakfast. Meanwhile, Mr. M^{c}Donald, who had received my letter at Fort Colvile on the preceding evening, had met our people, before we came up with them, but, by mistaking the road, had missed us. Sending a messenger after him, we had him with us in half an hour, and along with him such materials for a feast as we had not seen since leaving Red River. Just fancy, at the base of the Rocky Mountains, a roasted turkey, a sucking pig, new bread, fresh butter, eggs, ale, &c.; and then contrast all these dainties with short allowance of pemmican and water. No wonder that some of our party ate more than was good for them.

While breakfast was preparing, we went, according to our custom, to bathe; but, after our hard and dusty ride, we were so much more impatient than usual, that Mr. Rowand, after splashing about for some time and descanting on the pleasures of swimming, struck against his watch. Handing ashore the luckless chronometer, he cast off his inexpressibles on the bank, but, as misfortunes never come alone, he found, on attempting to dress, that the soaked garment had drifted away of its own accord to complete its bathe. In order to supply Mr. Rowand's indispensable wants, a quarter of an hour elapsed in searching for a superfluous pair of trousers,—the enthusiastic swimmer enjoying all this additional time in the water.

As soon as we had finished our morning's meal, we set out for the fort, having an hour's good ride before us. On reaching the summit of a hill, we obtained a fine view of the pretty little valley in which Colvile is situated. In a prairie of three or four miles in length, with the Columbia River at one end, and a small lake in the centre, we descried the now novel scene of a large farm, barns, stables, &c., fields of wheat under the hand of the reaper, maize, potatoes, &c. &c., and herds of cattle grazing at will beyond the fences. By the time that we reached the establishment, we found about eighty men, whites and savages, all ready, in their Sunday's best, to receive us at the gate.

Here, then, terminated a long and laborious journey of nearly two thousand miles on horseback, across plains, mountains, rivers, and forests. For six weeks and five days, we had been constantly riding, or at least as constantly as the strength of our horses would allow, from early dawn to sunset; and we had on an average been in the saddle about eleven hours and a half a day. From Red River to Edmonton, one day's work with another amounted to about fifty miles; but, from Edmonton to Colvile, we more generally than otherwise fell short of forty. We had great cause to be thankful that no serious accident had occurred to man or beast, more particularly as we had traversed every kind of ground, rocks, and swamps, rugged mountains, and rapid rivers, tangled bush, and burning forests. Our clothes were the only sufferers; and, in fact, we made our appearance among the men, who waited at the gate to do us honour, with tattered garments and crownless hats, such as many of them would not have deigned to pick up at their feet. The weather had been such as we could hardly have anticipated, an almost unbroken spell of cloudless skies. During seven weeks, we had not had one entire day's rain; and we had been blessed with genial days, light winds, and cool nights.

Colvile is a wooden fort of large size, enclosed with pickets and bastions. The houses are of cedar, neatly built and well furnished; and the whole place bears a cleaner and more comfortable aspect than any establishment between itself and Red River. It stands about a mile from the nearest point of the Columbia, and about two miles from the Chaudière Falls, where salmon are so abundant, that as many as a thousand, some of them weighing upwards of forty pounds, have been caught in one day with a single basket. Between the salmon of this river and the fish of the same name in England, there appears to be a slight difference.

The flesh of the former is whiter, while its head is more bulky and less pointed; but its flavour, in the proper season, is delicious.

The soil around Colvile is sandy; and the climate is so hot and dry, that there a fine season means a wet one,—hardly any rain falling, with the exception of occasional showers, in spring and autumn. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the farm is remarkably productive. Cattle thrive well, while the crops are abundant. The wheat, which weighs from sixty-three to sixty-five pounds a bushel, yields twenty or thirty returns; maize also flourishes, but does not ripen till the month of September; potatoes, pease, oats, barley, turnips, melons, cucumbers, &c., are plentiful. A grist mill, which is driven by water, is attached to the establishment; and the bread, that we ate, was decidedly the best that we had seen in the whole country.

Colvile stands in latitude 48° 37′ North, the winter being many degrees milder than that of the same parallel on the East side of the mountains. Amongst the wild flowers in the neighbourhood of the fort we noticed the helianthus, the lupine, the monkshood, and the fuschia in great abundance. In the afternoon, we took a ride round the farm, and were much gratified by an inspection of the buildings, crops, and cattle. The Indians had now commenced agricultural operations on a small scale; but, having made a beginning, they might be expected to extend their labours in proportion to the benefit which they might reap from their new pursuit.

The tribe in the vicinity is known as the Chaudière, whose territory reaches as far up as the Columbia Lakes.

The fort has dealings also with the Kootonais, the Spokans, the Pend' d'Oreilles, &c., who either visit the establishment or trade, as in the case of Berland, at some distant rendezvous. Next morning, being the 19th of August, many of the Chaudières came to visit me. Among them was an aged chief, with a name far too guttural to be written, who, in the year 1824, had made me a formal cession of the neighbouring soil. On that occasion, he had given the Company the land and the woods, because the whites would make a better use of them than himself; but he had reserved the Chaudière Falls as necessary to his own people, remarking that the strangers, being able to get food out of stones and sand, could manage to live very well without fish. During his visit, he recited the terms of the contract with perfect accuracy; and, at the close of half an hour, the old fellow, whose whole wardrobe was the hide of a buffalo, was sent away as happy as a king, with a capote, a shirt, a knife, and a small stock of ammunition and tobacco. Finding that speeches were so well paid, the chief's heir apparent and several others came to have their talk out, taking care, of course, to continue the palaver till the equivalents were forthcoming.

At Colvile we left our guide, Peechee, whom I made the happiest of men, by presenting him with a telescope, to which he took a mighty fancy. The old fellow afterwards came to Vancouver, where, unaccustomed as he was to any scene of such various occupations, he used to complain bitterly that the unusual smells would kill him. Poor Peechee, however, lived to die in a very different way. Having lost a horse at gambling, and refused to give it up, he was shot through the head for his pains by the winner. How truly may every man, in the savage state, be said to hold his life in his hand! Peechee's own previous experience suggests another instance of this. A medicine-man, having dunned Peechee in vain for a present of a fine horse, told him that thenceforward all his stud would have large feet; and when Peechee, suspecting foul play, found the knave hammering away at the hoofs of his horses with a stone, he very quietly sent a bullet through his head.

As the canoe, in which we were to descend the river, was awaiting us below the Chaudière Falls, we set out on horseback, on the morning of the 20th, for the place of embarkation. These falls might more properly be called a rapid, inasmuch as the highest of the three leaps appeared to be barely ten feet, while the whole length of the broken water was about a furlong. The name, which is to be found over the whole country, is derived not from any supposed resemblance to the boiling of a kettle, but from the shape into which the perpetual eddy of the torrent moulds the stones. In the Chaudière Falls on the Ottawa, for instance, there is a countless number of these water-worn cauldrons.

Our canoe was worked by six oars, besides bowsman and steersman, being of the same construction as that in which we had descended the Pend' d'Oreille River. As the water was high, and the current strong, we glided quickly down the stream. We were soon obliged to lighten our craft, to enabl[illegible]er to run a rapid; and thence we proceeded without [illegible] interruption, save that of dining ashore near the Spokan River, till half-past nine, having accomplished more than a hundred miles in fifteen hours.

The banks of the Columbia, as far back as the eye could reach, were dull and monotonous, consisting of a succession of sandy flats, with very scanty herbage, and still less wood, which were varied, in a few places, by rocky hills. The drought had, as usual, parched the whole country, which appeared to be pretty generally on fire wherever there was anything to burn; and the atmosphere was so charged with smoke, that we were often unable to distinguish objects even at a short distance. The average breadth of the river was about three quarters of a mile, though here and there was a narrow channel between precipitous rocks, down which, in spite of the proportional increase of the current, our canoe flew in perfect safety.

Along the banks we had seen a few natives encamped for the purposes of fishing, while large bands of horses, which, notwithstanding the dryness of the pasture, were in very excellent condition, were feeding near them. From one of these camps four lads came off to us in a small canoe; and, when we held out to them a present of tobacco, they were so eager to seize it, that they drove their tiny vessel against our craft, and pitched their bowsman headlong into the stream. But the youth, who seemed to be as much at home in the water as on the land, was soon again in his place, at the hazard, however, of nearly swamping his canoe; and, as the day was sultry, with the mercury at 86° in the shade, we rather envied the youngster his cooling dip, more particularly as he was quite prepared for it, being unencumbered with a single scrap of clothing. Had we passed two or three weeks sooner, we should have seen a far greater number of people. During three months of the summer, the Indians congregate from all parts to the shores of the river to fish for salmon; but, as the season was now closing, most of them had retired into the interior, to prosecute their other grand business of gathering berries.

Next day, we accomplished upwards of a hundred and twenty miles without any interruption whatever. Among our rapids, down which we glided very pleasantly, the most important was Les Petites Dalles. For about two miles, the river was penned up between rocky shores, with many stones in the stream; and so impetuous was the torrent, that it carried us down the whole distance in six or eight minutes. The scenery was pretty much the same as yesterday, alternately rock and sand, with little or no timber, and with the pasturage withered.

This morning, we passed the upper end of the Grande Coulée, a dry channel,—apparently the ancient bed of the river,—which again reaches the Columbia after a course of more than a hundred miles. This parallel cut is about three quarters of a mile in width, with high banks and a fertile bottom, being, as nearly as possible, a counterpart of the corresponding section of the actual stream. Either the level of the Grande Coulée must have been raised or its upper end must have been obstructed: of one or other of the two suppositions there is but little room for reasonable doubt.

About eleven in the forenoon, we called at the Company's post of Okanagan, situated at the mouth of the stream of the same name, and maintained merely as an entrepôt for the district of Thompson's River. We found the fort garrisoned by half a dozen women and children, the person in charge being absent at the farm, which, on account of the sterility of the immediate neighbourhood, proved to be a few miles distant. We remained only long enough to rifle some pans of milk.

At Okanagan we were concerned to learn, that the Indians of the interior, as far back as New Caledonia, principally the Schoushwaps, were in a state of considerable excitement. The cause was as follows. In the month of February last, a chief of the name of Kootlepat visited Mr. Black, the gentleman in charge of Thompson's River, at his post of Kamloops, when a trivial dispute took place between them. Immediately on returning to his camp, at a place called the Pavilion, Kootlepat sickened and died, enjoining his people with his last breath to keep on good terms with the whites. Whether or not the chief's dying injunction was interpreted into an insinuation that he had perished in consequence of having quarrelled with his white brother, the Indians came to the conclusion that Kootlepat's death had been caused by Mr. Black's magic or medicine. In pursuance of this idea, the widow of the deceased worked upon the feelings of her nephew, till he undertook to revenge her husband's untimely fate. The avenger of blood forthwith set out for Kamloops; and, when he arrived, both cold and hungry, he was, by the orders of his destined victim, placed before a good fire and supplied with food.

During the whole day, Mr. Black, who was a hard student, remained writing in his own apartment; but, having gone out towards evening, he was returning through the room where his guest was sitting, and had just reached the door of his chamber, when he fell down dead, with the contents of the savage's gun in his back. In the appalling confusion that ensued, the murderer was allowed to escape from the fort, betaking himself immediately to the mountains. He was chased from place to place like a wild beast, being obliged to abandon first his horses and lastly his wife and family; but it was not till after eight months of vigilant pursuit, that he was finally hunted down on the banks of Frazer's River by some of his own people. As a proof of his comparative estimate of civilization and barbarism, this miserable being, with the blood of Mr. Black on his conscience, earnestly begged to be delivered up to the whites; and, on being refused this last boon, he leaped into the stream, swimming away for his life, till he was despatched, just like a sea-otter, by arrow after arrow. It was in consequence of this event that the excitement, of which we heard at Okanagan, had gained a footing among the friends of Kootlepat and his nephew, who had now to place two deaths at the white man's door.

As we had more of the sun in the boat than on horseback, three baths a day were scarcely sufficient to make the heat endurable; the thermometer stood at 85° even in the shade, while in the water it showed only 65°. Cooking also was a more troublesome business than it had ever been before. The scarcity of bush was so great, that both yesterday and to-day we had to search along two or three miles for fuel; and, after all, we had to make our fires of drift-wood. So scarce, indeed, was timber here, that the pickets around graves, generally deemed sacred, appeared to have been pillaged, in order to be burned.

At our night's encampment we were visited by a chief from the Isles des Pierres, and about a dozen followers, who remained the greater part of the night smoking round our fire, without giving us any trouble.

Shortly after starting in the morning, we ran down the Isle des Pierres Rapids. For about two miles the river rushed between lofty rocks of basalt, while the channel was obstructed by rocky islets, against which the eddying waters foamed in their fury. The descent, of course, required all the skill and coolness of the bowsman and steersman; the vessel was tossed on the surging waters, with the surf and spray continually dashing over her bows; and all at once, as if by magic, we were gliding silently along, without even a ripple on the surface. Soon afterwards, we came to the Sault du Prêtre, where the river was wide and shallow. Some few years ago a boat struck on a rock in this rapid, five men being drowned, and most of the valuable cargo being destroyed. The accident must have arisen entirely from the fault of the bowsman, inasmuch as the fatal stone was at some distance from the proper channel.

For the first twenty or thirty miles of our day's work the banks of the river were bold and rocky, all the rest being sandy, flat, and most uninteresting, excepting that, for several miles, the southern shore was a sandy cliff, known as the White Banks, of two or three hundred feet perpendicular. We encamped a few miles above the mouth of the Snake River, experiencing much difficulty in obtaining firewood; and, indeed, with the exception of a dozen stunted cedars, we saw no vegetation to-day. Though this sandy district was believed to swarm with rattlesnakes, yet we had the good fortune to see but a single specimen. One of our men, while collecting drift-wood on the beach, had been warned off in time by the rattle; and then, giving notice of his discovery, he held the reptile by the throat with a stick till we examined it. It was from four to five feet in length, with a beautifully variegated skin; and nine joints in its rattle indicated its age to be nine years. These creatures are decreasing in number near the Company's posts, being eaten, according to general belief, by the pigs. This was decidedly our hottest period of twenty-four hours, the thermometer showing 89° in the shade at noon, and 83° near midnight.

We saw a few Indians, who, if we might judge from their unusual state of perfect nudity, felt the weather as severely as ourselves. Their canoes were merely hollowed trunks, of about thirty feet in length by two or three in width, and the same in depth, and just large enough to enable them to paddle on their hams. The wonder was, how they prevented these shells from capsizing, more especially in the whirling eddies of a rapid; and yet, while racing with us this morning in the Sault du Prêtre, they left us far behind. In the long run, however, savages stand no chance against whites, being inferior alike in steadiness, and perseverance, and strength.

A few miles of our next day's work brought us to Snake River, known also as the South Branch, Lewis and Clarke's, &c. Though, at the point of confluence, it was equal in size to the Columbia, yet the stream below did not appear to be larger than either of the united floods. About eight or ten miles farther down, the Wallawalla poured its tribute into the Columbia; and here we halted for breakfast at the Company's establishment.

A more dismal situation than that of this post can hardly be imagined. The fort is surrounded by a sandy desert, which produces nothing but wormwood, excepting that the horses and cattle find a little pasturage on the hills. As not a single tree grows within several miles in any direction, the buildings are constructed entirely of drift-wood, about which many a skirmish has taken place with the Indians, just as anxious, perhaps, to secure the treasure as ourselves. This district of country is subject to very high winds, which, sweeping over the sands, raise such a cloud of dust as renders it dangerous, or even impossible, to leave the house during the continuance of the gale. The climate is dry and hot, very little rain falling at any season.

Shortly before our arrival, Mr. Pambrum, who was in charge, had met a melancholy death, by being injured by the raised pummel of his Spanish saddle, leaving a wife and a large family of young children to bewail his untimely fate. This event, of course, threw a gloom over our visit.

We met here an American missionary, of the name of Munger, who had been two years on the Columbia along with his family. This gentleman was grievously disappointed with the country—a feeling common, in his opinion, to most of his fellow-citizens. But the ministers of the Gospel, moreover, had a grievance peculiar to themselves; for, instead of finding the savages eager to embrace Christianity, as they had been led to expect, they saw a superstitious, jealous, and bigoted people. They soon ascertained that they could gain converts only by buying them; and they were even reproached by the savages on the ground that, if they were really good men, they would procure guns and blankets for them from the Great Spirit merely by their prayers. In short, the Indians, discovering that the new religion did not render them independent of the traders any more than their old one, regarded the missionaries as nothing better than impostors. Under these discouraging circumstances, Mr. Munger was desirous of returning home. Accordingly, last spring, he accompanied one of the Company's parties to the Snake Country, in hopes of meeting a caravan which used to come from St. Louis with supplies for the trappers; but, as the caravan in question either did not arrive, or at all events did not return, he retraced his steps to Wallawalla.

Soon after our visit, the establishment was accidentally destroyed by fire during the night. The property, however, was nearly all saved, and that mainly through the assistance of the Cayuses and other natives, who, besides rescuing what they could from the flames, protected the goods from pillage, and Mr. and Mrs. McKinlay from insult. This conduct of the savages was equally creditable to both parties, indicating past liberality on the one side, not less clearly than present humanity on the other. With Indians, in fact, firmness and management can do every thing. As a negative proof of this, these same Cayuses, who had so zealously exerted themselves on behalf of the Company, had a short time previously assaulted Dr. Whitman, by pointing his own gun against his breast, merely because the worthy missionary's people had rudely turned one of their tribe out of the doctor's house. Now, this same kind of discipline is often enforced with perfect impunity by the Company's servants, who contrive either to carry their point without giving offence, or to soothe any irritation which may be excited. Wood, as already mentioned, being caught at Wallawalla only by fishing for it, Mr. M'Kinlay, with the aid of his aboriginal friends, was obliged to rebuild his establishment with adobes, or unbaked bricks.

At Wallawalla we exchanged our craft, which was very leaky, for another of the same size and build; and, as the Indians below were more likely to be troublesome than any that we had hitherto seen, Mr. M'Kinlay provided us with an interpreter. A short distance below the fort we passed between basaltic rocks; and one of them, a truncated pyramid of about a hundred and eighty feet in height, supported, on its square platform, two oblong blocks of stone, something like chimneys, of about twenty-five feet in height, and ten in width, known respectively as M'Kenzie's and Ross's Heads. Below these rocks our course lay through dreary plains of sand, which presented no other vegetation than wormwood and prickly pear, and possessed no other inhabitants than the rattlesnake and the prairie fowl. In the spring, however, the plains behind were said to be clothed with fine herbage, which, as if to aggravate the withering influence of summer, the Indians used to set on fire, in order to dry the seeds of the helianthus, as part of their provender against winter.

In consequence of a stiff breeze, which was blowing right up the river, we were obliged to encamp by three in the afternoon. Here our people shot a brace of prairie fowl, a bird peculiar to this country: it appeared to be a species of grouse, excepting that it had gayer plumage, and was nearly twice as large. During the day, we passed several encampments of Snake Indians, a poor, miserable, degraded race. Their huts were made of drift-wood, mats, &c.; and, whether through love of festivity, or from motives of superstition, drums, which were audible from a great distance, were beating in one of them.

Soon after midnight, the wind having abated, we resumed our journey, finding our way with ease by the light of the stars. The character of the banks of the river was now completely changed. The sandy plains had given place to bold cliffs of basaltic rocks, not merely along the narrow channels of the stream, but even round its broader expanses. Some of the bays, indeed, presented grand amphitheatres, whose columnar tiers of seats comparatively reduced the Roman Coliseum to a toy; and doubtless, in times not very remote, those who could enjoy the agonies of a dying gladiator might here have found congenial recreation, in the voluntary contests of bloodthirsty barbarians.

Being now in the country of the Cayuses, we saw a few individuals of the tribe. Their chief, who rejoiced in the name of Five Crows, was said to be the richest man in the country, possessing upwards of a thousand horse, a few cattle, many slaves, and various other sources of wealth. Having, in addition to all this, the recommendation of being young, tall, and handsome, he had lately raised his eyes to a beautiful and amiable girl, daughter of one of the Company's officers. After enduring the flames of love for some time in silence, he determined to make his proposals in proper form; and accordingly, having first dismissed his five wives, he presented himself and a band of retainers, master and men all as gay as butterflies, at the gates of the fort, where the father of his "ladye love" resided. To his dismay, and perhaps also to his astonishment, his suit was rejected; and, in the first transports of his anguish, he so far forgot himself as to marry one of his female slaves, to the great scandal of his family and his tribe.

As we descended, the rocks became loftier, and the current stronger. About two in the afternoon, we reached Les Chutes, where we made a portage, after having run nearly four hundred miles without even lightening our craft. As my own experience, as well as that of others, had taught me to keep a strict eye on the "Chivalry of Wishram," always congregated here in considerable numbers, I marshalled our party into three well-armed bands, two to guard either end of the portage, and the third to transport the baggage.

My own difficulties with these people occurred in 1829, on my upward voyage. About that same time, ten Americans had been murdered in the Snake Country; a party of twenty-one men had been destroyed on the Umqua; and the crew of one of the Company's vessels, to the number of twenty-seven, were supposed to have been butchered, after shipwreck, at the mouth of the Columbia. As no means had been taken to avenge these massacres, the Indians began to think of rooting the whites out of the country; and accordingly, when they heard that I was to proceed up the river in the summer, they assembled a force of four or five hundred warriors at this very portage. My party consisted of Mr. M^cMillan and Dr. Todd, and twenty-seven men. We effected the lower two portages without difficulty, but not without indications of hostility; but, before we arrived at Les Chutes, a friendly native warned Mr. M^cMillan of a plan laid to attack us here. We crossed, however, to the upper end without interruption, where the portage terminated in a steep rock, with a narrow ledge below, on the immediate margin of the stream. On the narrow ledge in question about two-thirds of our party were busily occupied in the embarkation of our baggage, while the remainder, consisting, besides myself, of Mr. M^cMillan, Dr. Todd, Tom Taylor, already mentioned, and his brother, and about half-a-dozen Sandwich Islanders, showed front to the enemy on the platform above. When we were nearly ready to take our departure, the Indians, instead of squatting themselves down to smoke the pipe of peace, crowded round us, gradually forcing us to the edge of the declivity, and then, as the concerted signal for commencing the attack, ordered their women and children to retire.

With a precipice behind us, and before us a horde of reckless and bloodthirsty savages, our situation was now most critical, more particularly as the necessity of concealing our danger from our people below embarrassed our every movement. At this moment of anxiety, the chief grasped his dagger. In the twinkling of an eye, our ten or eleven guns were levelled, while some of my Sandwich Islanders, with the characteristic courage of their race, exclaimed, as if to anticipate my instructions, "She broke him." With my finger on my trigger, and my eye on that of the chief, I commanded that no man should fire till I had set the example, for any rash discharge on our part, though each shot, at such close quarters, would have told against two or three lives, might have goaded the savages into a desperate and fatal rush. The chief's eye fell, his cheek blanched, his lips grew livid; and he ceased to clutch his weapon. Still, however, he retained his position, till, after again preparing to strike and again quailing before the tube which to himself at least would be certain death, he recoiled on his people, who again, in their turn, retreated a few paces. The distance to which we had thus driven the enemy by the mere display of firmness, was less valuable to us in itself than on account of the reaction of feeling which it evinced; and, availing ourselves of the favourable opportunity, we immediately embarked, without having either sustained or inflicted any injury.

But now these pirates had degenerated into something like honesty and politeness. On our approaching the landing-place, an Indian, of short stature and a big belly—the very picture of a grinning Bacchus—waded out about two hundred yards, in order to be the first to shake hands with us. We were hardly ashore, when we were surrounded by about a hundred and fifty savages of several tribes, who were all, however, under the control of one chief; and on this occasion the "Chivalry of Wishram" actually condescended to carry our boat and baggage for us, expecting merely to be somewhat too well paid. The path, about a quarter of a mile in length, ran over a rocky pass, whose hollows and levels were covered with sand, almost the only soil in this land of droughts.

The Chutes vary very much in appearance, according to the height of the waters. At one season may be seen cascades of twenty or thirty feet in height, while, at another, the current swells itself up into little more than a rapid, so as even to be navigable for boats. At present, the highest fall was scarcely ten feet; and as the stream, besides being confined within a narrow channel, was interrupted by rocks and islets, its foaming and roaring presented a striking emblem of the former disposition of the neighbouring tribes. At the lower end of the portage, we intended to dine on salmon, which we had procured from the Indians; but, after cooking it, we felt so incommoded by the crowd, that we pushed off to eat our dinner, while we were drifting down the river. Our meal was brought to an abrupt termination by our having to run down Les Petites Dalles Rapid. Some Indians on the bank were watching, spear in hand, for salmon; and so intent were they on their occupation, that they never even raised their eyes to look at us, as we flew past them.

A short space of smooth water, like the calm that precedes the storm, brought us to Les Dalles or the Long Narrows — a spot which, with its treacherous savages of former days and its whirling torrents, might once have been considered as embodying the Scylla and the Charybdis of these regions. At the entrance of the gorge, the river is suddenly contracted to one third of its width by perpendicular walls, while the surges, thus dammed up, struggle with each other to dash along through its narrow bed. Our guide, having surveyed the state of the rapid, determined to run it, recommending to us, however, to walk across the portage in order to lighten our craft. At the landing-place we found about thirty women and children, all the men being absent, fishing. These good folks, generally speaking, were nearly as naked as when they were born—a remark which would apply, with peculiar force, to the natives between this and the sea, and along the coast. With such a disregard of external decency, chastity, of course, is a mere name, or rather it has not a name to express it in any one of the native languages. We found the portage to consist of a heap of volcanic rocks; the hollows and levels, as on that of Les Chutes, being covered with sand.

After shipping a good deal of water, our little vessel reached the place of embarkation, opposite to a small rocky island, where a melancholy accident happened a few years ago. At a season when the water was very high, one of the Company's boats was descending the river; and, through the rashness of an American who happened to be on board, the crew were induced to run this rapid, while the gentleman in charge more prudently resolved to prefer the portage. Hurled madly along by the boiling waters, the boat was just emerging into a place of safety, when, in the immediate vicinity of the island just mentioned, she was sucked, stern foremost, into a whirlpool; and, in a single instant, a tide, that told no tales, was foaming over the spot, where eleven men, a woman, and a child, had found a watery grave.

Below the Long Narrows, we saw numbers of hair seals, as many as seventeen in one group; and we succeeded in shooting one of them, which, however, was lost to us—the creature sinking, if killed, at once; but floating, if dying, afterwards, of its wound. These animals ascend the Columbia in quest of the salmon; and certainly that fish is sometimes taken with a hair seal's mouthful out of its side.

At a distance of two or three miles below the rapids, we reached the American mission of Whaspicum, remarkable to us as the place where we saw growing timber, for the first time since leaving Okanagan. On visiting the establishment, we were much pleased with the progress that had been made in three years. Two comfortable houses, in which five families resided, had been erected; a field of wheat had this year yielded about ten returns; and the gardens had produced abundance of melons, potatoes, and other vegetables, while the dairy gave an adequate supply of milk and butter. The missionaries said that they were as happy in their new home as they could expect to be in such a wilderness, admitting, at the same time, that they had not found the land of promise which they came to seek. The climate, however, was, at least in point of temperature, rather favourable than otherwise, the greatest heat in the shade, during the past summer, having been 101°, and the most intense cold of the preceding winter having been 14° above zero. But the soil was not good; nor could it possibly be so, where twenty-one rattlesnakes, reptiles delighting in sands and rocks, had been killed within the last three months.

Mr. Lee, the head of the mission, accompanied us to our encampment to supper; and while that meal was preparing, we enjoyed a delicious bath by moonlight in the stream that now glittered so placidly before us. As we expected to reach Vancouver next day, we raised camp immediately after satisfying our hunger, and, by eleven o'clock, were once more pursuing our way towards the Pacific. Wrapping our cloaks around us to keep off the mists, we laid ourselves down on the bottom of our craft to sleep.

In the morning, the banks of the river, no longer sublime, were merely picturesque, being covered with forests to the water's edge, or even farther, for there were stumps or remains of large trees growing in the very stream. This aquatic forest was there when the country was first visited by Europeans; and the Indians then stated that the appearance had always been the same as far back as their memory could carry them. Doctors differ as to the probable cause of the phenomenon. Some think that the bed of the river must have subsided, while others are of opinion that the thing has drifted bodily, by what is called a land-slip, from above.

We breakfasted on the lowest of the three portages of the cascades; the highest point, by the by, reached by the tide. At this succession of small cataracts, the river falls about fifty or sixty feet in a distance of about half a mile. We here saw some of the Company's men curing salmon for exportation to the Sandwich Islands and California. We also met here several Chinook canoes, large and small, very elegantly formed, with an elevated prow, out of a single log.

The rocks along the shore were bold and lofty; and, in the bed of the river, one detached mass, about a hundred feet perpendicular on all sides, bore the appropriate name of Pillar Rock. This part of the river was about a mile and a half wide, receiving several cascades — an index of a moister climate — from the cliffs and its banks. About two in the afternoon, we met, in the neighbourhood of a waterfall of some hundred feet in height, a boat proceeding from Vancouver to Wallawalla with letters, and we took out of her such as belonged to ourselves.

About sunset, we called at the Company's saw and grist mills, distant six miles from the fort, while the Company's schooner Cadbord, that was lying there, honoured us with a salute, which served also as a signal of our arrival to the good folks of Vancouver. Being anxious to approach head-quarters in proper style, our men here exchanged the oar for the paddle, which, besides being more orthodox in itself, was better adapted to the quick notes of the voyageur songs. In less than an hour afterwards, we landed on the beach, having thus crossed the continent of North America at its widest part, by a route of about five thousand miles, in the space of twelve weeks of actual travelling. We were received by Mr. Douglas, as Mr. McLaughlin, the gentleman in charge, was absent at Puget Sound.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM VANCOUVER TO SITKA.

Departure from Vancouver—The Willamette—Wappatoo Island—The Cowlitz—Variety of races in bateau—Cowlitz Farm—Enormous trees—The Checaylis—Natural mounds—Fort Nisqually—Embarkation on Beaver Steamer—Frazer's River—Feveda, superior fuel—Wooding and watering—Comoue fleet—Quakeolth chief—Johnston's Straits—Dense fog—Quakeolth fleet—Trading—Food, &c., of Quakeolths—Native pronunciation of English—Manners of natives generally—Dishonesty and treachery of natives—Shushady harbour—Trading with Newettees—Hiaquay shells—Humming-birds—Canoeing alone with a native chief—Native blankets, canoes, &c.—Indignant harangue of a chief—Dense fog, danger of shipwreck—Shark—Calvert's Island—Sir Alexander M^cKenzie—Fort M^cLoughlin—Ballabolla Indians—Large canoe—Lip-piece—Power of chiefs—Fort Simpson—Ingenuity of natives, North-west Arrowsmith—Smallpox—Fort Stikine—The Secatquonays—Humanity of female chief—Condition of Slaves—Messrs. Shakes and Quatkay—Hanego Joe—Stephen's Passage—Fort Taco—Abundance of deer—Big-horn sheep and mountain goat—Taco River—Lynn's Canal—Ancke Indians—Arrival at Sitka.

At Vancouver, we found two vessels of the United States exploring squadron, under the command of Commodore Wilkes, which had come hither with the view of surveying the coast and river; and we here spent a week all the more agreeably on this account. As I should afterwards have a better opportunity of noticing this fort in connexion with the neighbouring country, I left my journal untouched, till I resumed my voyage, in order to inspect our own posts to the northward, and to visit the Russians at Sitka.

On the 1st of September, my party, now strengthened by the accession of Mr. Douglas, took leave on the beach of Commodore Wilkes and his officers with mutual wishes for safety and success; and, by eleven in the forenoon, we were under way in a large and heavy bateau with a crew of ten men. On reaching the mouth of the Willamette, on the left side of the Columbia, we ascended the stream, till, after rounding Multonomah or Wappatoo Island, we were retracing our steps to the main river by the lower channel of its tributary. Our object in thus deviating from our proper course was to call at the Company's dairy: and accordingly, after following the current of the west branch of the Willamette for about five miles, we landed on the delta in question, in the neighbourhood of our establishment.

This beautiful island is fifteen miles in length by seven at its greatest breadth, covered with abundance of timber and the richest pasturage; and it doubtless owes much of its fertility to the fact, that it is regularly overflowed in spring, with the exception of its higher ridges, on one of which our dairies stand. It consists entirely of alluvial soil, formed most probably by the accumulation of mud and drift-wood against a rock at its lower extremity.

At the dairy, we found about a hundred milch cows, which were said to yield, on an average, not more than sixty pounds of butter each in a year; and there were also two or three hundred cattle that were left, merely with a view to their breeding, to roam about at will.

The whole were under the charge of three or four families that resided on the spot.

In addition to the rock already mentioned—the backbone, so to speak, of all the alluvial accretions — the island contains, in its interior, a block of black basalt, rudely chiselled by the Indians of ancient days into a column of four feet in height and three feet in diameter. Around such a curiosity superstition has, of course, thrown her mantle. The savages, and indeed the dairymen also, religiously believe that any person who may touch the lonely pillar will bring down on himself the vengeance of its deity. Though we had not time at present to enter the lists against this jealous spirit, yet Mr. Douglas, a year or two ago, had been rash enough to try to move his mysterious shrine from its place. On returning to the dairy to sleep, he got out of favour with the Canadian, who was in charge, for having thus dared the demon of the stone to do his worst; and, after a good deal of argument, they parted for the night, the master as sceptical, and the man as credulous, as ever. The darkness, however, decided this drawn battle in the Canadian's favour, for a fearful storm, the work, of course, of the indignant goblin, almost pulled down the house over the impious head of Mr. Douglas.

About sunset, we again entered the Columbia, endeavouring to reach Deer's Island for supper. Failing in this attempt, we snapped up a hasty meal on the left bank of the river; and then, after wrapping ourselves in a blanket each, we lay down to sleep in the boat, while she should be drifting down the stream all night. In the morning, we were toiling up the Cowlitz, a northerly feeder of the Columbia, its lofty banks being crowned with beautiful forests, whose leafy bowers, unincumbered by brushwood, realized the poet's "boundless continuity of shade." As a proof of the occasional height of the waters of this narrow and rapid river, drift-wood and other aqueous deposits were hanging high and dry on the overshadowing branches at an altitude of thirty or forty feet above the present level of the stream. When the Cowlitz thus fills its bed, it ceases to be navigable, at least for upward craft, by reason of the violence of the current; and perhaps the same circumstance may explain the otherwise inexplicable fact, that, though the salmon enter this river in autumn on their way from the sea, yet in spring, when the waters are, of course, at their highest, they never do so by any chance.

Even at present, the current was so powerful, that our rate of progress never exceeded two miles an hour.

When I descended the Cowlitz, in 1828, there was a large population along its banks; but since then the intermittent fever, which commenced its ravages in the following year, had left but few to mourn for those that fell. During the whole of our day's course, till we came upon a small camp in the evening, the shores were silent and solitary, the deserted villages forming melancholy monuments of the generation that had passed away. Along the river, large quantities of an imperfect coal are found on the surface.

Our bateau carried as curious a muster of races and languages as perhaps had ever been congregated within the same compass in any part of the world. Our crew of ten men contained Iroquois, who spoke their own tongue; a Cree, half-breed of French origin, who appeared to have borrowed his dialect from both his parents; a North Briton, who understood only the Gaelic of his native hills; Canadians who, of course, knew French; and Sandwich Islanders, who jabbered a medley of Chinook, English, &c., and their own vernacular jargon. Add to all this, that the passengers were natives of England, Scotland, Russia, Canada, and the Hudson's Bay Company's territories: and you have the prettiest congress of nations, the nicest confusion of tongues, that has ever taken place since the days of the Tower of Babel. At the native camp, near which we halted for the night, we enriched our museum with one variety more, by hiring a canoe, and its complement of Chinooks, to accompany us.

Next morning, Mr. Douglas, in company with our Chinook allies, started a little before us, in order to get horses, &c., ready for us at the landing-place; and by noon, when we reached the spot in question, we found that, in his lighter craft, he had gained four hours on us, having thus had time to bring our steeds from the Cowlitz Farm, about ten miles distant. Right glad were we to leave our clumsy bateau, after an imprisonment of eight and forty hours.

Between the Cowlitz River and Puget Sound, a distance of about sixty miles, the country, which is watered by many streams and lakes, consists of an alternation of plains and belts of wood. It is well adapted both for tillage and for pasturage, possessing a genial climate, a good soil, excellent timber, water power, natural clearings, and a seaport, and that, too, within reach of more than one advantageous market. When this tract was explored a few years ago, the Company established two farms upon it, which were subsequently transferred to the Puget Sound Agricultural Association, formed, under the Company's auspices, with the view of producing wheat, wool, hides, and tallow, for exportation.

On the Cowlitz Farm there were already about a thousand acres of land under the plough, besides a large dairy, an extensive park for horses, &c.; and the crops of this season had amounted to eight or nine thousand bushels of wheat, four thousand of oats, with due proportions of barley, potatoes, &c. The other farm was on the shores of Puget Sound; and, as its soil was found to be better fitted for pasturage than tillage, it had been appropriated almost exclusively to the flocks and herds; so that now, with only two hundred acres of cultivated land, it possessed six thousand sheep, twelve hundred cattle, besides horses, pigs, &c.

In addition to these two farms, there was a Catholic mission, with about a hundred and sixty acres under the plough. There were also a few Canadian settlers, retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company; and it was to this same neighbourhood that the emigrants from Red River were wending their way.

The climate is propitious, while the seasons are remarkably regular. Between the beginning of April and the end of September there is a continuance of dry weather, generally warm and often hot, the mercury having this year risen at Nisqually to 107° in the shade. March and October are unsettled and showery, and during the four months of winter there is almost constant rain, while the temperature is so mild that the cattle and sheep not only remain out of doors, but even find fresh grass for themselves from day to day.

Of the aborigines there are but three small tribes in the neighbourhood—the Cowlitz, the Checaylis, and the 'Squally—now all quiet, inoffensive, and industrious people; and, as a proof of this their character, they do very well as agricultural servants, thereby forming an important element in estimating the advantages of the district for settlement and cultivation.

Having halted five miles beyond the Cowlitz Farm, we raised camp next morning at four. The belts of wood, which separated the plains from each other, were composed of stately cedars and pines, many of them rising without a branch or a bend to a height of a hundred and fifty feet. Some of these primeval children of the soil were three or four hundred feet high, while they measured thirty in girth at a distance of five feet from the ground; and, by actual measurement, one fallen trunk, by no means the largest that could have been selected, was found to be two hundred and fifty feet long, and to be twenty-five round at eight feet from the root.

Like the Meltonomah Island, these plains have their mysterious stone. This rudely carved block, the only thing of the kind in the neighbourhood, was carried to its present position from a considerable distance by a mighty man of old times, who could lift a horse by stooping under its belly, and carry about the brute, all alive and kicking, for a whole day. It is perhaps a blessing that the human race in these parts has degenerated, for otherwise horses would have been as likely to bridle and spur men, as men to bridle and spur horses. The stone, which weighs about a ton, still remains where the skookoom, to use the native term, dropped it, a monument of the degeneracy of all succeeding sojourners in the country, whether red or white.

We breakfasted at the Checaylis, a navigable stream falling into Gray's Harbour, about forty miles to the north of Cape Disappointment. Near this river was a narrow belt of wood, which divided the stronger soil, that we had passed, from the lighter soil that lay before us, no clay being found to the northward as far as Puget Sound, and no sand to the southward as far as the Cowlitz River.

Beyond the Checaylis the plains became more extensive, with fewer belts of wood, though there was still more than a sufficiency of timber for every purpose.

Towards the 'Squally, or, as the whites term it, by way of elegance, the Nisqually River, we passed over a space of ten or twelve miles in length, covered with thousands of mounds or hummocks, all of a perfectly round shape, but of different sizes. They are from twelve to twenty feet in diameter, and from five to fifteen in height: and they all touch, but barely touch, each other. They must have been the work of nature, for, if they were the work of man, there would have been pits adjacent, whence the earth was taken; but, whatever has been their origin, they must be very ancient, inasmuch as many of them bear large trees.

After crossing the 'Squally river, we arrived at Fort Nisqually, on the evening of our fourth day from Fort Vancouver. Being unwilling to commence our voyage on a Sunday, we remained here for six and thirty hours, inspecting the farm and dairy, and visiting Dr. Richmond, an American missionary, stationed in the neighbourhood. The surrounding scenery is very beautiful. On the borders of an arm of the sea, of about two miles in width, are undulating plains of excellent pasturage, presenting a pretty variety of copses of oak and placid lakes, and abounding in chevreuil and other game.

The sound yields plenty of fish, such as salmon, rock cod, halibut, flounders, &c. The dogfish and the shark are also numerous, some of the latter having been caught here this summer of five or six feet in length.

Near the Fort there was a small camp of 'Squallies, under the command of Lackalett, a good friend of the traders. The establishment is frequented also by the Clallams, the Paaylaps, the Scatchetts, the Checaylis, and other tribes, amounting in all, the 'Sqallies included, to nearly four thousand souls.

At noon, on Monday, the 6th of September, we embarked on board of the Beaver steamer, Captain M'Neill, leaving Mr. Hopkins in temporary charge of Nisqually, along with Mr. Heath. Starting under a salute of seven guns, we pushed along against a strong breeze, till we anchored, about five in the afternoon, to enable the engineer to repair some damage which the machinery had sustained; but the job being completed by nine, we then steamed on all night.

About seven in the morning we passed along the inner end of Fuca's Straits, the first of the numberless inlets of this coast that was ever discovered by civilized man. The neighbouring country, comprising the southern end of Vancouver's Island, is well adapted for cultivation; for, in addition to a tolerable soil and a moderate climate, it possesses excellent harbours and abundance of timber. It will doubtless become, in time, the most valuable section of the whole coast above California.

As a foul wind and a heavy sea prevented us from making more than two miles and a half an hour, we resolved to wood and water behind Point Roberts, near the mouth of Frazer's River—a stream which, after traversing New Caledonia on its way from the Rocky Mountains, falls into the Gulf of Georgia in lat. 49°. If this parallel, as proposed by the Americans, should become the international boundary on the west side of the height of land, Britain would not only be surrendering all the territory of any agricultural value, but would also virtually cut off the interior and the coast of her own shore from each other. Frazer's River had never been wholly descended by whites previously to 1828, when, in order to explore the navigation all the way to the sea, I started from Stuart's Lake with three canoes. I found the stream hardly practicable even for any craft, excepting that, for the first twenty-five miles from its mouth, it might receive large vessels. This river, therefore, is of little or no use to England as a channel of communication with the interior; and, in fact, the trade of New Caledonia, the very country which it drains, is carried on overland to Okanagan, and thence down the Columbia.

Behind Point Roberts there was a large camp of about a thousand savages, inhabitants of Vancouver's Island, who periodically cross the Gulf to Frazer's River, for the purpose of fishing. A great number of canoes assisted us in bringing our wood and water from the shore, some of them paddled entirely by young girls of remarkably interesting and comely appearance. These people offered us salmon, potatoes, berries, and shell-fish for sale.

The wind having moderated, we weighed anchor about one in the morning, and continued our course between Vancouver's Island and the mainland till three in the afternoon. The channel rarely exceeded six miles in width, and the shores on both sides were so mountainous, that the peaks, though situated only in 50° of latitude, were covered with perpetual snow. In the course of the forenoon, we crossed the parallel of the once famous Nootka Sound, breasting the open ocean on the other side of Vancouver's Island—an inlet which, after nearly involving Spain and England in war, was reduced into insignificance by the discovery of the very path which we were traversing. So long as the port in question was supposed to be on the solid continent, it promised to be a channel of communication with the interior, the more valuable on account of the absence of any rival; while, with the help of the imagination, it was magnified into the mouth of the great river of the west.

We anchored in the snug little harbour of the Island of Feveda, to take in wood and water. Captain M'Neill generally preferred halting here on account of the superiority of the fuel, which was both close in the grain and resinous; and he stated that a cord of it was almost as durable as two cords of any other growth. For this singular fact there must be a reason, which may be expected to lurk rather in the soil than in the climate; and, whether or not the two peculiarities be respectively cause and effect, the isle in question is almost entirely composed of limestone, which, if it exist elsewhere on the coast, is found only in very small quantities.

Rather with the view of beguiling the time than in the hope of enriching our larder, we went ashore to shoot deer, which were said to be here very numerous; and we certainly did see several chevreuil, which took care, however, to keep at a safe distance from us. But we found one object of interest in an old beaver-dam of great extent; none of us had ever seen signs of the beaver in a similar situation, or ever suspected any predilection on the part of the animal for salt water. Perhaps, with so mountainous a coast and so narrow a sea, Nature may have formed a congenial path over the briny depths by means of the freshets of spring, just as every rapid river overlays an extent of ocean proportioned to the strength of its current.

Failing in our attempt on the deer, I resolved to angle away the hours, without caring much what I might hook, and I succeeded to admiration in hauling up several dogfish—the presence of those sharks in miniature sufficiently accounting for the absence of more delicate prey.

So far as utility was concerned, our failures in the sporting way were remedied by an Indian, who, with his pretty wife and a child, brought us off a brace of deer; and then the industrious fellow, for some trifling consideration or other, assisted us in wooding and watering; a kind of help which, in order to save time, Captain M'Neill was always glad to accept.

We were detained the whole of the next day by the same indispensable business of supplying the steamer with fuel. In fact, as the vessel carries only one day's stock, about forty cords, and takes about the same time to cut the wood as to burn it, she is at least as much at anchor as she is under way; a good deal of her delay, however, being rendered necessary, without reference to the demands of her furnace, by wind and weather, and also for the purpose of dealing with the natives. Still, on the whole, the paddle is far preferable to canvass in these inland waters, which extend from Puget Sound to Cross Sound, by reason of the strength of the currents, the variableness of the winds, the narrowness of the channels, and the intricacy and ruggedness of the line of coast. We found Vancouver's charts so minute and accurate, that, amid all our difficulties, we never had to struggle with such as mere science could be expected to overcome; and, in justice both to our own navigator and to one of his successors in the same path, I ought to mention, that Commodore Wilkes, after a comparatively tedious survey from the mouth of the Columbia to that of Frazer's River, admitted that he had required to make but few and inconsiderable corrections.

Leaving Feveda early on the morning of the 10th, we steamed against a strong wind, till at dusk we got into the safe harbour of Port Neville. In the course of the forenoon, three villages of Comoucs, that were opposite to Point Mudge, sent off forty or fifty canoes to us, whose inmates, amounting perhaps to eight hundred of all ages and both sexes, made all sorts of noises to induce us to stop. They appeared to be a well-made race, the women in particular having a soft and pleasing expression of countenance. The ladies, who obviously appreciated their own beauty, attempted, by a liberal display of their charms, and by every winning way that they could devise, to obtain permission to come on board. We did allow a chief of the Quakeolths to embark, along with his wife and child; as he was desirous of obtaining a passage to his village, about seventy miles distant, while his canoe, a pretty little craft of about twelve paddles, was taken in tow. This was not this grandee's first trip in the Beaver. On a former occasion, he had made love to the captain's wife, who was accompanying her husband; and, when he found her obdurate, he transferred his attentions to Mrs. Manson, who happened to be on board along with Mr. Manson himself, till, on being sent by her to negociate with her husband, he gravely backed his application by offering him a large bundle of furs. On the present occasion, also, this ardent admirer of the fair sex was true to his system, for he took a great fancy to an Englishwoman on board, while, at the same time, with more generosity than justice, he recommended his own princess, not to the woman's husband, but to myself.

In the fleet that swarmed around us we observed two peculiarly neat canoes, with fourteen paddles each, which savoured very strongly of honeymoon. Each carried a young couple, who, both in dress and demeanour, were evidently a newly-married pair. The gentlemen, with their "arms around their dearies O," were lavishing their little attentions on the ladies, to the obvious satisfaction of both parties. The brides were young and pretty, tastefully decked out with beads, bracelets, anklets, and various ornaments in their hair, and, above all, with blankets so sweet, and sound, and clean, that they could not be otherwise than new. The bridegrooms were smart, active, handsome fellows, all as fine as a holiday, and more particularly proud of their turbans of white calico.

In the afternoon, we passed another village, near the narrowest point of Johnston's Straits. Here we were greatly impeded by deep whirlpools and a short sea, which were said generally to mark these narrows, and to be caused by the collision of the tides or currents flowing round the opposite ends of Vancouver's Island from the open ocean. Johnston's Strait might be reckoned, as it were, the height of land in the Gulf of Georgia.

Next morning, a dense fog threatened to detain us all day, and might have detained us for weeks. In fact, Mr. Finlayson, of Red River, was, in the year 1837, held a prisoner for a fortnight within a few miles of his home by a fog worthy of keeping Christmas in London.

Luckily, however, we got out of limbo about noon, and, passing within an hour the home of our Quakeolth Lothario, we entered M'Neill's Harbour for the purpose of trading, where we were soon visited by thirty or forty canoes, crowded with men, women, and children. The standard of prices being fixed after two hours of higgling, the business then went on briskly. To avoid the inconvenience and danger of a crowd, half a dozen only of the savages were to be admitted on deck at once; and, in order to enforce the regulation, five sentinels were stationed at the gangways, on the poop, and on the paddle-boxes, while the boarding netting, as amounting to a mystery or a medicine, formed a better protection than all the watchmen put together.

Stationing himself at the steerage hatchway, Captain M'Neill threw down each skin, as he examined it, with its price chalked on it—the equivalents being handed up from below by the two or three men that were in charge of the store. The natives, now that they no longer dare to employ force against the whites, still occasionally resort to fraud, practising every trick and devise to cheat their trader. One favourite artifice is to stretch the tails of land-otters into those of sea-otters. Again, when a skin is rejected as being deficient in size, or defective in quality, it is immediately, according to circumstances, enlarged, or coloured, or pressed to order, and is then submitted, as a virgin article, to the buyer's criticism by a different customer. In short, these artists of the north-west could dye a horse with any jockey in the civilized world, or "freshen up" a faded sole with the most ingenious and unscrupulous of fishmongers. As he has neither mayor nor aldermen to invoke in such cases, Captain M^cNeill dispenses summary justice on his own account, commissioning his boatswain to take the law, and the rope's end as its emblem, into his own hand.

Both men and women were well grown, with regular and pleasing features; indeed, the girls were exceedingly pretty, and looked quite healthy. In fact, besides living well on the best of fish and the best of venison, these people have comparatively few diseases among them. They have been exempted from the smallpox, though their brethren, both to the south of the Columbia and in Russian America, have suffered severely from that terrible scourge. To secure to them a continuance of this happy immunity, we begged permission from the chiefs of the Quakeolths to vaccinate the children of the tribe; but, as they neither did nor could appreciate the unknown blessing, we preferred leaving things as they were, knowing well, from our experience of the native character, that our medicine would get the credit of any epidemic that might follow, or perhaps of any failure of the hunt or the fishery.

Instead of letting their hair flow loosely over the shoulders, as most of the aborigines of North America do, these people brush it up all round, tying it in a bunch at the crown of the head, or else hanging it down the back in the form of a thick pigtail. This mode of dressing the hair naturally gives the head something of a conical appearance; and, as custom always more or less influences one's ideas of beauty, the Quakeolths deliberately cherish this peculiarity of aspect by the application of ligatures in infancy. Whether they are obliged to sleep with their eyes open, like the drummer boy who escaped a flogging for doing so by showing that his queue held back his eyelids, I cannot tell. This much, however, I did observe, that the denuding of the face produced a good-humoured semblance of candour and honesty which their whole history belied.

Speaking of the dressing of hair, there was on board one of the ships of the American squadron a captive chief of the Feejee Islands, who, when "forced from home and all its pleasures," had begged, almost with tears in his eyes, that his friseur might be allowed to accompany him into exile. So careful are the grandees of that group said to be of their well-curled locks, that, to prevent any derangement of the same, they sleep with their necks across a bamboo and their heads in free space.

In addition to the mode of dressing the hair, the people of this coast have several other peculiarities, which appear to indicate an Asiatic origin. In taking a woman to wife, the husband buys her from her father for a price as his perpetual property; so that, if she separate from him, whether through his fault or her own, she can never marry another during his life. Again, with respect to funerals, the corpse, after being kept for several days, is consumed by fire, while the widow, if any there be, rests her head on the body, till dragged from the flames, rather dead than alive, by her relatives. If the poor creature recovers from the effects of this species of suttee, she collects the ashes of her deceased lord and master, which she carries about her person for three long years; and any levity on her part during this period, or even any deficiency in grief, renders her an outcast for ever.

Though these tribes no longer dare to massacre or plunder white visitors, yet they are still as treacherous as ever to each other. About a hundred and fifty of the Quakeolths were recently proceeding by canoe to Nootka, partly for the purpose of trading, and partly with the view of paying off some old score or other to a hostile clan. On their way they found a party of armed Sebassamen, about thirty in number, on a small island, whom they coolly determined to destroy by stratagem. Accordingly, making signs of peace, and lying on their paddles, they explained that they were going to make war in the neighbourhood of Nootka; adding, at the same time, that, with reference to this object of their expedition, they would be glad to give the Sebassamen a capital bargain of sea-otters in exchange for their guns and ammunition. Conscious of their weakness, the Sebassamen accepted the insidious offer, and that the more readily, inasmuch as the particular skins in question, the only equivalent received at our forts for arms, &c., might soon be made to double the stock that they were surrendering. Meanwhile, the Quakeolths were landing, one canoe after another, till at last, besides recovering their sea-otters, they butchered four and twenty of their credulous customers. The six wretches, whom the villains spared for a bondage worse than death, we saw in the little fleet that was lying alongside of ourselves.

But the Quakeolths, notwithstanding all their guile and ferocity, religiously observe, even towards their foes, the laws of hospitality. If a stray enemy, who may find himself in the vicinity of one of their camps, can proceed, before he is recognised, to the chief's lodge, he is safe, both in person and in property, on the easy condition of making a small present to his protector. The guest remains as long as he pleases, enjoying the festivity of the whole village; and when he wishes to depart, he carries away his property untouched, together with a present fully equal to what he himself may have given. Moreover, the Quakeolths, more honourable and consistent than the Arabs, are so far from following their guest, in order to plunder him, that they guarantee his safety to the utmost limits of their territory.

To resume my narrative: our traffic continued till the following noon; and, meanwhile, such of our men as were not occupied in trading or watching had been cutting wood, which the Indians conveyed on board in their canoes. The furs, amounting in value to about five hundred pounds sterling, consisted of martens, racoons, beaver, bears, lynxes, and both kinds of otters; while the equivalents were blankets, tobacco, vermilion, files, knives, a small quantity of cloth, and only two guns, with a corresponding allowance of ammunition. Generally speaking, the natives were tiresome in their bargaining, and they were ever ready to suspend business for a moment in order to enjoy any passing joke. They appeared, however, to understand the precise length to which they might go in teasing Captain M'Neill. They made sad work, by the by, of his name; for, whenever his head showed itself above the bulwarks, young and old, male and female, vociferated, from every canoe, Ma-ta-hell, Ma-ta-hell, Ma-ta-hell—a word which, with the comparative indistinctness of its first syllable, sounded very like a request on their part that their trader might go a great way beyond the engineer's furnace. Their organs of speech are altogether too feeble for the enunciation of English words; and, as a proof of this, *Macubah* and *Binfins* are stated in "Astoria" to have been their cleverest imitations of *Vancouver* and *Broughton.*

Along the whole coast the savages generally live well. They have both shell-fish and other fish in great variety, with berries, seaweed, and venison. Of the finny race, salmon is the best and most abundant, while, at certain seasons, the ullachan, very closely resembling the sardine in richness and delicacy, is taken with great ease in some localities. This fish yields an extraordinary quantity of very fine oil, which, being highly prized by the natives, is a great article of trade with the Indians of the interior, and also of such parts of the coast as do not furnish the luxury in question. This oil is used as a sauce at all their meals—if snapping at any hour of the day or night can be called a meal—with fish, with seaweed, with berries, with roots, with venison, &c. Nor is it less available for the toilet than for culinary purposes. It is made to supply the want of soap and water, smearing the face or any other part of the body that is deemed worthy of ablution, which, when well scrubbed with a mop of sedge, looks as clean as possible. In addition to this essential business of purifying and polishing, the oil of the ullachan does duty as bear's grease for the hair; and some of the young damsels, when fresh from their unctuous labours, must be admitted to shine considerably in society.

While our people were chopping wood, they got one of their axes stolen. They said nothing, however, about it, till they came on board; and then a beaver was taken from a noisy fellow with a hint that, if he wished to have his skin back, he had better find the missing article before the return of the steamer. Though these natives, when they are in our power, are perfectly good-humoured, yet, when they have strength on their side, they are the very reverse. Some years ago, my late friend Captain Simpson was in this neighbourhood with the Cadbord schooner, when the Indians, despising the smallness and weakness of that vessel, attacked a boat's crew, killing one man and wounding another; and about the same time, a little to the southward, near Nisqually, the Clallams assassinated one of the Company's officers, and five men on their way from Fort Langley to Vancouver with letters. In the absence of any other means of obtaining redress, our people had recourse to the law of Moses, which, after the loss of several lives on the side of the natives, brought the savages to their senses, while the steamer's mysterious and rapid movements speedily completed their subjugation. In fact, whether in matters of life and death or of petty thefts, the rule of retaliation is the only standard of equity which the tribes on this coast are capable of appreciating.

Leaving the Quakeolths at one in the afternoon of the twelfth, and passing through Queen Charlotte's

Sound, we reached, by five o'clock, the harbour of Shushady Newettee, at the northern end of Vancouver's Island, in a heavy fog. Several of the Indians, as usual, came off to us — the chief, a grave, pensive, handsome man, and a garrulous old fellow of the name of Shell Fish, being admitted on board. The chief brought to the doctor a little boy of a son, who, by falling on the point of a pair of scissors, had been stabbed in the abdomen about an inch and a half above the navel; but, as the wound had been received ten days previously, and had not been followed by fever, we thought it better to let the thing alone. The young patient was accompanied by the native surgeon, who had the gratification to hear our praises of his dressing and bandaging — practice that would have done him no discredit in the civilized world.

During the night, the fog increased to such a degree, that next morning we could not see a hundred yards from the ship. In spite, however, of the impenetrable darkness, the Newettees returned to us in great numbers, and drove a brisk trade for an hour or two; and we thus got furs to the value of about two hundred pounds sterling, in exchange for which the blanket was the principal article in demand. During the preceding two years, the absence of competition in this quarter had enabled us to put the trade on a much better footing, by the entire disuse of spirituous liquors, and by the qualified interdiction, as already mentioned, of the sale of arms and ammunition. These changes, however unsatisfactory to the parties interested, may, nevertheless, be considered as a great blessing to the whole of the native population, arresting the progress at once of the sword and of the pestilence.

We had a good deal of amusement to-day in endeavouring to teach our savage visitors a few words of English; and wonderfully apt they were in acquiring our language. The letter *r* plagued them most, getting the better of them, in fact, after all their efforts, in working about their lips and tongues in every manner of way; and the nearest approach that they made, amid roars of laughter, to our fellow traveller's name, was *Wowand*. Among some of the tribes on the east side of the mountains, this same consonant, as also its kindred *l*, is disguised into *n*. Of their acquisitions, such as they were, our Newettee pupils were very proud, dragging them in by the head and shoulders on all occasions.

After our friends had disposed of their furs, they brought into the market a large number of hiaquays—white shells, found only on the west side of Vancouver's Island. These articles, thus practically corresponding with the cowries of the East Indies, are used as small change all along the coast and in many parts of the interior; and they are also applied to more fanciful purposes in the shape of necklaces, ornaments for the hair, and so forth, while occasionally a large hiaquay may be seen balancing itself through the cartilage of a pretty girl's nose. Our visitors also offered for sale some specimens, rather inferior in their way, of the humming-bird. There were said to be no fewer than five varieties of that beautiful creature between the mouth of the Columbia and the head of Vancouver's

Island; but, with the exception of the neighbourhood of the hot springs of Sitka, the more northerly coast did not possess the curiosity.

In the evening, I went out to fish with one of the chiefs; and, though we were quite alone, yet we contrived, partly by words of English and Chinook, and partly by signs, to carry on an animated conversation. The mode of proceeding was by dragging a line with a baited hook at the end, while the canoe was paddled through the water at the rate of two miles and a half an hour; and in this way we caught a salmon, a rock-cod, much resembling a perch of about two pounds in weight, and a curious animal, known among the sailors as the devil's fish. Some few years back, no white man would have gone out alone amidst twenty or thirty native canoes; but, besides that the savages, even on general grounds, were now less likely to show the cloven foot, I had the mysterious prestige of the steamer and her guns in my favour, to say nothing of the comfortable consciousness of a brace of loaded pistols in my belt. I returned on board about dusk, to the no small relief of my friends, who, having lost sight of the canoe, were afraid that the hope of a large ransom might tempt the savages, according to old use and wont, to run off with the great white chief. In former days, the Indians of the north-west coast, before their views on the subject of expediency were enlarged, frequently acted on the simple principle, that a skipper, who could command untold treasures of guns and ammunition, blankets and tobacco, was a more profitable, as well as an easier, quarry than a bear or an otter.

We observed among these people various ingenious manufactures. They make light blankets for summer from the hair of the dog, the wolf, the chamois goat, and the big-horn sheep, while they weave also mats of sedge as a very common wrapper for both men and women. They also mould and carve their canoes with great taste. These little vessels, which are likewise formed out of single trunks, present, of course, a greater variety of size in this land of colossal trees than craft of a similar description present in any other country; but, whether large or small, they are all gracefully shaped, with slightly elevated prows and sterns. They fly through the water with the paddle, like so many wherries, while such of them as are of any considerable size are perfectly safe under sail.

It was noon of the next day, the 14th of the month, before the weather cleared sufficiently for a start. Just while getting up the steam again, Captain M^cNeill discovered that the capote of one of the wood-cutters had been stolen in the bush on the previous evening. After a great deal of fruitless clamour on both sides, the captain took an axe from the chief, who, now that he had a personal interest in the matter, instantaneously informed against another grandee of the amiable and innocent name of Nancy; but as, in Mr. Nancy's absence, we had no means of ascertaining the truth, we still held on by the chief's axe. Our friend, who was by this time in his canoe, opened against Captain M^cNeill with the following harangue in Chinook:—"The white men are very pitiful, since they have stolen my axe. My axe must have been very good indeed, otherwise the ship would not have stolen it. If an Indian steals anything, he is ashamed and hides his face; but the great ship-chief Ma-ta-hell steals my axe and is not ashamed, but stands there scolding and laughing at me, whom he has robbed. It is good to be a white chief, because he can steal, and, at the same time, show his face. If he was not strong, with a large ship and long guns, he would not be so brave. I am weak now, but I may be strong by and by, and then perhaps I will take payment for my axe. But it is very good to be a white chief in a large ship with big guns;—he can steal from a poor Indian who is here alone in his canoe, with his wife and child, and no big guns to protect him." All this was said with provoking coolness, while a contemptuous smile played on the speaker's manly countenance; and his pretty little princess, to whom he ever and anon turned round for encouragement, was constantly freshening the inspiration, as it were, by her blandest looks. To detain the axe was impossible, after so rich a treat; and we restored it the more readily, as we were convinced by the chief's tone and manner that he was guiltless with respect to the missing capote.

About one in the afternoon, we got under way. We were soon nearly abreast of Smith's Inlet, where we should have to encounter the unbroken swell of the open ocean for upwards of twenty-five miles, being, in fact, the only exposed part of the coast of any extent between Fuca's Straits and Cross Sound; and the passage would also be the more dangerous on account of the presence of the Pearl and Virgin rocks. Just at this point, to our great mortification, the fog again gathered so thickly around us, that we could not see to the distance of fifty yards; and we had, therefore, no other choice than that of endeavouring to regain the safe ground that we had left. But we had hardly put about, when we heard the sound of breakers almost under our bows. "Stop her and back!" was passed to the engineer; and it was well that a word could do the needful, for a sailing vessel would have been knocked to pieces in less time than we took to return stern foremost into fifteen fathoms. Here we remained at anchor till five o'clock, when the dispersion of the mist showed us that the current must have carried the steamer two miles to the westward of her reckoning. Now that we saw a clear route to carry us away from our imminent danger, we lost no time in getting up the anchor, though, from the defective state of the windlass, twenty-two minutes, an age in our estimation, were spent on thirty fathoms of chain. We proceeded to a secure anchorage, under the northern end of Vancouver's Island, near Bull Harbour, embracing the opportunity of recruiting our stock of wood and water. On going ashore, we saw two large sea-lions, which, however, were too far off to be shot; we also found a great variety of zoophytes, numberless marine vegetables, and inexhaustible stores of the muscle and other shell-fish.

Next morning, as the weather had cleared and was promising well, we entered on our dangerous traverse at an early hour; and, though the haze soon again came in our way, yet, as we saw the Pearl and Virgin rocks to seaward, we held our course, reaching, about half-past ten, the smooth water of Fitzhugh's Sound. During our run, we saw a large shark, lying with merely one fin above the water, to mark its situation. When thus basking in the sun, the monster is frequently killed by the Indians. Some time ago, one of my fellow-travellers across the Atlantic, Mr. Manson, seeing a shark at his ease opposite to Fort McLoughlin, pushed off in a canoe; and then, standing on the gunwale, he struck his harpoon into the animal. Thus transfixed, the brute swam off with a whole fleet of canoes in tow, and was secured only after a dance of two or three hours. The carcase measured twenty-four feet in length; and the liver yielded thirty-six gallons of oil.

After passing Calvert's Island, our channel was formed by islands to seaward, and on the other side partly by islands and partly by promontories of the mainland. Between these promontories there were generally deep inlets, known as canals, one of them being deservedly sacred in the eyes of every Briton, as that arm of the Pacific Ocean to which Sir Alexander McKenzie, with matchless prudence and fortitude, forced his way across a continent never before trodden by civilized man. This spot, by the bye, and the greater part of the track by which it was reached, have been claimed by some Americans as the property of their republic. The force of imagination can no farther go. In scudding along, we were hailed by a strongly-manned canoe, with the usual salutation of Ma-ta-hell, Ma-ta-hell, Ma-ta-hell; but, as we were anxious to get to Fort McLoughlin before sunset, we had no time for parley. About six o'clock, we came to anchor at the post just mentioned, distant a few miles from Millbank Sound.

This very neat establishment was planned in 1837 by Mr. Finlayson, of Red River, who left the place in an unfinished state to Mr. Manson, who, in his turn, had certainly made the most of the capabilities of the situation. The site must originally have been one of the most rugged spots imaginable,—a mere rock, in fact, as uneven as the adjacent waters in a tempest; while its soil, buried, as it was, in its crevices, served only to encumber the surface with a heavy growth of timber. Besides blasting and levelling, Mr. Manson, without the aid of horse or ox, had introduced several thousand loads of gravel, while, by his judicious contrivances in the way of fortification, he had rendered the place capable of holding out, with a garrison of twenty men, against all the natives of the coast. Mr. Manson's successor, Mr. Charles Ross, had made considerable additions to the garden, which was now of about three acres in extent, with a soil principally formed of seaweed, and produced cabbages, potatoes, turnips, carrots, and other vegetables.

In the neighbourhood of the fort was a village of about five hundred Ballabollas, who spoke a dialect of the Quakeolth language. At first, these savages were exceedingly turbulent; and one of our people, of the name of François Richard, having disappeared, the chief was seized as a hostage for the restitution of the white man. In a skirmish, which the retaliatory step occasioned, one of the garrison was taken prisoner, and two were wounded, while of the Indians several were wounded and two killed. After much negociation, the chief, who was detained by the whites, was exchanged for the man who had been captured by the natives. The fate of Richard, however, remained a mystery, till some women gradually blabbed the secret, that he had been murdered by a certain individual. The murderer having been pointed out to me, as he walked openly and boldly about the fort, I took measures for sending the fellow to a distance, as an example to his friends.

The Ballabollas were all in mourning—the custom in such a case being to lay aside all ornaments, and to blacken the face. The present cause of national distress was said to be as follows. Between the Hydas of Queen Charlotte's Island and the Ballabollas a deadly feud had long subsisted. About six weeks before our arrival, the latter, to the number of three hundred, had attacked a village of the former, butchering all the inhabitants but one man and one woman. These two the victorious chief was carrying away, as living trophies of his triumph; but, alas for the instability of all human things!—while standing in a boastful manner on the gunwale of his canoe, and vowing all sorts of vengeance against his victims, he was shot down by a desperate effort of his male prisoner. The Ballabollas, their joy being now turned into grief, cut the throats of the prisoners, threw the spoils overboard, and returned home rather as fugitives than as conquerors. They buried their leader in the garden of the fort,—the carcase of the old warrior being well worth its room, as a better safeguard against pilfering than pickets and watchmen. According to the custom of the Ballabollas, the widows of the deceased were transferred to his brother's harem—a more palatable arrangement for the poor women than the practice, as already mentioned with respect to another tribe, of carrying about their late lord's ashes during three long years of widowhood and sorrow.

Talking of wives, the wife of Mr. Ross, of this fort, a Saulteau half-breed from Lac la Pluie, lately displayed great courage. Some Indians, while trading, in her husband's absence, with her son in the shop of the establishment, drew their knives upon the boy. On hearing this, the lady, pike in hand, chased the cowardly rascals from post to pillar, till she drove them out of the fort. "If such are the white women," said the discomfited savages, "what must the white men be?"

In the garden I found one of the larger canoes of the Ballabollas. It was sixty feet long, four and a half deep, and six and a half broad, with elevated prow and stern. This vessel would carry a hundred men, fifty engaged in paddling, and fifty stowed away; and yet, notwithstanding its enormous capacity, it was formed, with the exception of the raised portions of the extremities, out of a single log.

At Fort M^cLoughlin, we first saw that disgusting ornament of the fair sex, the lip-piece. A bit of wood or ivory, of an oval form, varying in size from the dimensions of a small button to three inches long, and an inch and a half wide, is introduced into a hole in the lower lip, so as to draw it back, and thereby expose the whole of the lower gum. This hideous fashion, however, is now wearing out, having been found to be disagreeable to the whites, to whose opinions and feelings the native ladies pay the highest possible respect.

The chiefs possess great power, compelling their followers to do any thing, however treacherous, and to suffer any thing, however cruel, without any other reason than that such is their savage pleasure. The chief of the Ballabollas, when he was lately very ill, ordered one of his people to be shot; and he forthwith regained both health and strength through the operation of this powerful medicine. They sometimes, too, call religion to their aid, consecrating their most horrible atrocities by pretending to be mad. In this state, they go into the woods to eat grass, like Nebuchadnezzar, or prowl about, gnawing at a dead man's ribs. Then, as the fit of inspiration grows stronger, they rush among their people, snapping and swallowing mouthfuls from the arms or legs of such as come in their way. The poor victims never resist this sharp practice, excepting by taking to their heels as fast as they can. One of these noble cannibals was lately playing off his inspiration at the gate of the fort, when a poor fellow, out of whose arm he had filched a comfortable lunch, was impious enough to roar out lustily; and Mr. Ross's dog, suspecting foul play, seized the chief's leg, and held it tight, in spite of his screams, till driven away by the well-known voice of his master. Nero, instead of being killed, according to Mr. Ross's anticipations, was, thenceforward, venerated by the Ballabollas, as having been influenced by the same inspiration as their chief.

About ten in the morning, we left Fort M'Loughlin, passing through Millbank Sound, Grenville Canal, Chaltam Sound, and Pearl Harbour. About four in the afternoon, we reached Fort Simpson, under the charge of Mr. Work. This establishment was originally formed at the mouth of Nass River, but had been removed to a peninsula, washed on three sides by Chaltam Sound, Port Essington, and Work's Canal. Fort Simpson is the resort of a vast number of Indians, amounting in all to about fourteen thousand of various tribes. There are the Chimseeans, who occupy the country from Douglas' Canal to Nass River, of whom about eight hundred are settled near the establishment, as home guards, under the protection of our guns. Then there are the Sebassamen, from Bank's Island, and the inhabitants of Queen Charlotte's Island. In addition to these, who live to the south of the international boundary, many Russian Indians, such as the inhabitants of Kygarnie, Tomgass, and the Isles des Clamelsettes, likewise frequent the fort. Many of these natives pay merely passing visits on their way to Nass Straits to fish for the ullachan, whose oil has been already mentioned, not only as a luxury for the great, but also as a necessary of life to all classes. As this oil, by the by, was free from smell, it might be applied to many purposes in the civilized world; and I accordingly ordered a few jars of it to be sent to London by way of sample. All these visitors of Fort Simpson are turbulent and fierce. Their broils, which are invariably attended with bloodshed, generally arise from the most trivial causes, such, for instance, as gambling quarrels or the neglect of points of etiquette.

Here the lip-piece was more generally in use than at any other part of the coast; but it was clearly going out of vogue, for it was far more common among the ancient dames than among the young women. In other respects, the people were peculiarly comely, strong, and well grown. They are remarkably clever and ingenious. They carve steamers, animals, &c. very neatly in stone, wood, and ivory, imitating, in short, every thing that they see, either in reality or in drawings; and I saw, in particular, a head for a small vessel that they were building, so well executed, that I took it for the work of a white artificer. One man, known as the Arrowsmith of the north-east coast, had gone far beyond his compeers, having prepared very accurate charts of most parts of the adjacent shores.

Next morning, I visited the native village, and found the lodges, both inside and outside, superior to any others that I had seen on the coast. I observed among the people traces of the smallpox, eight of them having lost an eye each. That destructive pestilence had got thus far south, but no farther, carrying off about one third of the population. Since then the wolves have been very scarce; and the Indians maintain that they caught the malady by eating the dead bodies. This voracity on the part of these ravenous beasts was likely enough; for the savages themselves, horrible and incredible to tell, frequently ate the corpses of their relatives that had died of the disease, even after they were putrid, and, in some instances, after they had been buried. Syphilis, I was sorry to observe, was very prevalent, entailing scrofula and similar distempers on the rising generation.

As Fort Simpson lay within the range of the competition of the Russians of Sitka, who used spirits in their trade, we had not been able here to abolish the sale of liquor; and, such was the influence of the simple fact, that several of our crew, though not a drop was either given or sold to them, yet contrived to become tolerably drunk by "tapping the admiral."

Leaving Fort Simpson about one in the afternoon of the 18th, we came to anchor for the night at the southern entrance of the Canal de Reveilla. Both mainland and islands became more and more rugged as we advanced, rising abruptly from the very shores, in the form of lofty mountains, with the ocean at their feet and the snow on their summits. In perfect keeping with the coast, the inland region consists of some of the wildest scenery in nature, of alpine masses, in fact, thrown together in tumultuous confusion. So uneven, in short, is the whole country, that, within any reasonable distance of a stream or a lake, a level site for a fort can hardly be found. Moreover, this land of rocks is as difficult of access, excepting on the immediate margin of the sea, as it is impracticable in itself. Most of the streams to the northward of Frazer's River are mere torrents, which, being fed in summer by the melting of the snows, and in winter by the untiring deluges of this dismal climate, plunge headlong in deep gulleys between the contiguous bases of precipitous heights of every form and magnitude. Within the limits just mentioned, the Babine, the Nass, and the Stikine, are the only rivers that may be ascended to any distance, and even they with considerable difficulty and danger.

Since we left Nisqually, Mr. Rowand had been suffering very severely from intermittent fever and sea-sickness. As he had been much worse last night, we wished to leave him at Fort Simpson; but he insisted on continuing the voyage along with us.

Next day, we passed through the Canal de Reveilla and Clarence Straits, respectively about thirty and fifty-four miles long. On the morning thereafter, having halted all night, on account of the narrowness of the channel, we passed through Stikine Straits into the little harbour of Fort Stikine, where, about eight o'clock, we were welcomed on shore by Mr. M^cLoughlin, junior. This establishment, originally founded by the Russian American Company, had been recently transferred to us on a lease of ten years, together with the right of hunting and trading in the continental territories of the association in question, as far up as Cross Sound. Russia, as the reader is, of course, aware, possesses on the mainland, between lat. 54°, 40′, and lat. 60°, only a strip, never exceeding thirty miles in depth; and this strip, in the absence of such an arrangement as has just been mentioned, renders the interior comparatively useless to England.

The establishment, of which the site had not been well selected, was situated on a peninsula barely large enough for the necessary buildings, while the tide, by overflowing the isthmus at high water, rendered any artificial extension of the premises almost impracticable; and the slime, that was periodically deposited by the receding sea, was aided by the putridity and filth of the native villages in the neighbourhood, in oppressing the atmosphere with a most nauseous perfume. The harbour, moreover, was so narrow, that a vessel of a hundred tons, instead of swinging at anchor, was under the necessity of mooring stem and stern; and the supply of fresh water was brought by a wooden aqueduct, which the savages might at any time destroy, from a stream about two hundred yards distant.

The Stikine, or Pelly's River, empties itself into the ocean by two channels, respectively four and ten miles distant from the fort. One of them is navigable for canoes; while the other, though only in the season of high water, can be ascended by the steamer about thirty miles.

The establishment is frequented by the Secatquonays, who occupy the mainland about the mouths of the river, and also the neighbouring islands; and, in addition to these home guards, it is visited by the natives of three more distant villages—Hanego, Kooyan, and Kayk. The Secatquonays may be estimated at six hundred men, or three thousand souls; and four or five thousand people, in all, are dependent on Fort Stikine for supplies. Most of these Indians make trading excursions into the interior, in order to obtain furs. Their grand mart is a village sixty miles distant from Dease's Lake, and a hundred and fifty from the sea, and thither they resort three or four times a year. The inhabitants of this emporium, known as the Niharnies, were under the command of a female chief, who, in the winter of 1838-9, had behaved with great humanity to Mr. Campbell, one of the Company's officers. That gentleman and his people having been driven by the savages from a new post, after being reduced to eat their skin-cords and parchment at the rate of a meal a day, were received by this good woman in such a way, as fully to maintain Ledyard's character of the fair sex for kindness to distressed travellers. As Mr. Campbell's establishment was on Dease's lake, the middlemen of the coast, whose monopoly it endangered, were, most probably, either the authors or the instigators of the outrage, which called the female chief's sympathies into play; and even the female chief herself, who made occasional trips to the sea, in order to trade on her own account, was almost as much an object of jealousy to the Secatquonays, as Mr. Campbell himself could have been.

One full third of the large population of this coast are slaves of the most helpless and abject description. Though some of the poor creatures are prisoners taken in war, yet most of them have been born in their present condition. These wretches, besides being constantly the victims of cruelty, are often the instruments of malice or revenge. If ordered by his master to destroy red or white man, the slave must do so, however dangerous may be the service; for, if he either refuse or fail, his own miserable life must pay the forfeit.

The principal chief of the Indians that lived in the neighbourhood of the fort, was an old fellow of the name of Shakes, who, having been spoiled by the Russians with too much indulgence, was rather difficult to be managed; and he was, in fact, at the bottom of every plot that was hatched against the whites, being assisted in this matter—so much for the effects of education—by a son, who had been taught to read and write at Sitka. Unfortunately, the mode in which the establishment was supplied with water placed us so much at the mercy of the Indians, as almost to provoke any troublesome individual to quarrel with us; for a few blows of an axe would immediately render our wooden aqueduct useless, and leave our people either to die of thirst, or to fight their way to the stream and back again. Luckily, though Shakes was the principal chief, yet he had comparatively little influence; while the second ruler in the tribe, who was very friendly towards us, possessed a strong party in the village. The mutual jealousies of Quatkay and his lord paramount, which sometimes amounted to open hostilities, formed something of a safeguard to the fort. Shakes was from home, but Quatkay paid his respects immediately on our arrival; and, in consideration of his general conduct, I presented him with an entire suit of clothes. The absent chief was said to be very cruel to his slaves, whom he frequently sacrificed in pure wantonness, in order to show how great a man he was. On the recent occasion of a house-warming, he exhibited, as part of the festivities, the butchery of five slaves; and at another time, having struck a white man in a fit of drunkenness, and received a pair of black eyes for his pains, he ordered a slave to be shot, by way, at once, of satisfying his own wounded honour, and of apologizing to the person whom he had assaulted. His rival, on the contrary, was possessed of such kindness of heart, that on grand holidays he was more ready to emancipate his slaves than to destroy them; yet, strange to say, many bondmen used to run away from Quatkay, while none attempted to escape from Shakes; an anomaly which, however, was easily explained, inasmuch as the one would pardon the recaptured fugitives, and the other would torture and murder them.

One Indian, of the name of Hanego Joe, who had been taken to the United States in childhood, spoke a little English. He was said to be very useful as a pilot on the coast; but, though we did not require his services in that capacity, yet we employed him as interpreter.

As Mr. Rowand continued to get worse, we left him here to recruit his health, being the more anxious to give him the benefit of rest and shelter, as the notoriously vile weather of the winter of the north-west coast commenced to-day with its deluges of rain. Getting under way about three in the afternoon, we anchored for the night at the entrance of Wrangell's Straits.

Next morning we passed through Wrangell's Straits and Prince Frederick's Sound, respectively twenty-two and fifty-seven miles long, and halted for the night at the entrance of Stephen's Passage. The valleys were lined with glaciers down to the water's edge; and the pieces that had broken off during the season filled the canals and straits with fields and masses of ice, through which the vessel could scarcely force her way.

Starting again at five in the morning, with a foul wind and a thick fog, we ran through Stephen's Passage; and, when the mist cleared sufficiently for the purpose, the land on either side displayed to us mountains rising abruptly from the sea, and bearing a glacier in their every ravine. Earlier in the season, these glaciers would have been concealed by the snow, but now they showed a surface of green ice.

At two in the afternoon we reached Taco, an establishment conducted by Dr. Kennedy, with an assistant and twenty-two men. Here the little harbour is almost land-locked by mountains, being partially exposed only to the south-east. One of the hills, near the fort, terminates in the form of a canoe, which serves as a barometer. A shroud of fog indicates rain; but the clear vision of the canoe itself is a sign of fair weather.

The fort, though it was only a year old, was yet very complete with good houses, lofty pickets, and strong bastions. The establishment was maintained chiefly on the flesh of the chevreuil, which is very fat, and has an excellent flavour. Some of these deer weigh as much as a hundred and fifty pounds each; and they are so numerous, that Taco has this year sent to market twelve hundred of their skins, being the handsome average of a deer a week for every inmate of the place. But extravagance in the eating of venison is here a very lucrative business, for the hide, after paying freight and charges, yields in London a profit on the prime cost of the whole animal.

Seven tribes, three of them living on islands, and four on the mainland, visit Taco. They muster about four thousand souls; and they are subdivisions of the Thlinkitts, speaking dialects of the language of that nation. These Indians were delighted to have us settled among them; and on this ground they viewed with much jealousy the visits of more distant savages, to whom they were desirous of acting as middlemen. As our interest and feeling in the matter were altogether different, this jealousy of theirs had sometimes occasioned misunderstandings between them and our people. On one occasion, Dr. Kennedy's assistant, having chased out of the fort a savage who had struck him, was immediately made prisoner; while the Doctor himself, who ran to his aid, shared a similar fate. Several shots were fired from the bastions, though without doing, and probably without intending to do, any mischief. And this was fortunate: for though Taco, with a running stream within its walls, was less at the mercy of the natives than Stikine, yet its people, in the event of any loss of life on the part of the savages, might have suffered severely from the workings of treacherous revenge. At length, the affair was amicably settled by ransoming the two captives with four blankets. Still, notwithstanding these little outbreaks, Kakeskie, chief of the home guards, had been a good friend to the trade; and accordingly, though he was absent, yet I ordered that a present should be made to him, in my name, on his return.

The bighorn sheep and the mountain goat are very numerous in this neighbourhood. The latter has an outer coat of hair, not unlike that of the domestic variety of the species, and an inner coat of wool, beautifully white, soft, and silky. Instead of wool again, the bighorn has a thick covering of hair, pretty much resembling that of the red deer; but, with the exception of this peculiarity, and with the exception also of the size of the horns, it is obviously the same animal as the domestic sheep.

After being detained at Taco from Wednesday afternoon to Saturday morning, by an uninterrupted storm of high wind and heavy rain, we started at daybreak, with about fifteen miles more of Stephen's Passage before us. Having accomplished this distance, we crossed the entrance of the Gulf of Taco, so called from its receiving the river of the same name. This stream, according to Mr. Douglas, who had ascended it for about thirty-five miles, pursued a serpentine course between stupendous mountains, which, with the exception of a few points of alluvial soil, rose abruptly from the water's edge with an uninviting surface of snow and ice. In spite of the rapidity of the current, the savages of the coast proceed about a hundred miles in canoes; and thence they trudge away on foot the same distance to an inland mart, where they drive a profitable business, as middlemen, with the neighbouring tribes. Besides facilitating this traffic, one of the best guarantees of peace, the establishment of our fort had done much to extinguish a branch of commerce of a very different tendency. Though some of the skins previously found their way from this neighbourhood to Sitka and Stikine, yet most of them used to be devoted to the purchasing of slaves from the Indians of Kygarnie and Hood's Bay.

We next passed the Douglas Island of Vancouver by the western passage, which was from two to four miles in width; while the eastern passage, besides being still narrower, was generally obstructed by ice. Rounding the head of Admiralty Island, we descended Chatham Straits, along the back of the Sitka Archipelago, and thus passed, of course, the inner entrance of Cross Sound, the limit of the countless islands which commence at the Straits of Fuca. Opposite to the upper end of Admiralty Island is Lynn's Canal, the highest of the numerous inlets on this part of the coast. It receives a river, which the Indians ascend about fifty miles, to a valley running towards Mount Fairweather, and containing a large lake, which pours its waters into the open ocean at Admiralty Bay. The natives of this valley are called the Copper Indians, from the abundance of virgin copper in the neighbourhood.

On Douglas and Admiralty Islands we saw two villages of Anckes, under the command of rival chiefs. These branches of the same family had lately quarrelled about some trifle or other, and, after destroying ten or twelve on either side, had resolved again to live in friendship, as they might have lived from the beginning, without breaking each other's heads. Let the reader change the names, and he will have a pretty correct idea of the British and the Americans going to war about Oregon.

Though the weather was very fine during the earlier part of the day, yet it again returned to its fogs towards evening, so that, even with the assistance of Hanego Joe, we were obliged to anchor at the inner entrance of Peril Straits, where the tide rose and fell as much as two-and-twenty feet. The fog having dispersed next morning about six, we proceeded up Peril Straits, slackening our pace to half speed on reaching the narrower part of the passage, distinguished as Little Peril Straits; and soon after three in the afternoon we came in sight of the Russian American Company's establishment of New Archangel. We saw in the harbour five sailing vessels, ranging between two hundred and three hundred and fifty tons, besides a large barque in the offing in tow of a steamer, which proved to be the Alexander, from Ochotsk, bringing advices from Petersburg down to the end of April. Before we anchored, Captain Lindenberg came off to us, conveying Governor Etholine's compliments and welcome. Salutes being exchanged, Mr. Douglas and I soon afterwards landed, and were accompanied to his excellency's residence, situated on the top of a rock, by Captain Lindenberg and the captain of the port.

CHAPTER V.

FROM SITKA TO VANCOUVER.

Sitka—Trade—Fur-seals, &c.—Count Baronoff—Northern discovery—Departure from Sitka—Glaciers and floating ice—Fort Stikine—Fort Simpson—Indian fight about potatoes—Sebassamen—Fort McLoughlin—Gigantic seaweed—Newettees, names of chiefs—Quakeolth fleet—Native jealousy—Johnston's Straits—Dense fog—Catalogue of dangers and disasters—Abundance of herring spawn—Influence of white fist on savages—Nisqually—Captain Berkeley, Juan de Fuca, and Admiral Fonte—Steam, its physical and moral power—Condition of slaves—Rev. Mr. Demers—Arrival at Vancouver—A stranger—Vancouver—Willamette Settlement, position and condition—Civilization of natives.

Governor Etholine's residence consisted of a suite of apartments, communicating, according to the Russian fashion, with each other, all the public rooms being handsomely decorated and richly furnished. It commanded a view of the whole establishment, which was, in fact, a little village; while about half way down the rock two batteries on terraces frowned respectively over the land and the water. Behind the bay, which forms the harbour, rise stupendous piles of conical mountains, with summits of everlasting snow. To seaward, Mount Edgecumbe, also in the form of a cone, rears its truncated peak, still remembered as the source of smoke and flame, of lava and ashes, but now known—so various are the energies of nature—to be the repository of the accumulated snows of an age.

We returned to the steamer for the night. Next morning, Governor Etholine, in full uniform, came on board in his gig, manned by six oars and a coxswain, and was, of course, received with a salute. We accompanied him on shore, our vessel and the fort simultaneously exchanging, as it were, their noisy welcomes with each other; and we had now the honour of being introduced to Madame Etholine, a native of Helsingfors in Finland; so that this pretty and ladylike woman had come to this her secluded home from the farthest extremity of the empire.

We sat down to a good dinner in the French style, the party, in addition to our host and hostess and ourselves, comprising twelve of the Company's officers. We afterwards visited the schools, in which there were twenty boys and as many girls, principally half breeds; such of the children as were orphans were supported by the Company, and the others by their parents. The scholars appeared to be clean and healthy. The boys, on attaining the proper age, would be drafted into the service, more particularly into the nautical branch of the same; and the girls would, in due time, become their wives or the wives of others.

Nor did religion seem to be neglected at Sitka, any more than education. The Greek church had its bishop, with fifteen priests, deacons, and followers; and the Lutherans had their clergyman. Here, as in other parts of the empire, the ecclesiastics were all maintained by the Imperial Government without any expense, or at least without any direct expense, to the Russian American Company.

The Lutherans were numerous beyond their just proportion with reference to the population of the empire at large. Most of the seamen and some of the labourers were from Finland; and, besides Madame Etholine, two other ladies, the wife of Lieutenant Bertram and her sister, were natives of that same province.

In addition to Sitka, which is the principal depôt of the Russian American Company, there is a smaller establishment of the same kind at Alaska, which supplies one post in Bristol Bay and three posts in Cook's Inlet, all the four being connected with subordinate stations in the interior; and there exists another depôt in Norton Sound, which has also its own inland dependencies. Beyond the limits of Russian America, properly so called, the Company has either permanent forts or flying parties in the Aleutian and Kurile Islands, over and above a chain of agencies, extending from Ochotsk to Petersburg, for the purposes of transporting goods and engaging servants.

The operations of the Company were becoming more extensive than they had previously been. Its exclusive license had been extended for a farther term of twenty years; the direction was about to be remodelled; and, generally, an improved order of things was in progress.

At the date of my visit, the returns of the trade were pretty nearly as follows:—

10,000 Fur Seals
1,000 Sea Otters
12,000 Beaver

2,500 Land Otters
—— *Foxes, Martens, &c.*
20,000 Sea-horse teeth.

Some twenty or thirty years ago, there was a most wasteful destruction of the fur-seal, when young and old, male and female, were indiscriminately knocked on the head. This improvidence, as every one might have expected, proved detrimental in two ways. The race was almost extirpated; and the market was glutted to such a degree, at the rate, for some time, of two hundred thousand skins a year, that the prices did not even pay the expenses of carriage. The Russians, however, have now adopted nearly the same plan which the Hudson's Bay Company pursues in recruiting any of its exhausted districts, killing only a limited number of such males as have attained their full growth—a plan peculiarly applicable to the fur-seal, inasmuch as its habits render the system of husbanding the stock as easy and certain as that of destroying it.

In the month of May, with something like the regularity of an almanack, the fur-seals make their appearance at the Island of St. Paul, one of the Aleutian group. Each old male brings a herd of females under his protection, varying in number according to his size and strength; the weaker brethren are obliged to content themselves with half-a-dozen wives, while some of the sturdier and fiercer fellows preside over harems that are two hundred strong. From the date of their arrival in May to that of their departure in October, the whole of them are principally ashore on the beach. The females go down to the sea once or twice a day, while the male, morning, noon, and night, watches his charge with the utmost jealousy, postponing even the pleasures of eating, and drinking, and sleeping, to the duty of keeping his favourites together. If any young gallant venture by stealth to approach any senior chief's bevy of beauties, he generally atones for his imprudence with his life, being torn to pieces by the old fellow; and such of the fair ones as may have given the intruder any encouragement are pretty sure to catch it in the shape of some secondary punishment. The ladies are in the straw about a fortnight after they arrive at St. Paul's; about two or three weeks afterwards, they lay the single foundation, being all that is necessary, of next season's proceedings; and the remainder of their sojourn they devote exclusively to the rearing of their young. At last, the whole band departs, no one knows whither. The mode of capture is this. At the proper time, the whole are driven, like a flock of sheep, to the establishment, which is about a mile distant from the sea; and there the males of four years, with the exception of a few that are left to keep up the breed, are separated from the rest and killed. In the days of promiscuous massacre, such of the mothers as had lost their pups would ever and anon return to the establishment, absolutely harrowing up the sympathies of the wives and daughters of the hunters, accustomed as they were to such scenes, with their doleful lamentations.

The fur-seal attains the age of fifteen or twenty years, but not more. The females do not bring forth young till they are five years old. The hunters have frequently marked their ears each season; and many of the animals have been notched in this way ten times, but very few of them oftener.

Under the present system, the fur-seals are increasing rapidly in number. Previously to its introduction, the annual hunts had dwindled down to three or four thousand. They have now gradually got up to thrice that amount; and they are likely soon to equal the full demand, not exceeding thirty thousand skins, of the Russian market.

Latterly, the sea-otters have again begun to be more numerous on the north-west coast, between latitude 60° and 65°, on the Aleutian and Kurile Islands, and on the shores of Kamschatka. To the south of the parallel of sixty degrees, they have become pretty nearly extinct. In California, in particular, where they were once extremely numerous, they were destroyed with unusual facility, inasmuch as they were generally found in the Bay of San Francisco and other inlets; whereas, to the northward, they delighted in the most exposed situations, so as to render the pursuit of them a service of danger. It was the lamented Cook, or rather his crews after his death, that introduced the sea-otter into the civilized world. Though, from 1780 to 1795, the British shared in the fur-trade which their countrymen had thus opened, yet, from the latter date to 1828, the Russians and the Americans between them monopolized nearly the whole of it. Since 1828, however, the Hudson's Bay Company came with energy to the coast; and now, while the Russians confine themselves to their own territory, not a single American is engaged in the branch of commerce in question.

Of land-otters, in addition to the produce of its own wildernesses, the Russian American Company purchases a considerable quantity from us; besides that, it receives two thousand skins a year as the rent of the strip of continent leased to us between the international boundary and Cross Sound.

The sea-horse teeth weigh, on an average, one pound each. As the animal produces only two, ten thousand head must be destroyed to produce the full tale of twenty thousand; and the whole of the slaughter, so far as the Company is concerned, must go to the account of ivory, for the carcases themselves are commercially of very little value.

The Company's hunters, who are chiefly Aleutians, are peaceful even to cowardice, being in great dread of the Indians of the coast, who are numerous, treacherous, and fierce. In fact, previously to the formation of the present establishment of New Archangel, the savages had, on one and the same day, destroyed two forts in this neighbourhood, and butchered the unfortunate garrisons, of twenty-five men each. At that time, the Company's principal depôt was at Kodiack, whence eight hundred of the pusillanimous Aleutians, together with a few Russians, were sent to punish these outrages; but the expedition, as any one might have expected, proved abortive, and returned without spilling human blood. Soon afterwards, Count Baranoff, who was then at the head of the Company's affairs in this quarter, proceeded with three vessels and a large body of people to form the depôt of Sitka. Protected by a breastwork, the natives repulsed the Russians as often as they attempted to carry the fortification by storm; but, in spite of all their skill and bravery, they sustained much loss of life under the heavy fire of the ships, consequently evacuating their position by night, and accepting an honourable peace.

Immediately under the guns of the fort, there is a village of Sitkaguouays, or people of Sitka, who are a subdivision of the great tribe of the Thlinkitts. These Sitkaguouays are the most wretched Indians in appearance that I have ever seen, being bedaubed with filth and paint, and covered with the scars of syphilis; and, to make matters worse, at least with respect to the fair sex, the loathsome lip-piece is here in almost universal use.

In trading with the Indians, the Russians, as I have already had occasion to mention, use spirituous liquors, our neighbouring posts being obliged, as a matter of course, to employ the same pernicious medium of traffic. Knowing the mischiefs that ensued at our own establishments, and having reason to believe that more fatal results occurred at Sitka, I suggested to Governor Etholine, who promptly acceded to the proposal, that, on or before the last day of the year 1843, both companies should entirely abandon the practice of trading with the savages in spirituous liquors. An earlier limit would have been fixed, had not Governor Etholine and myself thought that the establishments would meanwhile require to be strengthened, in order to provide against the possibility of any consequent outrages among the involuntary "teetotallers" of the coast. Such was our arrangement; but, during my second visit, which took place in the ensuing spring, a scene presented itself which led, as hereinafter described, to an immediate and unconditional stoppage of rum and all its kindred.

The good folks of New Archangel appear to live well. The surrounding country abounds in the chevreuil, the finest meat that I ever ate, with the single exception of moose; while halibut, cod, herrings, flounders, and many other sorts of fish, are always to be had for the taking, in unlimited quantities. In a little stream, which is within a mile of the fort, salmon are so plentiful at the proper season, that, when ascending the river, they have been known literally to embarrass the movements of a canoe. About a hundred thousand of the last-mentioned fish, equivalent to fifteen hundred barrels, are annually salted for the use of the establishment; they are so inferior, however, in richness and flavour, to such as are caught farther to the southward, that they are not adapted for exportation.

I visited the Alexander with some degree of interest, as being the vessel in which I was to sail to Ochotsk next summer, and found that her accommodations for officers, crew, and passengers, were superior to those of any merchantman that I had ever seen. On this voyage I was to have the honour, though in this I was afterwards disappointed, of being accompanied by a Russian princess of talents and accomplishments, the wife of M. Ratscheff, the gentleman in charge of Bodega, in California. When I came to see and feel the roads of Siberia, whether in the saddle or on wheels, I could not but marvel that delicately bred females could endure so much of pain and fatigue.

While at Sitka, I took a bath, which might be a very good thing for those that liked it. On entering the building, I was much oppressed with the steam and heat, while an ill-looking, long-legged, stark-naked fellow was waiting to officiate, as master of the ceremonies. Having undressed in an antechamber, so far as decency would permit, I made my way into the bath-room, which was heated almost to suffocation. Having thus got me into his power, the gaunt attendant threw some water on the iron furnace, while, to avoid, as far as possible, the clouds of steam that were thus raised, I squatted myself down on the floor, perspiring profusely at every pore. I next seated myself on a bench, while bucket after bucket of hot water was thrown on my head; and then, making me stretch myself out, my tormentor soaped me all over, from head to foot, rubbing and lathering me with a handful of pine-tops. Once more taking his bucket, the horrid operator kept drenching me, the successive pailfuls descending gradually from nearly a boiling heat to the temperature of fifty degrees. The whole process occupied about an hour. I then returned to the antechamber, where, after being dried with hot towels, I was very glad to put on dry clothes. It was impossible, however, to make my escape immediately, for I was so relaxed as to be obliged to recline on a sofa for a quarter of an hour; and then I withdrew, inwardly resolved never again to undergo such another castigation.

During our stay at Sitka, we slept on board, but spent the day ashore. At dinner, Governor Etholine generally assembled nearly all his officers, to the number of about sixteen. Amongst them, I met a half-breed native of the country, who had been leader of an expedition, equipped some years ago, by the Russian American Company, for the discovery of what would be here styled the north-east passage. The party consisted of two divisions, the one advancing by sea and the other by land. The Russians reached Point Barrow shortly after Mr. Thomas Simpson had reached the same spot from the opposite direction, and learned that my lamented relative had unconsciously escaped in time from the natives who were assembling for the purpose of destroying him. The Russians themselves had also made a precipitate retreat, partly through the fear of the hostility of the savages, and partly through the dread of the smallpox, which had just begun to rage among them.

Nor has the Hudson's Bay Company, as all the world knows, been backward in the cause of geography any more than the Russian American Association. It was in its service that Lieutenant Hearne commenced the career of northern discovery, by penetrating to the mouth of the Coppermine, through untrodden wildernesses, with a courage approaching to heroism; it was in its service that Messrs. Dease and Simpson, by advancing in one season from the M^cKenzie to Point Barrow, and in another from the Coppermine to Boothia Felix, achieved more than all their modern predecessors put together; and in its service, also, before these pages see the light, a young man of talent and energy, Dr. John Rae, will be exploring the hitherto unknown coast from the Straits of the Fury and Hecla to the eastern limit of the surveys of my lamented relative and his colleague.

During our four days at Sitka, with the exception of part of a day, there was one continued fall of rain; and, in fact, since we reached Taco, we had had almost constant wet—a remarkable contrast to the generally fine weather which we had enjoyed from Montreal upwards.

Having taken leave of our kind friends on the previous evening, we weighed anchor about five in the morning of the 30th of September, but were obliged to bring up for the night about half past three in the afternoon in Lindenberg's Harbour.

In the morning, when we got under way, the weather was cold and squally, while a little snow, that fell in the night, had partially whitened the green ice that filled the ravines of the mountains; and the channels were traversed by many restless masses which had broken off from the glaciers. In short, nothing could exceed the dreariness of this inhospitable coast. To make matters still worse for some of us, a tumbling sea deranged the stomachs of our landsmen. Having passed through Chatham Straits, we anchored for the night at Point Rowand, in Prince Frederick's Sound.

Next day, after grounding slightly on a mud bank in Wrangell's Straits, we reached Stikine at three in the afternoon, where we were delighted to find our fellow-traveller, Mr. Rowand, pretty nearly recovered from his serious illness. Most of the Indians had gone to the interior; of the chiefs, Shakes was absent on a hunting excursion, and Quatkay was in search of six runaway slaves.

Fourteen or fifteen of the men of the establishment asked permission to take native wives; and leave to accept the worthless bargains was granted to all such as had the means of supporting a family. These matrimonial connections are a heavy tax on a post, in consequence of the increased demand for provisions, but form, at the same time, a useful link between the traders and the savages.

We here experienced a singular instance of the pilfering disposition of the natives. Some of them had been employed to carry wood and water on board; and one fellow, doubtless thinking that a thing, for which he had been paid, must be worth stealing, paddled off after dusk with a load of fuel.

Before starting in the morning, we nearly lost a man through the apparent indifference of others. A Sandwich Islander fell overboard, but, being deemed amphibious, attracted hardly any notice. The poor fellow, however, proved not to be in swimming trim. Besides that the temperature of the water was very different from that in which he had been accustomed, he was encumbered with boots, great coat, &c.; and, in consequence, he was saved only when he was at his last gasp.

Having again taken Mr. Rowand on board, we reached Fort Simpson at seven in the morning of the second day thereafter. Before landing, we passed three canoes under sail, one of them containing full twenty people; and in another we recognised Quatkay of Stikine, who had been searching, as already mentioned, for his runaway slaves. Though the little squadron luffed, yet we had no time for giving or receiving news. On entering the establishment, we learned that a fight among the savages had occurred during our absence. A Chimseean had purchased some potatoes from a Queen Charlotte Islander, who, on second thoughts, refused to fulfil his contract, being probably of opinion that the article would rise in the market. This breach of agreement provoked a blow from the disappointed purchaser, who immediately fell under the knives of the faithless seller and his countrymen. The vulgar transaction thus became a point of honour to two nations; and, after the belligerent powers had counted four killed, and many more wounded, a peace was negociated by Mr. Work, leaving, according to the civilized custom in the generality of such cases, the grand question of potatoes bargained and sold precisely as it stood. Besides quarrelling with each other, these wild men occasionally display towards us their fearfully low estimate of human life. One of them, having recently attempted to steal something from the blacksmith's shop, was then and there chastised by the son of Vulcan; and though the chief, who had thus been affronted in the person of his vassal, did not dare to attack the fort, yet he proposed that Mr. Work should kill the blacksmith, while he himself, as if to make up for the difference between the offence and the punishment, would sacrifice a slave to our man's manes.

Starting at half past five next morning, we anchored for the night in a cove in Grenville Canal. This delay was entirely owing to the miserably thick weather; for, with a clear atmosphere, we could have run in the dark, inasmuch as the channel presented deep water and bold shores. In the vicinity of our anchorage was a village of Sebassamen, a numerous tribe, which was said to consist, in a great measure, of runaway slaves, whom the chief, like another Romulus, always received with open arms; and, if he should continue this policy, he would be not unlikely to render his village the Rome of the adjacent coasts.

In passing, next day, through Grenville Canal, we saw some beautiful waterfalls, which had been greatly increased by the late heavy rains, tumbling down the sides of the mountains, where they found so little soil, that they carried their foam to the sea just as pure as they had received it from the clouds. We anchored within sight of Millbank Sound.

About eight in the morning, we reached Fort M^cLoughlin, where we remained during the rest of the day. The murderer of François Richard was still walking about as audaciously as ever. Like every other criminal of the same class that I had seen among Indians, this fellow, Tsoquayou by name, was so smooth, placid, and mild in his manner, as almost to belie his guilt. He was, as already mentioned, soon to be removed for ever from his own people, as a commutation of the capital punishment which he so richly deserved.

We were glad here to bid farewell to the odious lip-piece, which would render the most lovely face on earth an object of disgust. In one respect, too, this ornament is as inconvenient to the wearers as it is offensive to the spectators. When the ladies fair come to blows, as they always do when drunk, and sometimes when sober, each pounces on her antagonist's lower lip as at once being the most vulnerable region, and furnishing the best hold; and, at the close of a fray, the whole college of surgeons are sure to be busily engaged in doctoring lips and replacing lip-pieces.

Leaving Fort M'Loughlin next morning, we were obliged, by four in the afternoon, to take refuge for the night in Safety Cove, on Calvert's Island, by reason of our being unable to reach any other known shelter with daylight. After anchoring, I amused myself, as was my custom, by fishing, my ordinary prey being halibut, rock-cod, flounders, &c. In this neighbourhood I noticed what was to me a very remarkable phenomenon, a sea-weed growing to the surface from a depth of thirty or forty fathoms.

Next day, after being once driven back to Calvert's Island, we succeeded, on a second attempt, in crossing the grand traverse, already mentioned as the only exposed part of the coast, to Shushady Harbour in Vancouver's Island. As the swell of the ocean was here met by a high wind from the shore, no fewer than ten of our crew and passengers were laid up with sea-sickness. During the squalls, the paddles made seventeen revolutions in a minute; but, during the lulls, they accomplished twenty-two. The proportions of actual speed, however, were very different—two or three miles an hour in the one case, and six or seven in the other.

The northern end of Vancouver's Island would be an excellent position for the collecting and curing of salmon, which, being incredibly numerous in these waters, might easily be rendered one of the most important articles of trade in this country. The neighbouring Newettees, a brave and friendly tribe, would be valuable auxiliaries, not only in aiding the essential operations of the establishment, but also in furnishing supplies of venison. As a proof of their industry, they brought to us, in the evening, some wood that they had themselves cut for us during our absence. By the by, it was the principal chief of this tribe that made the long speech about his axe against the ship with the big guns. He himself has taken the fashionable name of Looking Glass; his second in command is appropriately distinguished as Killum; and the third, an old fellow of sturdy form and facetious countenance, glories in being Shell Fish. In one respect, the last-mentioned grandee resembles the Wandering Jew, having, as I was told, undergone no change in appearance during the last twenty years.

In spite of the deluges of rain that fell during the night and morning, our wooding and watering were completed, the ladies lending their assistance while the gentlemen were engaged in trading. A little after sunset, we anchored in front of a village of Quakeolths. We were soon visited by twelve or fifteen canoes, in one of which we noticed the indiscriminate admirer of the fair sex, who had been our fellow-passenger for a little distance on our upward voyage. The favour which was granted to him had since then involved him in a deal of trouble. After getting rid of the amorous old fellow, we had passed a village of Comoucs without stopping; and these people, giving our Quakeolth friend the credit of having suggested the slight, took their revenge by murdering three of his slaves. As the insulted potentate could not let matters rest here, he had now a large party of his thralls prowling about for an opportunity of retaliation, assuring us that nothing less than the assassination of two slaves for one would satisfy him, unless, indeed, the aggressors should come forward with a handsome offer of sea-otters in the way of expiation.

At the request of the chief, we consented to remain till next day, for the purpose of trading. Before the fleet left us, the female mariners, whether from inquisitiveness or acquisitiveness, or any other motive, expressed a strong desire to come on board, and were by no means pleased with Ma-ta-hell's unqualified rejection of their proposal.

Before daybreak, the vessel was surrounded by about fifty canoes, whose fair inmates were as affable as if they had not been affronted the night before. After a great deal of noise and negociation, we procured a small quantity of inferior furs, blankets being, as usual, the grand equivalent. The Quakeolths, as well as the Newettees, had long been anxious that we should form a permanent establishment among them. But the mysterious steamer, against which neither calms nor contrary winds were any security, possessed, in our estimation, this advantage over stationary forts, that, besides being as convenient for the purposes of trade, she was the terror, whether present or absent, of every tribe on the coast.

Starting at two in the afternoon, we were soon obliged, in consequence of the distance of any other harbour, to anchor for the night in a small bay, into which a pretty stream emptied itself. The wooding and watering, as usual, commenced, while, by way of varying the evening's amusements, we ourselves made an unsuccessful attack on the ducks and plovers.

Next morning, we passed two or three canoes without stopping, merely throwing them out some pieces of tobacco attached to billets of wood. About three in the afternoon, we entered the whirlpools of Johnston's Straits, the water being tolerably smooth, and had got down nearly abreast of Point Mudge, when we became enveloped in a fog, which in density surpassed anything of the kind that I ever saw out of London. Under these circumstances, to advance along a channel of only two miles in width was impossible; and accordingly, slackening the speed of the engine, we endeavoured to grope our way out of the strength of the current to an anchorage on the shore of Vancouver's Island. After a few casts of the lead without finding bottom, we soon got into twelve, eleven, ten, and eight fathoms; and, thinking that we were now quite near enough, we backed out again, and dropped the small bower in eighteen fathoms. We then dragged over a rocky bottom, paying out gradually seventy-five fathoms, while the tide was running up from twelve to fourteen knots an hour; and at last we dropped the best bower, which jerked over the ground to such a degree as to endanger the windlass. About half past six, the best bower held with its chain as stiff as a bar, whereas, the small bower, of which the chain was slack, was supposed to be broken or parted. We now plucked up courage to take tea, supposing ourselves secure for the night; but about nine, the vessel again began to drag for an hour or so, till the tide slackened. Immediately on stopping, we attempted to heave in the small bower, without, however, being able to raise a single link. About eleven at night, we repeated the effort; and, after fifty minutes of hard labour, we got hold of our small bower, all dislocated and shattered.

Next day, about noon, we dragged again over sand, running out into the gulf with the ebb tide. Soon afterwards, our sand was succeeded by rock, when we felt a jerk, which made us all suppose that the vessel had struck. The cause of the shock was soon suspected. Down to this time, the anchor, as it scraped and thumped against the bottom, had been very distinctly heard from the poop, as if it was astern instead of being five hundred feet ahead; but now we discerned nothing but the clanking of the chain, as it rattled along the inequalities of the ground. In a word, we had every reason to believe that we had lost our best bower. About three in the afternoon, in consequence of our having drifted into deep water, the chain was no longer heard any more than the anchor. About four, we caught a glimpse of land, supposed to be Point Mudge, while we were reeling wildly out into the gulf, the mere sport of the whirlpools. About six in the evening, the wind, shifting from north-east to south-east, dispersed the fog; and, after our poor fellows had been toiling at the windlass for nearly an hour and a half, they verified our fears, by bringing up the chain without the anchor, leaving us in no enviable condition at this boisterous season. Getting up the steam, we hoped to reach the anchorage between Sangster's and Feveda Islands, with the view of procuring a new stock for our small bower; but our south-easter soon began to blow so hard as to make us bear away for Beware Harbour, at the north end of Feveda; and there we rendered ourselves as snug as possible for the night, by dropping our small bower with some temporary repairs, and our stream and kedge lashed together.

We had passed a most anxious time of it, driving helplessly, as we were, in the midst of impenetrable darkness, with a current almost equalling the speed of a racer, with a bottom where no tackle could find holding ground, and with a coast where a touch would have knocked the stoutest ship to pieces. Nor was man likely to be more hospitable than nature. Even if we had survived the perils of shipwreck, we should have had to enter on a fearful struggle for our lives with savages, whose cruelty had never yet acknowledged any check but that of power and force.

To give an idea of the strength of the current, no bottom at times could be found with two deep-sea lead lines fastened together, even when the actual depth did not exceed thirty or forty fathoms.

The bay in which we were anchored was said to be famous for the abundance of its herring spawn. The native mode of collecting it, is to lay pines on the beach at low water, where, after the next flood has retired, they are found to be covered with the substance in question to the thickness of an inch. When dry, the spawn is rubbed off with the hand into large boxes for future use. Previously to being eaten, it is washed in fresh water, in order to remove the taste of the pine; and it is then eaten, in the form of cakes, with flesh, fish, or fowl.

Next day, a chief and ten of his people were caught in the act of thieving from the wood-cutters, and were forthwith thrashed by the sufferers. However expert the Indians may be at the knife, or the spear, or the gun, they are invariably taken aback by a white fist on their noses, or, as it is technically termed, by a muzzler. Even the Blackfoot, one of the most ferocious specimens of the race, is so much astonished at that homely and simple style of fighting, that, when struck, he places his hands on the part affected, instead of pitching them into his assailant's carcase.

On the second day thereafter, being Sunday, the 17th of October, we had a beautiful run, with smooth water and fine weather. We passed close along Whidbey's Island, being about forty miles long. It is well fitted for settlement and cultivation. The soil is good, the timber is excellent, and there are several open plains, which have been prepared by nature for the plough. We anchored for the evening about five miles to the south of this island; and, by making a very early move, we breakfasted ashore at Nisqually, about five in the morning.

Thus had I twice traversed the most extraordinary course of inland navigation in the world. The first that opened its mysteries in more modern times was Captain Berkeley, an Englishman sailing under the Portuguese flag. There is reason, however, for believing that, in a comparatively remote age, Berkeley had been anticipated by Spanish navigators. Juan de Fuca discovered the strait which bears his name; and Admiral Fonte penetrated up some of the more northerly inlets. Though both these explorers mingled a vast deal of fable with the truth, pretending to have made their way right through to the Atlantic Ocean, yet they clearly ascertained the general character of the coast to the extent just stated.

According to the whole tenour of my journal, this labyrinth of waters is peculiarly adapted for the powers of steam. In the case of a sailing vessel, our delays and dangers would have been tripled and quadrupled—a circumstance which raised my estimate of Vancouver's skill and perseverance at every step of my progress. But, independently of physical advantages, steam, as I have already mentioned, may be said to exert an almost superstitious influence over the savages; besides acting without intermission on their fears, it has, in a great measure, subdued their very love of robbery and violence. In a word, it has inspired the red man with a new opinion—new not in degree but in kind—of the superiority of his white brother.

After the arrival of the emigrants from Red River, their guide, a Cree of the name of Bras Croche, took a short trip in the Beaver. When asked what he thought of her—"Don't ask me," was his reply: "I cannot speak; my friends will say that I tell lies when I let them know what I have seen; Indians are fools and know nothing; I can see that the iron machinery makes the ship to go, but I cannot see what makes the iron machinery itself to go." Bras Croche, though very intelligent, and, like all the Crees, partially civilized, was nevertheless so full of doubt and wonder, that he would not leave the vessel till he got a certificate to the effect, that he had been on board of a ship which needed neither sails nor paddlers. Though not one of his countrymen would understand a word of what was written, yet the most sceptical among them would not dare to question the truth of a story which had a document in its favour. A savage stands nearly as much in awe of paper, pen, and ink, as of steam itself; and, if he once puts his cross to any writing, he has rarely been known to violate the engagement which such writing is supposed to embody or to sanction. To him the very look of black and white is a powerful "medicine."

Before leaving Nisqually, let me still farther illustrate the character of the tribes of the north-west coast by a summary sketch of the condition of their slaves. These thralls are just as much the property of their masters as so many dogs, with this difference against them, that a man of cruelty and ferocity enjoys a more exquisite pleasure in tasking, or starving, or torturing, or killing a fellow-creature, than in treating any one of the lower animals in a similar way. Even in the most inclement weather, a mat or a piece of deer-skin is the slave's only clothing, whether by day or by night, whether under cover or in the open air. To eat without permission, in the very midst of an abundance which his toil has procured, is as much as his miserable life is worth; and the only permission which is ever vouchsafed to him, is to pick up the offal thrown out by his unfeeling and imperious lord. Whether in open war or in secret assassination, this cold and hungry wretch invariably occupies the post of danger.

But all this is nothing, when compared with the purely wanton atrocities to which these most helpless and pitiable children of the human race are subjected. They are beaten, lacerated, and maimed—the mutilating of fingers or toes, the splitting of noses, the scooping out of eyes, being ordinary occurrences. They are butchered—without the excuse or the excitement of a gladiatorial combat—to make holidays; and, as if to carry persecution beyond the point at which the wicked are said to cease from troubling, their corpses are often cast into the sea, to be washed out and in by the tide. To show how diabolically ingenious the masters are in the work of murder, six slaves, on the occasion of a late merry-making at Sitka, were placed in a row, with their throats over a sharp ridge of a rock, while a pole, loaded with a chuckling demon at either end, ground away at the backs of their necks till life was extinct. What a proof of the degrading influence of oppression, that men should submit in life to treatment, from which the black bondmen of Cuba or Brazil would be glad to escape by suicide!

To return to my narrative: we almost immediately departed from Nisqually in the steamer for the Chutes River, about five miles farther up Puget Sound, having despatched a band of horses to meet us there. At the Chutes, which give name to the stream, the fall is about twenty feet, where grist and saw-mills might be erected with great advantage.

Next day we reached the Cowlitz Farm, where, on the following morning, the Rev. Mr. Demers, of the Roman Catholic church, breakfasted with us. He had just returned from visiting the country situated between Nisqually and Frazer's River. At Fort Langley he had seen upwards of three thousand inhabitants of Vancouver's Island, who had been fishing during the summer in the stream just mentioned. Everywhere the natives received him with the greatest respect. They had, however, been very much puzzled with regard to the sex of their visitor. From his dress they took him for a woman, but from his beard for a man; but, feeling that such inconsistencies could not both be true, they pursued a middle course, by referring him to a distinct species.

About noon we embarked in a bateau on the Cowlitz, and encamped about eight in the evening at its mouth, where we met Mr. Steel, the principal shepherd of the Puget Sound Company, driving a flock of rams to Nisqually.

By two in the morning we were again on the water, and with the first dawn descried the Hudson's Bay Company's barque Columbia, which was returning, like ourselves, from the north-west coast, beating her way up the stream. Having overtaken her near the lower branch of the Willamette, we boarded her in time for breakfast, to the satisfaction of all parties; and, as a specimen of the delays and difficulties of this intricate river, we learned that, in addition to her usual share of detention at its mouth, she had already been a fortnight within the bar. After doing ample justice to the ship's good things, we again shot ahead as far as the Cattlepootle River; and, having there gladly exchanged the bateau for horses, we enjoyed an exhilarating ride across a succession of luxuriant prairies, which are better adapted for pasturage than tillage, being periodically flooded by the high waters of the month of July. Ten or twelve miles of this beautiful country brought us, by four in the afternoon, to Fort Vancouver, where we found that the intermittent fever, which had been raging at our departure, had lost much of its virulence during our northern trip.

Hardly had the Columbia reached Vancouver, when the Cowlitz, which had made a voyage to the Sandwich Islands and California, was reported to be off the bar; and soon afterwards her papers came up by boat from Fort George, along with a passenger of the name of De Mofras, who represented himself, for he had no credentials, as an *attaché* of the French embassy in Mexico. Though this gentleman professed to be collecting information for the purpose of making a book, yet, with the exception of accompanying us to the Willamette, he scarcely went ten miles from the comfortable quarters of Fort Vancouver, while, in conversation, he was more ready to dilate on his own equestrian feats, than to hear what others might be able to tell him about the country or the people.

Fort Vancouver, the Company's grand depôt on the west side of the Rocky Mountains, is situated about ninety miles from the sea, the Columbia, in front of it, being about one mile in width. Within an oblong enclosure of upwards of six hundred feet by two hundred, which is surrounded by pickets, there are contained several houses, stores, magazines, granaries, workshops, &c.; while the dwellings of the servants, the stables, the hospital, &c., form a little village on the outside of the walls.

The people of the establishment, besides officers and native labourers, vary in number, according to the season of the year, from a hundred and thirty to more than two hundred. They consist of Canadians, Sandwich Islanders, Europeans, and half-breeds; and they contain among them agriculturists, voyageurs, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, carpenters, masons, tailors, shoemakers, &c., &c. Their weekly rations are usually twenty-one pounds of salted salmon and one bushel of potatoes, for each man; and, in addition to fish, there are also venison and wild fowl, with occasionally a little beef and pork.

Most of the men are married to aboriginal or half-breed women; and the swarms of children in the little village already mentioned present a strongly suggestive contrast with the scantiness of the rising generation in almost every native village on the Lower Columbia.

Amid so large a population, the surgeon of the establishment finds ample employment; to the hospital already mentioned the most serious cases are removed, seldom exceeding eight or ten in number, and generally consisting of fevers, fractures, and neglected syphilis.

There is an elementary school for the children of both sexes. Though at present there is no clergyman at Vancouver, yet divine service is regularly performed every Sunday in English to the Protestants, and in

French to the Catholics. The same chapel—a building, by the by, unworthy of the establishment—served both purposes at the time of our visit; but separate places of worship were about to be erected for the two denominations.

The farm of Fort Vancouver contains upwards of twelve hundred acres under cultivation, which have this year produced four thousand bushels of wheat, three thousand five hundred of barley, oats, and peas, and a very large quantity of potatoes and other vegetables. The wheat, which has yielded ten returns, is of very fine quality, weighing from sixty-five to sixty-eight pounds and a half a bushel. There are, moreover, fifteen hundred sheep, and between four and five hundred head of cattle.

During my sojourn at Vancouver, I made a short excursion to the rapidly rising settlement on the Willamette. This nucleus of civilization is perhaps more completely isolated than even the colony of Red River. From the inhabited parts of the United States it is separated by deserts of rock and sand on either side of the dividing range of mountains—deserts, with whose horrors every reader of Washington Irving's "Astoria" is familiar; or, if the maritime route be preferred, the voyage from New York to the Columbia occupies about two hundred degrees of latitude, and, by the actual course, about a hundred and fifty of longitude; while the navigation of the river itself, up to the mouth of the Willamette, including the detention before crossing the bar, amounts, on an average, to far more than the run of a sailing packet across the Atlan[illegible] Again, to look in the direction of California—a direction, by the by, in which the Willamette settlement is more likely to send forth adventurers than to receive them—the country, if less barren than that to the eastward, is far more rugged. With respect, moreover, to the savage tribes, the former track is more dangerous than the latter, though certainly less dangerous than once it was. It was, in fact, on this southern route that the massacre of twenty-one Americans on the Umqua, already mentioned in a general way, took place. A trapper of the name of Smith, a remarkably shrewd and intelligent man, had encamped on the left bank of the last-mentioned river with twenty followers, and had ascended the stream in a canoe with two companions of his own party and a native of the neighbourhood, to find a convenient place for crossing. On his return, his Indian was hailed by another from the shore, who spoke to him in his own language, which was unknown alike to Smith and to his people. A sufficiently intelligible interpretation, however, soon followed; for Smith's savage upset the conoe by a jerk, thereby pitching the guns of the white men, as well as the white men themselves, into the current. Under a heavy fire, Smith and one of his men found their way to the bank, the other man having fallen a victim either to the enemy's shot, or to the depths of the Umqua. On reaching the banks of the river opposite to his camp, the trapper found his men murdered, and all his property rifled. Smith, after encountering many dangers, and enduring many hardships, reached one of our forts; and, at great inconvenience to our own business, we compelled the savages, by a demonstration of force, to surrender to him their booty.

To return to the settlement on the Willamette: the river in question may be ascended by any such vessel as can navigate the Columbia, to its falls, which are about sixteen miles from its mouth, while farther up it is not subject to any obstacle or interruption capable of impeding inland craft. The neighbourhood of the falls, as being the only portage between the sea and the fertile valley above, has since then become the site of what is called Oregon City.

The settlement, to refer exclusively to the time of my visit, extends from the falls for a considerable distance up both banks of the stream, containing about a hundred and twenty farms, varying in size from a hundred to five hundred acres each. The produce of this season has been about thirty-five thousand bushels of excellent wheat, with due proportions of oats, barley, peas, potatoes, &c. The cattle are three thousand, the horses two thousand five hundred, and the hogs an indefinite multitude.

This settlement was formed about ten years ago, under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company, as a retreat for its retiring servants. Of these, who are principally Canadians, there are now sixty, with their half-breed families; there are, moreover, sixty-five new settlers from the United States, most of them with wives and children. The whole population, therefore, amounts to about five hundred souls, besides about a thousand natives of all ages, who have been domesticated as agricultural servants. In connexion with this settlement, or rather in the anticipation of establishing it, the Hudson's Bay Company took possession of the ground near the falls as far back as 1828.

Even now, when the American citizens have outnumbered the British subjects, the Willamette settlement is, in a great measure, dependent on the Hudson's Bay Company. Of the wheat we have this season bought four thousand bushels; and from us almost every settler receives his supplies of imported goods, at prices not much higher than those paid by our own servants.

We rode over a great part of the settlement, visiting many of the colonists, by whom we were very kindly received. They all appear to be comfortably lodged, with abundance of provisions; and, if not rich, they are at least independent. This colony, if colony it can be called, in the absence of any political relation with a mother country, will doubtless rapidly rise in importance, and soon be enabled to supply a large quantity of wheat, hides, and tallow, for exportation to a foreign market.

Between the valley of the Willamette and the sea lie the Falatine Plains, an extensive district of rich pasture; while again, towards the interior, to the eastward of the agricultural settlement, a land of hill and dale presents one of the finest tracts for grazing within the same parallels in the world. Throughout the whole country, cattle may find food for themselves all the year round, the expense and labour of housing the animals and of furnishing them with fodder being thus saved. What an advantage over the frosts and snows on the east side of the Rocky Mountains! But perhaps the most agreeable feature in the case is the prospect which it holds out with respect to the civilization of the Indians. Savages, accustomed, as they necessarily are, to pursuits in which the reward immediately follows the toil, may be said to have an inherent distaste for the slow returns of agriculture; and even pastoral life is more than they can bear, provided it involve the necessity, as in the Hudson Bay Company's territories, of hard labour in the hottest season, and of incessant care in the coldest. But, on the west side of the mountains, the aborigines may have all the pleasure of property—without which there can be no civilization—and hardly any of its cares.

In this matter, there is the greater room for hope, inasmuch as savages, having but few internal influences to guide them, are peculiarly the creatures of external circumstances — so far, at least, as their constitutional indolence does not stand in the way. Thus the character of the gregarious horsemen of the plains is different from that of the solitary prowler of the woods; and that again is different from the character of those who exclusively or principally draw their living from the waters. So unerring is this principle, that, from external circumstances alone, an intelligent man may generally ascertain, within certain limits, the habits and dispositions of a tribe. But experience, by changing circumstances and character together, has placed the point beyond dispute. The Sarcees, now inhabiting the banks of Bow River, were originally Chipewyans from Athabasca; and they resemble rather the Blackfeet than their own original stock. Again, the Crees, on migrating from the bush into the plains, exchanged the characteristics of their race for those of the tribes among which their southerly advance placed them. Lastly, the Chipewyans, as a body, having occupied much of the ground which the Crees had abandoned, form, as it were, an intermediate link between what they themselves have lately been, and what their descendants, the Sarcees, now are.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM VANCOUVER TO SAN FRANCISCO.

Departure from Vancouver—Boating down the Columbia—Embarkation on board of the Cowlitz, the grand epoch of my journey—Damage from lightning—Bar of the Columbia—Discovery of Columbia; comparative merits of Heceta, Meares, and Gray—Disputed territory, claims of United States—Christmas Day, home and abroad—Whales—Cape Mendocino—New Albion and California—Bodega and Ross, Russian American Company, Russian Sovereignty—Russian discoveries—Russia and England—Sir Francis Drake, past and present—First glance of California—Port of San Francisco, discovered by land—Upper California, motives for colonizing it—San Francisco, entrance of harbour—Presidios—Siege of a mud kitchen—General description of harbour—Russians and English, compared with Californians—Yerba Buena.

Towards the close of November, the two barques dropped down the river: first, the Columbia, bound for England; and then the Cowlitz, destined to convey me to California, the Sandwich Islands, and Sitka. In the latter were Mr. Hales, of the American exploring squadron, Mr. de Mofras, and Mrs. Rae and family, all passengers for California, while my own immediate party remained behind at Vancouver, to make the most of our time while the vessel should be creeping along to the lowest point for safe embarkation.

Accordingly, on the last day of the month, we left the fort about three in the afternoon, with a boat and ten men. As the rain was pouring in torrents, we made very little progress, so that it was dark before we were abreast of the upper branch of the Willamette, opposite to which we encamped, on the right bank of the Columbia, paying pretty well for very indifferent accommodation. This portion of the river presents nothing but swampy tracts in every direction, the ancient and most probably the perpetual freehold of millions of wild fowl of every name; and no sooner had they ascertained the presence of squatters from our watch-fires, than they set up a serenade of several miles in diameter, in which their treble appeared to become shriller by practice. Sleep was, of course, almost out of the question, our only consolation being that each of us, for his own share, kept at least some myriads of the enemy out of bed; and, though the weather had not by any means improved during the night, yet we were glad enough by four in the morning to give our tormentors the slip.

After passing the Cowlitz River and the Coffin Rock, we reached Oak Point about two in the afternoon. As a gale was now beginning to rise, besides that we were ourselves wet and chilly, we determined at once to make for an eligible encampment, which was known to be at no great distance below us; but so much were we impeded by the rain and wind, that we were overtaken by the night before reaching the desired spot, and were about to return to the Indian village of Oak Point, when a heavy squall, in which hail and rain took the pelting of us by turns, suddenly burst upon us, nearly swamping our clumsy craft. In spite of the pitchy darkness, and of the probability of our being unable to land, we had no other choice than to run ashore from the storm, and to let the boat's head take its chance among the bushes. Fortunately, we got footing, and, after literally groping our way, were delighted to discover room for one tent; and when, after two hours, the wet wood was coaxed into a tolerable blaze, we contrived to find space for the other also. We could now have slept well, more particularly after the sleeplessness of the previous night; but, besides worrying ourselves with the possibility that the tide might rise upon us, we were kept awake by a concert more horrible than that of the denizens of the bog—the crash of trees falling around us before the violence of the storm. Moreover, the tempest, without abating its fury in any respect, embodied fresh elements of terror and mischief. For the first time since we crossed the mountains we were visited by thunder and lightning, which on this coast are in season only during winter; and, to crown the climax, we felt, or fancied, a slight shock of an earthquake. In this state of affairs, we durst not budge before daylight; and on starting, about six in the morning, we were mortified to find that we had stopped short of McKenzie's encampment, the object of our yesterday's search, by only three or four hundred yards.

The river was absolutely covered with swans, pelicans, geese, cranes, loons, ducks, cormorants, eagles, gulls, &c. —the swans, in particular, presenting themselves in flights of a hundred, or even two hundred at a time. These birds inhabit numerous bushy islands, which appear to have been originally formed by accumulations of driftwood, and which, being regularly flooded at high tide, are still almost as amphibious as most of their tenants.

We breakfasted on the site of what had once been a native village, one of those sad monuments of a perishing race which are of so frequent occurrence on the Lower Columbia, and thence made a traverse to Tongue Point, on the left bank of the river, amid a succession of squalls, accompanied by rain, and hail, and sleet. This traverse occupied the whole remainder of this miserable day; and it was as dangerous as it was tedious and disagreeable; for the Columbia, now an estuary of five times its own proper width, exhibited sea enough to do full credit to the rudest gusts of the fitful storm. Tongue Point, where we encamped, being very few miles above Fort George, the intended place of our embarkation, we found that we had timed our departure from Vancouver to admiration, for, in the course of the afternoon, we saw the Cowlitz beating down against the same south-wester that was distressing and retarding ourselves.

Next morning, being the 3rd of December, we reached Fort George, formerly Astoria, about nine o'clock, wet, cold, and comfortless, as, in fact, we had been, with little or no intermission, during the three days and nights of our downward passage. If we had enjoyed at Vancouver a week longer than our friends who had started in the Cowlitz, we had paid quite enough for our whistle. The Columbia had already arrived at Astoria; and, as the Cowlitz joined her in the course of the afternoon, we immediately embarked, and, on comparing notes with her passengers, found that, on the whole, the balance, as we had anticipated, was in their favour.

To myself, my embarkation on board of the Cowlitz formed the principal epoch of my journey. Hitherto, I had, with few exceptions, traversed scenes which, to say nothing of their comparative barrenness of interest, were either in themselves familiar to me, or differed only in degree from such as were so. But from Astoria every step would impart to me the zest of novelty towards objects essentially attractive and important. In California, I had before me a fragment of the grandest of colonial empires; in the Sandwich Islands, I was to contemplate the noblest of all triumphs, the slow but sure victory of the highest civilization over the lowest barbarism; and to Russia I looked forward with the peculiar feelings of an Englishman, as the only possible rival of his country in the extent and variety of moral and political influence.

Next morning we ran across to Baker's Bay with a fair wind, and were there obliged to drop anchor; for, though the breeze might have served us, yet the sea was breaking too heavily on the bar. During fourteen days, one south-easter followed another, each bringing its deluges of rain, at mid-winter; while, to mark the difference of climate between the two sides of the continent, the good folks of Montreal, though occupying a lower parallel than ourselves, were sleighing it merrily through the clearest and driest of atmospheres. But, towards the close of the fortnight, the weather occasioned something much worse than mere detention. On the 16th of the month — the month, be it observed, of

December—our mainmasts were simultaneously struck by lightning, that of the Cowlitz escaping with a slight scorching, but that of the Columbia being so severely shattered as perhaps to require replacing at the Sandwich Islands, before she could safely proceed to England.

About the 18th of the month, the wind veered to the northward, with frost and clear weather; but it was not before the 21st that the bar became sufficiently tranquil. There being now a favourable breeze from the north-east, as well as smooth water, we prepared to escape from the prison, which had held us in durance vile for seventeen days; and accordingly, about two in the afternoon, both vessels got under way. We were all, even the most experienced among us, anxiously excited at the prospect of encountering a spot already pre-eminent, among congenial terrors of much older fame, for destruction of property and loss of life—its unenviable trophies consisting of three ships wrecked and several others damaged, to say nothing of boats swamped with all their crews. Even under the conditions of fair wind and smooth water, we had reason for not feeling quite secure. On a depth of four or five fathoms, the river and the ocean, even in their mildest moods, could hardly meet without raising a swell, the more dangerous on account of its shallowness; and the slightest caprice of the breeze, while we were entangled amid the intricate and narrow channels, might have left us to be driven by an impetuous tide on sands, where the stoutest ship, in the finest weather, would be knocked to pieces in very few hours. We contrived, however, to turn our consort to good account. The Columbia, having been anchored nearer to the bar, took the lead; and the Cowlitz, of course, was careful to make something of a pilot out of her wake, professional pilots being clearly out of the question. On gaining the safe side of the passage, the Columbia hoisted her colours and fired a salute for Old England—a signal of safety which, in a few minutes, we had the happiness of returning. Here the vessels separated for their immediate destinations of Woahoo and California; and, as our present breeze was a perfectly fair wind for both, they diverged so rapidly, that, before the day failed them, they had pretty nearly lost sight of each other. As the Cowlitz, though she had started from Vancouver five days later than the Columbia, had yet spent four weeks in coming about a hundred miles, our spanking progress along the coast was quite delightful, in spite of an occasionally intruding suspicion that such luck was too good to last, south-easters being as much the rule in winter as north-westers are during the rest of the year.

The detention of our two ships had by no means exceeded the average delay, more particularly considering the season. During the winter, vessels often lie in Baker's Bay from three to seven weeks, for the indispensable conjunction of fair wind and smooth water. The difficulties, too, of ingress, as compared with those of egress, are necessarily aggravated by the circumstance that a vessel cannot so snugly watch her opportunity in the open ocean as in Baker's Bay; and the danger of her position would be still greater, were she not exempted from the hazards of a lee-shore by the openness of the adjacent coasts, and the directions of the prevailing gales.

But these obstructions, in proportion as they lessen the value of the river, enhanced at the same time the merit of the man who first surmounted them—a merit which cannot be denied to the judgment, and perseverance, and courage, of Captain Gray of Boston. Whether or not Captain Gray's achievement is entitled to rank as a discovery, the question is one which a bare sense of justice, without regard to political consequences, requires to be decided by facts alone. First, in 1775, Heceta, a Spaniard, discovered the opening between Cape Disappointment, on the north, and Point Adams, on the south—a discovery the more worthy of notice, inasmuch as such opening can hardly be observed, excepting when approached from the westward; and, being induced partly by the appearance of the land, and partly by native traditions, as to a great river of the west, he filled the gap by a guess with his Rio de San Roque. Secondly, in 1788, Meares, an Englishman sailing under Portuguese colours, approached the opening in question into seven fathoms of water, but pronounced the Rio de San Roque to be a fable, being neither able to enter it nor discern any symptoms of its existence. Thirdly, in 1791, Gray, though, after an effort of nine days, he failed to effect an entrance, was yet convinced of the existence of a great river by the colour and current of the water. Fourthly, in April, 1792, Vancouver, while he fell short of Gray's conviction, then, however, unknown to him, correctly decided that the river, if it existed, was a very intricate one, and not a safe, navigable harbour for vessels of the burden of his ship. Fifthly, in May, 1792, Gray, returning expressly to complete his discovery of the previous year, entered the river, finding the channel very narrow, and not navigable more than fifteen miles upwards, even for his Columbia, of two hundred and twenty tons. According to this summary statement of incontrovertible facts, the inquiry resolves itself into three points, the discovery of the opening by Heceta, the discovery of the river by Gray on his first visit, and the discovery of a practicable entrance by the same individual revisiting the spot for the avowed purpose of confirming and maturing his previous belief. Of the three points, the most important two, the two also which are least indebted to accident, are in Gray's favour, while the value of Heceta's elementary and fortuitous step in the process is still farther diminished by the very inconsiderable light which it afforded to Meares.

An Englishman is the less tempted to do injustice to Gray, inasmuch as his success, however creditable to himself as a bold and skilful mariner, cannot be made to support the territorial claim of his nation. He discovered one point in a country, which, as a whole, other nations had already discovered; so that the pretensions of America had been already forestalled by Spain and England. Supposing a Frenchman to have been the first to enter the harbour of Honolulu, would he have secured to France the whole of the Sandwich Islands, even on the ground, admitted on all hands to be correct, that the port in question was more valuable than all the rest of the group? To take a still more apposite instance: supposing a Russian to have been the first to enter the harbour of San Francisco, would he have secured to Russia the whole of California, even on the ground, admitted on all hands to be correct, that the port in question was more valuable than all that had previously been discovered on either side by England or Spain? But Gray's success was as defective in form as it was impotent in substance. Discovery confers merely a preferable right of taking possession within a reasonable time, requiring, even for this limited purpose, to be accompanied by a claim, as expressive of an intention to maintain and enforce such right. Now, neither Gray nor his government ever meditated any such claim till after the lapse of nearly twenty years, the journey of Lewis and Clarke, in 1805, across the continent, neither having reference to any previous discovery, nor being itself meant to be the foundation of any territorial pretension; nor could the coast of the Pacific, so long as it was separated from the republic by the foreign colony of Louisiana, have been possessed or claimed on any ground whatever, without doing violence to the constitution of the United States. But the claim, even if validly made, would have been forfeited by subsequent proceedings. Though Astoria and some other posts were planted, not, however, by the government, but by individuals, yet they were all voluntarily abandoned during the war, so as to lend a positive sanction to the negative argument, founded on lapse of time — a sanction rendered only the more conclusive by the second voluntary abandonment of Astoria, when restored under the treaty of peace. Nor has the Willamette settlement, in which Americans have now begun to plant themselves, about fifty years after the date of Gray's discovery, improved in this respect the position of the United States, for that colony was originally formed by British subjects, acting under British authority, its nationality being as little affected as that of Canada, in the eye of public law, by American immigration.

In truth, the argument of discovery was never broached till the acquisition of Louisiana, which took place in 1803, had brought the republic to the height of land between the Missouri and the Columbia, an acquisition which gradually nursed into life the marauder's plea of contiguity — in other words, when the Americans found the north-west coast within their reach, then, but not till then, did they try to find pretexts for grasping it. But the end was as impracticable as the means were unjustifiable. The United States will never possess more than a nominal jurisdiction, nor long possess even that, on the west side of the Rocky Mountains; and supposing the country to be divided to-morrow to the entire satisfaction of the most unscrupulous patriot in the Union, I challenge Congress to bring my prediction and its own power to the test, by imposing the Atlantic tariff on the ports of the Pacific.

But the Americans profess to have fortified their own rights of discovery by those of Spain, having obtained, in 1819, a cession of all the claims of that power to that portion of the coast which lies to the north of the parallel of forty-two degrees. Now, as against England, America could hold such claims only on the same footing as that on which Spain herself held them—

namely, under the stipulations of the treaty of 1790 between the two monarchies. According to the third article of that international compact, neither of the contracting parties was to disturb the other in the formation of settlements; and, according to its fifth article, the inherent sovereignty of such settlements was restricted only by the reciprocal right of access for the purposes of trade.

As this treaty has not been affected by the temporary convention between England and the United States, for the latter substantially re-echoes the provisions of the former, it necessarily renders British sovereignty coextensive with British possession, as existing at any point of time, whether present or future—a conclusion which, considering the number of British posts and the range of their operations, cuts the knot with all its intricacies at a single blow. Clearly, therefore, America would rather weaken than strengthen her claim by tacking to it the rights of Spain. But, in point of fact, Spain was not competent to substitute a stranger for herself with respect to England. The international relations, as just now quoted, were, so to speak, purely personal; nor could any thing be more certain than that, in 1790, neither Spain would have accepted America for England, nor England have accepted America for Spain. But the relations in question, even if not in their own nature personal, were practically rendered incapable of being transferred to any third party by the correlative provisions; for the treaty of 1790 professed to ascertain and define the relative position of the two powers throughout the whole of the Pacific Ocean and also along the eastern coast of South America. The north-west coast, therefore, was merely a part of a whole; and the alleged transfer of 1819, even if admissible on other grounds, would have operated as a fraud against England by forcing on her a substitute incompetent to discharge the obligations of the principal.

As against England, however, the treaty of 1819 did not contemplate the substitution of America for Spain, after drawing the boundary between Mexico and the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the third article concluded with a clause of mutual renunciation and cession—a clause which, if not expressed, would have been understood as a necessary corollary to the substantive adjustment of the line. At all events, the cession to America could not have force against England, unless the renunciation on the part of Spain had force also in her favour; but so far was this from being the case, that Spain was still entitled to trade with the English settlements, and also, so far as England was concerned, to form settlements of her own on any unoccupied portions of the north-west coast, so that, in pledging herself to America, as she virtually did, not to form any such settlements, she made a cession, if not in favour of the United States, at least in favour of Great Britain, under the guarantee of the republic.

To conclude with one word, this assumption of Spanish rights, however it may promote American interests, does little to establish American candour in the premises; for, though it dated its origin only from 1819, yet America had, as far back as 1814, demanded, in reliance, forsooth, on her own proper claims, fully as much as she would even now be glad to accept,—the whole country to the south of the parallel of forty-nine degrees.

In this digression, which has no pretensions to the character of a complete discussion, I have confined myself to the most prominent points of the American side of the question, and to the most palpable defects of the same. On behalf of England, direct arguments are superfluous, for, until some other power puts a good title on paper, actual possession must be held to be of itself conclusive in her favour.

But to return to my narrative, which left us scudding down the coast before a fair wind: we again encountered, during the night, our old enemy the south-easter, with its usual accompaniments of heavy sea and wet weather; but, having now plenty of elbow-room, we made the best of our bad fortune and left the land behind us, keeping as much to the south of south-west as possible. For three days this state of things remained unchanged—our only relief from the monotony of misery being that we were now and then able to amuse ourselves with the unwieldy gambols of a few sperm whales.

Fortunately, on the 25th, the gale moderated sufficiently to let us enjoy, in comparative comfort, the national fare of roast beef and plum-pudding, washed down, of course, with the ship's choicest bottles, to the health and happiness of absent friends. On this day, sacred to the domestic ties, from how many spots of land and water do Englishmen indulge in one and the same train of homeward aspirations; and from how many crowded hearths does England, in return, send forth yearnings of affectionate regret to all the corners of the earth! What other empire ever did so much, on this or any other day, to bind the world into one with the mutually responsive emotions of its children!

Next morning, the south-easter, as if it had suspended business merely to keep Christmas, returned in full force. On the 27th, however, the sea became calm, the sun was bright, and the wind changed to the north-west, so that we were enabled to make for the land with studding-sails and sky-scrapers all set. Several whales favoured us with their visits; and, as there was now some pleasure in sauntering on deck, we made the most of their vagaries to beguile our idle hours. Though we had been driven out to sea at least a hundred and fifty miles, so as to pass unseen fully six or seven degrees of coast, yet we had not missed any other object of interest than Cape Mendocino, the extremity of a snowy range —a spur of the Rocky Mountains—which forms the height of land between the Columbia on the one side, and the Colorado and the Sacramento on the other. But it is not merely by dividing the waters that this promontory and the chain, which it terminates, constitute a natural boundary between the north and the south. In soil, the separated regions differ as widely as the Shetland Islands and the Isle of Wight, while, in climate, they present as striking a contrast as the mountains of Scotland and the valleys of Spain.

With daylight, on the 28th, we again came in sight of the coast between Cape Mendocino and Bodega Bay, our vessel being surrounded by land-birds, that fluttered and played about us as if to welcome our arrival. Whatever may be the extent of New Albion, as the theatre of Drake's discoveries, the neighbouring coast certainly forms part of it; but, as this name has practically become unimportant, in a political sense, since the date of the treaty already mentioned between England and Spain, it appears to have been gradually superseded by the Spanish term California, as far to the northward as the parallel of forty-two degrees. This latter term, which was originally appropriated to the peninsula, situated on the gulf of the same name, and supposed, down to the beginning of the eighteenth century, to be an island, was gradually extended by the Spaniards to the whole of the north-west coast, being supplanted, however, in its turn by other names, as far to the south as the forty-second parallel aforesaid. The peninsula and continental divisions of California are respectively known as Old and New, or Lower and Upper—the former distinction being somewhat out of place where all is new, and the latter being significant only in the mechanical sense of the map-maker, without the usual reference to the course of any common stream.

In the course of the morning, we passed Bodega and Ross, respectively the harbour and the fort of the Russian American Company. That association, which assumed its present form towards the close of the last century, under the patronage of the Emperor Paul, could not find any native supply of bread-stuffs nearer than the central steppes of Asia, to be transported thence over about a hundred and twenty degrees of longitude and thirty of latitude, by barges from the head of the Sena to Yakutsk, on horses from Yakutsk to Ochotsk, and in ships from Ochotsk to Sitka. So expensive and tedious a route operating almost as a prohibition, the Company's establishments were, of course, very inadequately supplied with that which, to a Russian, is peculiarly the staff of life, so that a design was naturally formed of planting an agricultural settlement on the adjacent coast of America.

With this view, in March, 1806—the very month, by the by, in which Lewis and Clarke left their winter's encampment of Clatsop Point to retrace their steps across the continent—Von Resanoff, who was then the Company's principal representative, attempted to enter the Columbia, but was baffled in the attempt by the same circumstances which had so long retarded the discovery of the river. Eight years afterwards, however, the extensive and beautiful valley of Santa Rosa, which opens into Bodega Bay, was actually occupied — Spain being too busy elsewhere with more serious evils to repel the intrusion.

As compared with the Columbia, California, besides its greater fertility and its easier access, possessed the additional recommendation of literally teeming with sea-otters, thus securing to the Company an incidental advantage, more important, perhaps, in a pecuniary sense, than the primary object of pursuit. Since 1814, the Russians have sent to market from California the enormous number of eighty thousand sea-otters, besides a large supply of fur-seals, having thereby so far diminished the breeds as to throw nearly all the expense of their establishments on the agricultural branch of the business—an expense far exceeding the mere cost of production, with a reasonable freight. The Californian settlement required ships exclusively for itself; and, though the Russians had so far conciliated the local authorities as to be permitted to hunt both on the coast and in the interior, they were yet obliged, by the undisguised jealousy and dislike of their presence, constantly to maintain a military attitude, with strong fortifications and considerable garrisons. Under these circumstances, the Russians lately entered into an arrangement with the Hudson's Bay Company for obtaining the requisite supply of grain and other provisions at a moderate price; and they have accordingly, within these few weeks, transferred their stock to a Swiss adventurer of the name of Sutter, and are now engaged in withdrawing all their people from the country.

That the Russians ever actually intended to claim the sovereignty of this part of the coast, I do not believe. The term Ross was certainly suspicious, as being the constant appellation of the ever-varying phases of Russia from the days of Ruric, the very name under which, nearly ten centuries ago, the red-bearded dwellers on the Borysthenes, who have since spread themselves with resistless pertinacity over more than two hundred degrees of longitude, carried terror and desolation in their crazy boats to the gates of Constantinople, a city destined alike to be their earliest quarry and their latest prey. So expansive a monosyllable could hardly be a welcome neighbour to powers so feeble and jealous as Spain and Mexico.

In justice, however, to Russia, I have no hesitation in saying that, under the recognised principles of colonization, she is fully entitled to all that she holds in America. As early as 1741, Beering and Tschirikoff had visited the continent respectively in 59° and 56°, about a degree above Sitka, and about a degree below it—the former, moreover, seeing many islands, and perhaps the peninsula of Alaska, on his return; and, by the year 1763, private adventurers had explored the whole width of the ocean, discovering the intermediate chain of islands, from the scene of Beering's shipwreck, in the vicinity of Kamschatka, to Alaska, then erroneously supposed to be an island, and thence still further eastward to Kodyak—no other nation having previously penetrated, or even pretended to have penetrated, farther north than the parallel of fifty-three degrees.

But the Russian discoveries were distinguished by this favourable peculiarity, that they were, in a great measure, achieved independently of the more southerly discoveries of Spain, being the result of rumours of a neighbouring continent, which, in the beginning of the century, the Russian conquerors had found to be rife in Kamschatka. Moreover, in the case of the Russians, discovery and possession had advanced hand in hand. The settlement of Kodyak was formed four years before Meares erected his solitary shed in Nootka Sound; and Sitka was established fully ten or twelve years earlier than Astoria.

According to this plain summary of undeniable facts, Russia had clearly a better claim, at least down to the parallel of 56°, than any other power could possibly acquire; and this is, in truth, all that has been conceded to her, for the parallel of 54°, 40′, which has been fixed by the treaty as the international boundary on the coast, is necessary, in order to include the whole of a certain island, which the parallel of 56° intersects.

In offering this defence of what a mistaken patriotism, on the part of English writers, is too apt to stigmatize as aggression and intrusion, I have in view no other object than to do what I believe to be right; for, considering that Russia and England meet each other, and the world at large, on far more points than any other two nations have ever done or are ever likely to do, I cannot but feel that policy and philanthropy alike demand on either side the habitual exercise of candour and moderation. Their continued harmony would be the surest guarantee of the general tranquillity and amelioration of mankind; while a really national contest between them, such as would prompt each to put forth all her strength, and to exert all her influence, would involve, mediately or immediately, almost every other power in Europe and Asia, Protestant or Catholic, Christian or Infidel, Mohammedan or Pagan. In a word, England and Russia, whether as friends or as foes, cannot fail to control the destiny of the human race, for good or for evil, to an extent which comparatively confines every other nation within the scanty limits of its own proper locality.

In the afternoon, we passed Drake's Bay, supposed by some to be the spot where the gallant discoverer of New Albion lay at anchor, in 1579, for a considerable time. What an instructive contrast between the past and the present! Hardly had Drake returned from the buccaneering expedition, which the restrictive policy and exclusive pretensions of the Spanish crown exalted into a retribution, if not into a virtue, when Philip the Second, by adding the Portuguese monarchy to his paternal dominions, became sole arbiter of the commerce of the old world, from the Bay of Biscay to the Chinese seas, and undisputed lord of the new, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Strait of Magellan, not only holding, in fact, but also claiming of right, the intermediate oceans as wholly his own. How completely has our little party turned his Majesty's flanks, and broken his line-of-battle to boot, invading his most private close by such routes as he least suspected, to say nothing of the aggravation of our being all descended from one or other of the two races that Philip hated most! Some of us have crossed a breadth of continent, to which the Isthmus of Darien is but a leap; others have sailed from the Atlantic into the Pacific by a passage, to which Magellan's Strait is but a ditch; and one of us has penetrated through Mexico in a capacity which recognises Spain's richest colony as an independent republic. What a pregnant theme for a dialogue of the dead, with the proud old don as one of the interlocutors!

The southern point of Drake's Bay is formed by a projecting headland, called Punto de los Reyes. About ten miles from this point, somewhat to the southward, are two groups of rocks, known as the Gallerones, which, during thick weather, are dangerous to vessels approaching San Francisco. On these rocks the Russians formerly took a large number of fur-seals.

After doubling this point, the wind dropped, leaving us becalmed about ten miles from the harbour. We now began sensibly to feel the influence of a more genial climate; and, as the night was clear as well as warm, we could enjoy a scene which forcibly struck the imagination as an emblem of the lazy grandeur of the Spanish character. The sails flapped listlessly against the masts, the vessel heaved reluctantly on the sluggish waters; and the long swell slowly rolled the weight of this giant ocean towards the whitened strand.

During the whole of the 29th, we lay in this state of inactivity about five miles from the shore, which presented a level sward of about a mile in depth, backed by a high ridge of grassy slopes—the whole pastured by numerous herds of cattle and horses, which, without a keeper and without a fold, were growing and fattening, whether their owners waked or slept, in the very middle of winter, and in the coldest nook of the province. Here, on the very threshold of the country, was California in a nutshell, Nature doing every thing and man doing nothing—a text on which our whole sojourn proved to be little but a running commentary. While we lay like a log in the sea, we were glad to be surrounded by large flights of birds—ducks, pelicans, cormorants, gulls, &c.; and we experienced quite an excitement in boarding a tiny schooner, formerly the property of the Russian American Company, which was now stealing along the coast towards Bodega.

The Port of San Francisco, one of the finest harbours in the world, was singularly enough discovered by an inland expedition, and that, too, as late as about the year 1770. To recapitulate a few points, which, however, will be found to bear closely on much of the sequel, the career of northerly exploration, which had been set on foot by Cortez, after his conquest of Mexico, terminated in 1603, with Vircaino's discovery of the ports of San Diego and Monterey. During the seventeenth century, the pearl-fishery, at the mouth of the gulf, and the silver-mines at the foot of the peninsula—the very objects to attract a Spanish American—drew a good deal of attention to the country, on the part both of the government and of the merchants, each party making many attempts to colonize it, but uniformerly failing through the almost utter barrenness of its rocky surface.

At length, in or about 1697, the country was handed over to the Jesuits, who had earned their claim to this distinction by their spiritual conquest of Paraguay; but so many and various were the difficulties to be encountered, that, notwithstanding the characteristic zeal, and patience, and talent of their order, the fathers, when expelled from the Spanish dominions at the end of seventy years, had not advanced beyond the limits of the lower province. In 1767, the Jesuits were replaced by the Franciscans, to whom the Marquis de Croix, then viceroy of Mexico, proposed the spiritual invasion of Upper California—both His Excellency and the friars having their peculiar reasons for promoting this extension of the enterprise. In addition, perhaps, to better and purer motives, the friars had doubtless heard that the new land flowed with milk and honey, while the old might, on the contrary, be characterized, in the language also of Scripture, as being cursed with an earth of iron and a heaven of brass; and they, moreover, longed to eclipse the renown of their hated predecessors, for the two orders had always been as bitterly opposed to each other as the decencies of a united church permitted them to be.

On the other hand, His Excellency knew that France and England, in the persons of Bourgainville and Cook, were already taking a national interest in the isles of the Pacific Ocean, and that even Russia — a power which, when California was discovered, had not yet emerged from Europe—was silently continuing a progressive march of two centuries along the western shores of the new continent; and, in order to keep such intruders at as great a distance as possible from the vitals of Spanish America by a stronger right than an obsolete pretension, the viceroy really felt in the new expedition of the Franciscans a degree of interest, such as his predecessors had never even professed in the original inroad of the Jesuits.

Accordingly, missions were forthwith planned for San Diego and Monterey, the only two ports then known to exist in the upper province; but, as the wind on this coast blows from the north-west during three-fourths of the year, and as the Spaniards had not yet learned to evade the difficulty by gaining an offing, the three vessels that sailed from the gulf for San Diego were eminently unfortunate — one being lost, and the others spending respectively three and four months at sea. Under these circumstances, the remainder of the contemplated distance was undertaken by land; and, though the explorers did not succeed in finding Monterey, or rather in recognising it when found, they yet made a far more valuable discovery in the miniature mediterranean that lay to the north.

To the reverend sharers in the expedition, the discovery in question must have been as interesting as it was important. Before the vessels sailed from Loreto, the leading fathers had formally subdivided their new field of labour, so far as it was known to them, among such saints of the calendar as were in the highest odour with the Franciscans; and, when the chief of the conclave was reminded that St. Francis himself had been overlooked, he was ready with an answer to the effect, that their patron must first earn the compliment, by showing them a good port. Having thus put the saint to his mettle, the way-worn priests were in duty bound to acknowledge his guidance on hailing the magnificent inlet; and they were, in all probability, more highly delighted with their founder's triumph than with the intrinsic qualities of his harbour.

On the morning of the 30th, a light breeze enabled us again to get under way, and to work into the port. After crossing a bar, on which, however, there is a sufficient depth of water, we entered a strait of about two miles in width,—just narrow enough for the purposes of military defence,—observing, on the southern side of the mouth, a fort well situated for commanding the passage, but itself commanded by a hill behind. This fort is now dismantled and dilapidated; nor are its remains likely to last long, for the soft rock, on the very verge of which they already hang, is fast crumbling into the undermining tide beneath. A short distance beyond the fort, and on the same side of the strait, is situated a square of huts, distinguished by the lofty title of the Presidio of San Francisco, and tenanted, for garrisoned it is not, by a commandant and as many soldiers as might, if all told, muster the rank and file of a corporal's party; and though here the softness of the rock does nothing to aid the national alacrity in decaying, yet the adobes, or unbaked bricks, of which Captain Prado's stronghold is composed, have already succeeded in rendering this establishment as much of a ruin as the other.

In addition to this presidio, there are three others in the upper province, situated respectively at Monterey, Santa Barbara, and San Diego. But their principal occupation is gone. From the very commencement of the system, the pious fathers had deemed it rash and inexpedient to encounter the heathen with spiritual arms only; and, as neither the Jesuits nor the Franciscans could themselves lawfully carry carnal weapons, both the orders remedied this defect in their constitutions by enlisting soldiers in their service,—a kind of fellow-labourers unknown to St. Paul's missionary experience. Now it was as the head-quarters of these booted and spurred apostles of the faith that the presidios were primarily introduced, though each of them incidentally became the seat of government for its own subdivision of the province.

On the first settlement of either section of the country these troopers had no sinecure of it. In the lower province, the natives had suffered much from the cupidity of adventurers, who had forced them to dive for pearls and perhaps also to toil in the mines; and, in both provinces, they were roused into hostility, partly by the jealousy of their conjurors, and partly by the hopes of plunder. Many were the battles and sieges that resulted from such a state of feeling on the part of the natives; and it may not be out of place to borrow at full length from Father Palou, the biographer of the founder of the missions in the upper province, a graphic sketch of an attack made on the infant establishment of San Diego. After stating that the devil had stirred up the savages to resistance, and marshalled them in two bands to the number of a thousand, the reverend historian thus proceeds:—

"They arrived at the bed of the river on the night of the 4th of November, whence the two divisions took their respective routes; the one for the presidio, and the other for the mission. The party destined for the latter arrived at the huts of the converts without being observed; putting some Indians as guards to prevent the inmates from going out or giving any alarm, and threatening them with death if they attempted to do so. Some of them proceeded to the church and sacristy, for the purpose of robbing the ornaments, vestments, and whatever else they might find; while others laid hold of lights, and endeavoured to set the quarters of the soldiers on fire. These, who consisted only of a corporal and three men, were soon awakened by the horrid yells of the Indians, and immediately armed themselves; the Indians having already begun to discharge their arrows. The Father Vincente joined the soldiers, together with two boys. The Father Luis, who slept in a separate apartment, on hearing the noise, went towards the Indians, and, on approaching them, made use of the usual salutation, '*Love God, my* *children;'* when, observing it was the father, they laid hold of him as a wolf would lay hold of a lamb, and carried him to the side of the rivulet. There they tore off his holy habit, commenced giving him blows with their clubs, and discharged innumerable arrows at him. Not contented with taking away his life, with so much fury, they beat and cut to pieces his face, head, and the whole of his body, so that from head to food nothing remained whole except his consecrated hands, which were found entire in the place where he was murdered.

"Meanwhile, others of the Indians proceeded to the place where two carpenters and the blacksmith were sleeping, and who were awakened by the noise. The blacksmith ran out with his sword in hand, but was immediately shot dead with an arrow; one of the carpenters followed with a loaded musket, and shot some of the Indians, who were so much intimidated, that he was allowed to join the soldiers; the other carpenter, who was ill, was killed in bed by an arrow.

"The chief body of the Indians now engaged the soldiers, who made such good use of their fire-arms, by killing some and wounding others, that the Indians began to waver, but they at last set fire to the quarters of the Spaniards, which were only of wood, and who, in order to avoid being roasted alive, valiantly sallied forth and took possession of another small hut which had served for a kitchen, and which was constructed of dried bricks. The walls, however, were little more than a yard in height, and only covered with branches of trees and leaves to keep out the sun. They defended themselves by keeping up a continual fire upon the multitude, who, however, annoyed them much with their arrows and wooden spears, more particularly at one side of the hut which was without a wall.

"Seeing the damage that by this means they were suffering, the soldiers resolved to take out of the house that was on fire some bales to fill up the open part of the kitchen. In doing this, two of them were wounded, and disabled from giving any more assistance, but they succeeded in fetching the bales and filling up the breach with them. There then only remained the corporal, one soldier, the carpenter, and Father Vincente. The corporal, who was of great valour and a good marksman, ordered that the others should load and prime the muskets, he only firing them off; by which method he killed or wounded as many as approached him.

"The Indians, now seeing that their arrows were of no avail, owing to the defence of the walls and bales, set fire to the covering of the kitchen; but, as the materials were very slight, the corporal and his companions were still enabled to keep their position. They were greatly afraid lest their powder should be set on fire; and this would have been the case, if Father Vincente had not taken the precaution to cover it over with the skirt of his habit, which he did in disregard of the risk he ran of being blown up.

"The Indians, finding that this mode of attack did not oblige their opponents to leave their fort, commenced throwing in burning faggots and stones, by which Father Vincente was wounded, but not very dangerously. The whole night passed in this manner, till, on the rising of the sun, the Indians gave up the contest and retired, carrying off all their killed and wounded. The whole of the defenders of the kitchen were wounded, the corporal concealing his injuries until the Indians had retired, in order to avoid discouraging his companions."

Few skirmishes have ever exhibited a higher degree of dogged intrepidity on both sides, though, as a matter of course, the superior discipline and the better cause prevailed on almost every occasion of the kind. Soon, however, the piping times of peace gave the soldiers leisure to commence the proper operations of the spiritual conquest, such as the maintaining of domestic order, the recapturing of runaway converts, and the catching of fresh pupils. For these services the presidios were, in a great measure, supported at the expense of the missions; so that when the missions were spoiled and dissolved, in a manner to be hereafter noticed, the presidios, deprived of the best part, at once, of their functions and of their resources, naturally fell into their present state of neglect and decay.

On proceeding along the strait, one of the most attractive scenes imaginable gradually opens on the mariner's view,—a sheet of water, of about thirty miles in length by about twelve in breadth, sheltered from every wind by an amphitheatre of green hills; while an intermediate belt of open plain, varying from two to six miles in depth, is dotted by the habitations of civilized men.

On emerging from the strait, which is about three miles long, we saw on our left, in a deep bay, known as Whalers' Harbour, two vessels,—the Government schooner California and the Russian brig Constantine, now bound to Sitka, with the last of the tenants of Bodega and Ross on board. As we observed the Russians getting under way, I despatched Mr. Hopkins in one of our boats, in order to express my regret at being thus deprived of the anticipated pleasure of paying my respects in person.

Mr. Hopkins found about a hundred souls, men, women, and children, all patriotically delighted to exchange the lovely climate of California for the ungenial skies of Sitka, and that too at the expense of making a long voyage in an old, crazy, clumsy tub, at the stormiest season of the year; but to this general rule there had been one exception, inasmuch as they had lost two days in waiting—but, alas! in vain—for a young woman, who had abjured alike her country and her husband for the sake of one of the dons of San Francisco.

Mr. Hopkins farther learned that, though it was Thursday with us, yet it was Friday with our northern friends; a circumstance which, besides showing that the Russians had not the superstition of our tars as to days of sailing, forcibly reminded us that between them the two parties had passed round the globe in opposite directions to prosecute one and the same trade in furs, which the indolent inhabitants of the province were too lazy to appropriate at their very doors.

On our right, just opposite to the ground occupied by the Constantine and the California, stretched the pretty little bay of Yerba Buena, whose shores are doubtless destined, under better auspices, to be the site of a flourishing town, though at present they contain only eight or nine houses, in addition to the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment. Here we dropped anchor in the neighbourhood of four other vessels, the American barque Alert and brig Bolivar, the British barque Index and the Mexican brig Catilina; and, after firing a salute, went ashore to visit Mr. Rae, the Hudson's Bay Company's representative in this quarter.

CHAPTER VII.

SAN FRANCISCO.

More detailed description of harbour — Native balsa — Whalers, San Francisco and Sandwich Islands—Trade in hides—Foreigners—Indolence of people, its causes—Branding, &c., of cattle—Value of herds—Missions, their rise and fall—Express by land to Monterey—Timothy Murphy—Father Quigas—Summary justice — General Vallego—Breakfast, cookery—Valley of Sonoma—Lasso—Civilization of aborigines—General Vallego's buildings, troops, garden, &c.—Dinner, ball, and Captain Prado—"Auld Lang Syne"—Paradise of wild fowl—Captain Sutter's history and prospects—Anglification of San Francisco—Californian justice—Mission of San Francisco, old and new times—Mission of Santa Clara—Prospects of priesthood—Revenue laws.

The sheet of water, as already described, forms only a part of the inland sea of San Francisco. Whalers' Harbour, at its own northern extremity, communicates by a strait of about two miles in width with the Bay of San Pedro, a circular basin of ten miles in diameter; and again, this extensive pool, at its north-eastern end, leads, by means of a second strait, into Freshwater Bay, of nearly the same form and magnitude, which is full of islands, and forms the receptacle of the Sacramento and the San Joachin. Large vessels, it is said, may penetrate into Freshwater Bay; and as the San Joachin and the Sacramento, which drain vast tracts of country respectively to the south-east and to the north-east, are navigable for inland craft, the whole harbour, besides its matchless qualities as a port of refuge on this surf-beaten coast, is the outlet of a vast breadth of fair and fertile land.

In the face of all these advantages and temptations, the good folks of San Francisco, priests as well as laymen, and laymen as well as priests, have been contented to borrow, for their aquatic excursions, the native balsa—a kind of raft or basket, which, when wanted, can be constructed in a few minutes with the bulrushes that spring so luxuriantly on the margins of the lakes and rivers. In this miserable makeshift they contrive to cross the inland waters, and perhaps, in very choice weather, to venture a little way out to sea, there being, I believe, no other floating thing besides, neither boat nor canoe, neither barge nor scow, in any part of the harbour, or, in fact, in any part of Upper California, from San Diego, on the south, to San Francisco, on the north.

In consequence of this state of things, the people of the bay have been so far from availing themselves of their internal channels of communication, that their numerous expeditions into the interior have all been conducted by land, seldom leading, of course, to any result commensurate with the delay and expense. But, inconvenient as the entire want of small craft must be to the dwellers on such an inlet as has been described, there are circumstances which do, to a certain extent, account for the protracted endurance of the evil. Horses are almost as plentiful as bulrushes; time is a perfect glut with a community of loungers; and, under the plea of having no means of catching fish, the faithful enjoy, by a standing dispensation, the comfortable privilege of fasting, at meagre times, on their hecatombs of beef.

The world at large has hitherto made nearly as little use of the peculiar facilities of San Francisco as the Californias themselves. Though, at one time, many whaling ships, as the name of Whalers' Harbour would imply, frequented the port, yet, through the operation of various causes, they have all gradually betaken themselves to the Sandwich Islands. In point of natural capabilities for such a purpose, the Sandwich Islands are, on the whole, inferior to San Francisco. If they excel it in position, as lying more directly in the tract between the summer-fishing of the north and the winter-fishing of the south, and also as being more easy of access and departure by reason of the steadiness of the trade-winds, they are, in turn, surpassed in all the elements for the refreshing and refitting of vessels by a place, where beef may be procured for little or nothing, where hemp grows spontaneously, where the pine offers an inexhaustible supply of resin, and where suitable timber for ship-building invites the axe within an easy distance.

But, though Nature may have done more for San Francisco than for the Sandwich Islands, yet man has certainly done less to promote her liberal intentions. The Sandwich Islands afford to the refitting whaler an ample supply of competent labour, both native and foreign, at reasonable wages; while San Francisco, turning the very bounty of Providence into a curse, corrupts a naturally indolent population by the superabundance of cattle and horses, by the readiness, in short, with which idleness can find both subsistence and recreation. Moreover, even on the score of fiscal regulations, the savage community has as decidedly the advantage of the civilized as in point of industrious habits. In the Sandwich Islands, the whaler can enter at once into the port which is best adapted for his purposes, while in San Francisco he is by law forbidden to remain more than forty-eight hours, unless he has previously presented himself at Monterey and paid duty on the whole of his cargo. What wonder then is it, that, with such a government and such a people, Whalers' Harbour is merely an empty name?

Few vessels, therefore, visit the port, excepting such as are engaged in collecting hides or tallow, the tallow going chiefly to Peru, and the hides exclusively either to Great Britain or to the United States. It was in the latter branch of the business that most of the vessels which we had found at anchor were employed,—the mode of conducting it being worthy of a more detailed description.

To each ship there is attached a supercargo, or clerk, who, in a decked launch, carries an assortment of goods from farm to farm, collecting such hides as he can at the time, and securing, by his advances, as many as possible against the next *matanzas*, or slaughtering season, which generally coincides with the months of July and August. The current rate for a hide is two dollars in goods, generally delivered beforehand, or a dollar and a half in specie, paid, as it were, across the country; and the great difference arises from the circumstance that the goods are held at a price sufficient to cover the bad debts which the system of credit inevitably produces, the punctual debtor being thus obliged, in California as well as elsewhere, to pay for the defaulter. But even without this adventitious increase of their nominal value, the goods could not be sold for less than thrice their prime cost, so as to enable the vessel to meet a tariff of duties averaging about a hundred per cent., in addition to very high tonnage-dues, and the accumulating expenses of two tedious voyages with a far more tedious detention on the coast. Thus, under the existing state of things, the farmer receives for his hide either about as many goods as may have been bought in London for half-a-crown or two shillings, or about as much hard cash as may here buy the same at ready money rates.

The detention on the coast, to which I have alluded as an element in the price of goods, is occasioned by various circumstances. In the first place, there are too many competitors in the trade. The provincial exports of hides do not exceed, at the utmost, the number of 60,000; and, though such a vessel as our neighbour the Index has room for two-thirds of the whole, yet there are, at present, on the coast, fully sixteen ships of various sizes and denominations, all struggling and scrambling either for hides or for tallow. Supposing half of them to be engaged in the latter branch of business, there still remain eight vessels for such a number of hides as must take at least three years to fill them; and, in illustration of this, I may mention that our neighbour the Alert, belonging to one of the oldest and most experienced houses in the trade, has already spent eighteen months on the coast, but is still about a third short of her full tale of 40,000.

In the second place, the very nature of things necessarily involves considerable delay. As a vessel, whether large or small, cannot possibly load herself at any single point, she must keep peddling from post to pillar and from pillar to post, taking the chances of foul winds and bad anchorages through all the five ports of San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, San Pedro, and San Diego. But, even if hides were more plentiful, the climate would, in a great measure, impose a similar necessity. As the hides are all green or nearly so, for the skinning of the animal is pretty much the extent of Californian industry, each vessel must undertake the process of curing them for herself; and, as the upper half of the coast to a depth of about fifteen miles is peculiarly exposed during the summer, which is of course the best time for the purpose, to the rains and fogs of the prevailing north-westers, the hides of each season, in order to be cured, must be carried to the drier climate of the southern ports, more particularly of San Diego. Moreover, the mere task of curing a cargo causes a great loss of time,—a task too laborious to be undertaken by the sellers, and too nice to be entrusted to them.

In a recent able publication[1] of a scholar, who had gone to sea as a common sailor for the benefit of a constitution impaired by study, I have read, with a good deal of interest, a graphic account of the process, drawn from his own experience; and I make no apology for submitting to the reader a sketch, which so advantageously contrasts the English race with the Spaniard, even on his own ground:—

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[1] "Two Years before the Mast. A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea." New York, Harper and Brothers, 1840.

"When the hide is taken from the bullock, holes are cut round it, near the edges, by which it is staked out to dry. In this manner it dries without shrinking. After they are thus dried in the sun, they are received by the vessels, and brought down to the depôt. The vessels land them, and leave them in large piles near the houses. Then begins the hide-curer's duty.

"The first thing is to put them in soak. This is done by carrying them down at low tide, and making them fast, in small piles, by ropes, and letting the tide come up and cover them. Every day we put in soak twenty-five for each man, which, with us, made a hundred and fifty. There they lie forty-eight hours, when they are taken out, and rolled up, in wheelbarrows, and thrown into vats. These vats contain brine, made very strong, being sea-water, with great quantities of salt thrown in. This pickles the hides, and in this they lie forty-eight hours; the use of the sea-water, into which they are first put, being merely to soften and clean them. From these vats they are taken, and lie on a platform twenty-four hours, and then are spread upon the ground, and carefully stretched and staked out, so that they may dry smooth.

"After they were staked, and while yet wet and soft, we used to go upon them with our knives, and carefully cut off all the bad parts: the pieces of meat and fat, which would otherwise corrupt and affect the whole if stowed away in a vessel for months; the large flippers, the ears, and all other parts that prevent close stowage. This was the most difficult part of our duty, as it required much skill to take everything necessary off, and not to cut or injure the hides. It was also a long process, as six of us had to clean a hundred and fifty, most of which required a great deal to be done to them, as the Spaniards are very careless in skinning their cattle. Then, too, as we cleaned them while they were staked out, we were obliged to kneel down upon them, which always gives beginners the back-ache. The first day I was so slow and awkward, that I cleaned only eight; at the end of a few days I doubled my number, and in a fortnight or three weeks could keep up with the others, and clean my proportion, twenty-five.

"This cleaning must be got through with before noon, for by that time they get too dry. After the sun has been upon them for a few hours, they are carefully gone over with scrapers, to get off all the grease which the sun brings out. This being done, the stakes are pulled up, and the hides carefully doubled, with the hair side out, and left to dry. About the middle of the afternoon they are turned upon the other side, and at sundown piled up and covered over. The next day, they are spread out and opened again, and at night, if fully dry, are thrown upon a long, horizontal pole, five at a time, and beat with flails. This takes all the dust from them. Thus, being salted, scraped, cleaned, dried, and beaten, they are stowed away in the house."

But, to return to San Francisco, the trade of the bay, and, in fact, of the whole province, is entirely in the hands of foreigners, who are almost exclusively of the

English race. Of that race, however, the Americans are considerably more numerous than the British—the former naturally flocking in greater force to neutral ground, such as this country and the Sandwich Islands, while the latter find a variety of advantageous outlets in their own national colonies. At present, the foreigners are to the Californians in number as one to ten, being about six hundred out of about seven thousand; while, by their monopoly of trade, and their command of resources, to say nothing of their superior energy and intelligence, they already possess vastly more than their numerical proportion of political influence; and their position in this respect excites the less jealousy, inasmuch as most of them have been induced, either by a desire of shaking off legal incapacities or by less interested motives, to profess the Catholic religion, and to marry into provincial families.

The Californians of San Francisco number between two thousand, and two thousand five hundred, about seven hundred belonging to the village or *pueblo* of San José de Guadalupe, and the remainder occupying about thirty farms of various sizes, generally subdivided among the families of the respective holders.

On the score of industry, the good folks, as also their brethren of the other ports, are perhaps the least promising colonists of a new country in the world, being, in this respect, decidedly inferior to what the savages themselves had become under the training of the priests; so that the spoliation of the missions, excepting that it has opened the province to general enterprise, has directly tended to nip civilization in the bud.

In the missions, there were large flocks of sheep; but now there are scarcely any left, the Hudson's Bay Company having, last spring, experienced great difficulty in collecting about four thousand for its northern settlements.

In the missions, the wool used to be manufactured into coarse cloth; and it is, in fact, because the Californians are too lazy to weave or spin,—too lazy, I suspect, even to clip and wash the raw material,—that the sheep have been literally destroyed to make more room for the horned cattle.

In the missions, soap and leather used to be made; but in such vulgar processes the Californians advance no farther than nature herself has advanced before them, excepting to put each animal's tallow in one place, and its hide in another.

In the missions, the dairy formed a principal object of attention; but now, neither butter nor cheese, nor any preparation of milk whatever, is to be found in the province.

In the missions, there were annually produced about 80,000 bushels of wheat and maize, the former, and perhaps part of the latter also, being converted into flour; but the present possessors of the soil do so little in the way of tilling the ground, that, when lying at Monterey, we sold to the government some barrels of flour at the famine rate of twenty-eight dollars, or nearly six pounds sterling, a sack,—a price which could not be considered as merely local, for the stuff was intended to victual the same schooner which, on our first arrival, we had seen at anchor in Whalers' Harbour.

In the missions, beef was occasionally cured for exportation; but so miserably is the case now reversed, that, though meat enough to supply the fleets of England is annually either consumed by fire or left to the carrion birds, yet the authorities purchased from us, along with the flour just mentioned, some salted salmon as indispensable sea-stores for the one paltry vessel which constituted the entire line of battle of the Californian navy.

In the missions, a great deal of wine was grown, good enough to be sent for sale to Mexico; but, with the exception of what we got at the mission of Santa Barbara, the native wine that we tasted was such trash as nothing but politeness could have induced us to swallow.

Various circumstances have conspired to render these dons so very peculiarly indolent. Independently of innate differences of national tastes, the objects of colonization exert an influence over the character of the colonists. Thus the energy of our republican brethren, and the prosperity of the contiguous dependencies of the empire, are to be traced, in a great degree, to the original and permanent necessity of relying on the steady and laborious use of the axe and the plough; and thus also the rival colonists of New France,—a name which comprehended the valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi,—dwindled and pined on much of the same ground, partly because the golden dreams of the fur trade carried them away from stationary pursuits to overrun half the breadth of the continent, and partly because the gigantic ambition of their government regarded them rather as soldiers than as settlers, rather as the instruments of political aggrandizement than as the germ of a kindred people. In like manner, Spanish America, with its sierras of silver, became the asylum and paradise of idlers, holding out to every adventurer, when leaving the shores of the old country, the prospect of earning his bread without the sweat of his brow.

But the population of California in particular has been drawn from the most indolent variety of an indolent species, being composed of superannuated troopers and retired office-holders and their descendants. In connexion with the establishment of the missions, at least of those of the upper province, there had been projected three villages or pueblos, as places of refuge for such of the old soldiers as might obtain leave to settle in the country; but, as the priests were by no means friendly to the rise of a separate interest, they did all in their power to prevent the requisite licenses from being granted by the crown, so as to send to the villages as few denizens as possible, and to send them only when they were past labour, as well in ability as in inclination. These villages were occasionally strengthened by congenial reinforcements of runaway sailors; and, in order to avoid such sinks of profligacy and riot, the better sort of functionaries, both civil and military, gradually established themselves elsewhere, but more particularly at Santa Barbara, while both classes were frequently coming into collision with the fathers, whose vexatious spirit of exclusiveness, even after the emancipation of the veterans, often prompted them nominally to preoccupy lands which they did not require.

Such settlers of either class were not likely to toil for much more than what the cheap bounty of nature afforded them,—horses to ride and beef to eat, with hides and tallow to exchange for such other supplies as they wanted. In a word, they displayed more than the proverbial indolence of a pastoral people, for they did not even devote their idle hours to the tending of their herds. As one might have expected, the children improved on the example of the parents through the influence of a systematic education,—an education which gave them the lasso as a toy in infancy, and the horse as a companion in boyhood, which, in short, trained them from the cradle to be mounted bullock-hunters and nothing else; and if anything could aggravate their laziness, it was the circumstance, that many of them dropped, as it were, into ready-made competency, by sharing in the lands and cattle of the plundered missions.

The only trouble which the Californians really take with their cattle, is to brand them, when young, with their respective marks; and even this single task savours more of festivity than of labour. Once a year, the cows and calves of a neighbourhood, which, by reason of the absence of fences, all feed in common, are driven into a pen, or *coralle*, that every farmer may select his own stock for his own brand, at the same time keeping, if he is wise, a sharp eye upon the proceedings of his associates; and, after the cattle are all branded and again turned out to their pastures, the owners and their friends wind up the exciting business of the day with singing, and dancing, and feasting. In addition, however, to this, each farmer does occasionally collect his own cattle into his pen, partly to prevent them from becoming too wild, and partly to ascertain how far his neighbours have kept the eighth commandment before their eyes.

On this latter point, a man must be pretty vigilant in California, for a centaur of a fellow with a running noose in his hand is somewhat apt to disregard the distinctions between *meum* and *tuum*; and so common, in fact, is this free and easy system, that even passably honest men, merely as a precautionary measure of self-defence, occasionally catch and slay a fat bullock which they have never branded. In order to break the scent in such cases, the fortunate finder, knowing that the hide alone of a dead animal can tell any tales, obliterates the owner's mark by means of a little gunpowder, and overlays it with his own in its stead. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, these brands are held to be a conclusive proof of property; and on this account, a transfer, in order to be valid and safe, requires a sale-brand to be placed over the seller's mark, so as to give the buyer's mark all the force of an original brand. In ignorance of this custom, Mr. Douglas, one of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers, lately committed a capital mistake. After collecting the sheep, which I have already mentioned, he bought some horses for his drivers, which were subsequently sold on the Columbia to Commodore Wilkes for the use of his party that went by land from the Willamette to San Francisco; and no sooner did the animals make their appearance in their old haunts than they were claimed by the sellers, whose marks still remained, as stolen property, to the no small astonishment of their real owners.

The income of every farmer may be pretty accurately ascertained from the number of his cattle, excepting that the owners of small stocks, as is the case at present with many of the plunderers of the missions, do not venture to kill so large a proportion of the whole as their more wealthy neighbours. The value of a single animal, without regard to the merely nominal worth of its beef, may average about five dollars, the hide fetching, as already mentioned, two dollars and two or three arobes of tallow of twenty-five pounds, each yielding a dollar and a half by the arobe; and as the fourth part of a herd may generally be killed off every year without any improvidence, the farmer's revenue must be, as nearly as possible, a dollar and a quarter a head. Thus, General Vallego, who is said to possess 8,000 cattle, must derive about 10,000 dollars a year from this source alone; and the next largest holders, an old man of the name of Sanches and his sons, must draw rather more than half of that amount from their stock of 4,500 animals.

On the same principles of calculation, the incomes of the missions must have been enormous, San José having possessed 30,000 head and Santa Clara nearly half the number, and San Gabriel to the south being said to have owned more cattle than both Santa Clara and San José put together; and even now, after all the pillage that has taken place for the benefit of individuals, the secularized wrecks of the establishments, if honestly administered, as they are not, would yield large returns to the government, Santa Clara alone, as an average instance, still mustering about 4,000 cattle. In addition to the value of hides and tallow, such of the farmers as understand the breaking of horses may turn their skill in this way to profitable account. A well-trained steed sometimes brings a hundred and fifty dollars, the worth of thirty head of cattle, while the wild animal may be had, at no great distance, for the trouble of noosing him. In fact, horses had at one time become so numerous as to encroach on the pasturage of the cattle; and accordingly they were partly thinned by slaughter, and partly driven eastward into the valley of the San Joachin.

There are five missions in all at San Francisco: San Francisco de los Dolores towards the south-west, Santa Clara to the south, and San José de Guadalupe towards the south-east, while San Rafael and San Francisco Solano extend from Whalers' Harbour along the west and north of the Bay of San Pedro. Previously to the Mexican Revolution, the missions of the upper province had regularly increased in number; San Francisco Solano, which was founded even after the establishment of independence, being the twenty-first in order of erection. Nor had their advance in wealth failed to keep pace with their increase in number. In addition to their annual stipends of four hundred dollars each, the monks possessed in Mexico a considerable property in lands and money, composed of donations and bequests, and known as the "Pious Fund of California;" while in their twenty-one missions they had acquired, to say nothing at present of cattle and crops, the cheap labour of about 18,000 converts. But, when Mexico established her nationality, the priests, partly from a feeling of loyalty and partly from a sense of interest, were by no means unanimous in swearing allegiance to the newly-constituted authorities; and this spirit of resistance, naturally strengthening the tendency of every revolution to make the church its first victim, provoked the Mexican government not only to withdraw the stipends and confiscate the pious fund, but also to distribute part of the lands and cattle of the missions among such of the proselytes as had learned a trade and conducted themselves well.

This happened in 1825; but the emancipated natives no sooner became their own masters than they showed that their steadiness and industry had been the result of external control rather than of internal principle. They wasted their time and property in gambling, with a recklessness proportioned to the duration of their previous restraint; and, having acquired at least the individual helplessness of civilization, they knew no other means of relieving their hunger and nakedness than a mingled course of mendicancy and theft. In this way, they became such a nuisance to the civilized population, that, after a year or two, the more innocent of them were sent back into the varnished servitude of the missions, while the more guilty were condemned, as public convicts, to do the most laborious drudgery in irons. This miserable failure, if not actually desired by the priests, must at least have been anticipated by them, as the legitimate fruit of a discipline which, whether necessarily or not, regarded the natives as children for life; and, under cover of the reaction, they made up matters with the authorities, taking the oath of allegiance, and being left unmolested in their missions. During the ensuing nine or ten years, the fathers contrived to maintain at least a precarious footing with respect to Mexico, sometimes threatened and assailed, and sometimes patronized and protected; and meanwhile, as they felt themselves to be only tenants at will, some of them made the most of their leases by licensing worldly skippers to flay and disembowel their herds without stint, at so much a head.

But, at last, the provincial population made short work with the establishments—all classes of this body, as I have already hinted, being fundamentally and permanently jealous of the fathers. What fanned the smouldering ashes into a flame was an abortive attempt on the part of Mexico to distribute a considerable share of the lands and cattle of the missions among a colony of strangers; and, now perceiving that they had no time to lose, the Californians, in 1836, rose against the general government, appointed provincial rulers, expelled the Mexicans as intruders, and, as the phrase went, secularized the missions. After fuming a good deal in her own impotent way, Mexico ratified all that had been done, on the single condition of the renunciation of separate independence; and thus the missions, perhaps as a retribution for having relied on aid that savoured more of the Koran than of the Bible, were trodden under foot by the sons of the very men, or by the very men themselves, whom worldly wisdom had introduced into the province for their protection and assistance. The existing state of the establishments in question will be detailed in the sequel, when we come to describe San Francisco Solano, San Francisco de los Dolores, San Carlos, and Santa Barbara.

To resume the progress of my journal. On the 31st of December, Mr. Hales and Mr. de Mofras took their departure for Monterey, in the brig Bolivar, hoping there to find some vessel bound to San Blas, whence they would make their way by land to the city of Mexico; and on the same day, notwithstanding this opportunity, we despatched a courier across to Monterey, intimating to Governor Alvarado the arrival of the Cowlitz, and requesting special permission, as an exception to the general rule, to land some articles of merchandize in the port of San Francisco, without first visiting the seat of government. In fact, the overland route is the main channel of communication between the two places; for, to say nothing of the want of vessels, the sea is almost impracticable, where time is of any importance, by reason of the baffling winds and currents; and the same result, whether from the same or different causes, has been exhibited along the whole coast since the days of Cortez and Pizarro, an unbroken chain of posts having extended, in the times of Spanish supremacy, from San Francisco, in California, to Baldivia, in Chili.

Having celebrated New Year's-day to the best of our ability, we made preparations for starting on Monday, the 3rd of the month, to pay our respects to General Vallego, who was residing at the mission of San Francisco Solano, situated, as already mentioned, on the northern side of the Bay of San Pedro; and accordingly, at nine in the morning of the day appointed, we left the Cowlitz in the long and jolly boats, accompanied by Mr. Rae, and also by Mr. Forbes, living near the mission of San José de Guadalupe, and acting, in that neighbourhood, as an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, to whom we were much indebted during our stay, not only for his general politeness, but also for his special assistance as interpreter.

After a heavy pull of some hours against a stiff breeze, we reached the strait which communicates between Whalers' Harbour and the inner waters, having the point of San Pedro on our left, and that of San Pablo on our right; and as we here found the tide as well as the wind opposed to us, we were obliged to encamp on the former point a good while before it was dark. The place of our encampment, once a part of the lands of the mission of San Rafael, was now the property of an Irishman of the name of Murphy; and, as we had started without any stock of provisions, we were glad to find ourselves the guests of a gentleman, who, besides our claims on him as his fellow-subjects, had got his cattle on so easy terms. Having made up our minds, therefore, to share with Mr. Murphy in the spoils of the church, we sent out several hunters to bring home a bullock for our supper; but, to our great mortification, we were less successful in plundering our host than he had been in plundering the priests; for our emissaries had not been able to approach within shot of a single animal, a man on foot being such a prodigy in this land of laziness, as to make the very cattle scamper off in dismay. In addition to the want of beef, one of those heavy fogs, which here a north-wester so frequently brings in its train, enveloped us in complete darkness, at the same time soaking through our clothes. In fact, our old fortune, whenever we slept ashore, seemed to pursue us from the Columbia to San Francisco.

Timothy Murphy, who unconsciously played the part of so inhospitable a landlord on this occasion, resides at the mission of San Rafael as administrador on behalf of General Vallego, to whom, as one of the prime movers in the revolution of 1836, there fell the lion's share of prize-money, in the shape of the two nice snuggeries of San Rafael and San Francisco Solano. The General, who shows his sagacity by systematically allying himself with foreigners, selected Mr. Murphy as a fitting mate for one of his sisters, the prettiest girl of the family, giving him in advance, as an earnest of the bargain, the management of San Rafael, with a good slice of the booty for his own private use. The lady, however, could not, or would not, fancy Timothy; and the matter ended by the General's acquisition of two foreigners instead of one, Mr. Leese having obtained the Donna's hand, and Mr. Murphy having kept her dowry.

But the jilted administrador is not without his share of pleasant society, in the person of one of the few priests who remained in the country after the confiscation of their establishments. Father Quigas is one of those jovial souls, who show that, in the new world as well as in the old, power and wealth are more than a match for monastic austerities; nor has the removal of the corrupting influences rendered his reverence a more rigid observer of his vows, excepting always—thanks to Murphy and Vallego — the single article of poverty. The two friends lately led each other into trouble in a way which forcibly illustrates the state of government in general and the character of Vallego in particular.

As the bay of San Pedro is separated only by a ridge of green hills from the valley of Santa Rosa, in which are situated the settlements of Bodega and Ross, Murphy and Quigas, whether it was that the former was in search of stray bullocks, or that the latter wished to ease the schismatics of a little of their brandy, fell into the snare of visiting the Russians, against all rule and precedent. The treason soon came to the General's ears; and, on the very evening after their return, the delinquents were politely invited to attend at head-quarters by a serjeant and five troopers. As the night was wet and stormy, they tried to bribe the soldiers with their best fare into a respite of a few hours, pleading, at the same time, the want of horses. But, while the serjeant disclaimed all official knowledge of wind and weather, the troopers caught the requisite number of nags, and next morning the luckless wights were thrown, all drenched and splashed, into the General's *calabozo*, or dungeon, to chew the cud, in hunger and thirst, on the contraband hospitalities of Bodega and Ross. So much for the freedom and equity of Californian republicanism!

Early next morning we got under way, with a breeze from the south-east; and, though the ebb-tide was sweeping and tumbling through the straits like a rapid, yet we succeeded in crossing the bay to the entrance of the creek of Sonoma, which here flows, as do several other creeks in the neighbourhood, through one of the flats or marshes so common on the shores of the inlet of San Francisco. We toiled up the windings of this stream against a powerful current, looking in vain for a dry spot to put ashore, the banks being so low that they are regularly overflowed at high tide; and it was six in the evening before we reached the landing-place, distant about ten miles from the bay and about three from the mission. Our standing luck here stuck to us, for we had no sooner pitched our tents and secured our baggage, than the south-easter, after the day's reprieve, brought down its usual accompaniment of heavy rain. Finding an Indian at the landing-place, we despatched him with a note to the General, explaining the object of our visit, and requesting the favour of his sending us horses to enable us to pay our respects to him in the morning. During the night, a north-west wind had taken the place of our south-easter, bringing, at this distance from the ocean, not the chilly fogs of the coast, but beautifully clear weather, rendered perhaps more pleasant by the bracing air of a sharp frost.

The sun, however, had hardly risen, when the air became agreeably warm; and, while we were making the most of a light breakfast, the Indian returned with a polite message from the General, to the effect that horses would be with us immediately. In fact, before he had well delivered his errand, a band of thirty chargers came in sight, and soon after a still larger herd, the whole escorted by a serjeant and two troopers, with a rabble of native auxiliaries. Out of this supply, nine or ten of the best-looking animals were quickly caught for us with the lasso; and the whole of the motley cavalcade now proceeded over a rich plain, studded with scrub oaks, and embosomed within well-wooded hills of considerable height. In consequence of heavy rains, and more particularly the bursting of a water-spout, the roads were flooded; for the plain, being low and level, not only receives far more than its share of whatever falls, but also retains nearly all that it receives—a circumstance which, however inconvenient to the traveller, is, in general, peculiarly beneficial to agriculture. In fact, so dry is the climate during all the best seasons of the year, that the valley is intersected in every direction by artificial ditches, which are fed from the creek for the purposes of irrigation. These artificial ditches, by the by, were the first symptom of human energy that we had seen in California; but on inquiry we found that they had been dug, under the direction of the priests, by the reluctant labour of the converts.

At Sonoma, for the very name of the mission has been secularized, we were received by the firing of a salute, and the hoisting of the colours,—the former mark of respect being complimentary in proportion to the scarcity of gunpowder in this land of lassos. Through a gateway and a courtyard, we ascended a half-finished flight of steps to the principal room of the General's house, being of fifty feet in length, and of other dimensions in proportion. Besides being disfigured by the doors of chambers, to which it appeared to be a passage, this apartment was very indifferently furnished, the only tolerable articles on the bare floor being some gaudy chairs from Woahoo, such as the native islanders themselves often make. This was California all over,—the richest and most influential individual in a professedly civilized settlement obliged to borrow the means of sitting from savages, who had never seen a white man till two years after San Francisco was colonized by the Spaniards. Here we were received by Don Salvador Vallego and Mr. Leese, our host's brother and brother-in-law; and immediately afterwards, the General, being somewhat indisposed, received us very courteously in his own chamber.

General Vallego is a good-looking man of about forty-five years of age, who has risen in the world by his own talent and energy. His father, who was one of the most respectable men in California, died about ten years ago at Monterey, leaving to a large family of sons and daughters little other inheritance than a degree of intelligence and steadiness almost unknown in the country. The patrimonial estate, such as it was, descended to the eldest son, while the second, now the prop of the name, was an ensign in the army, with the command of the Presidio of San Francisco. Having acquired considerable influence in the party, which styled itself democratic, and aimed at something like independence, he was promoted by a conciliatory governor to be commandant of the frontier of Sonoma; and soon afterwards, taking advantage of this same governor's death, he became the leader in the revolution of 1836, securing for a nephew of the name of Alvarado the office of civil governor, and reserving to himself the important post of commander of the forces. As to the rest of the family, Don Salvador became a captain of cavalry, and another brother was made administrador of the mission of San José de Guadalupe, while the girls were married off,—most of them to foreigners,—with a shrewd view to the strengthening of the General's influence.

In addition to what I have already said as to the power and value of foreigners, the revolution, which has made Vallego a great man, was brought to a crisis by the spirited conduct of an individual of that class. The insurgents, having entered the Presidio of Monterey, were brought to a stand by the Mexican commandant's refusal to surrender; but one of their foreign associates, after apostrophizing their "eyes," and ejaculating something about "humbug," loaded a gun to the muzzle, and shot off part of the roof of the commandant's place of retreat;—a hint to capitulate, which could no longer be misunderstood or neglected. The foreigners were pretty nearly unanimous in favour of the insurgents, some of them from the love of a row, many through matrimonial connexions, and the Americans in the hope of seeing the new republic hoist the Stars and Stripes of the Union.

After spending about half an hour with our host, we left him to partake of a second breakfast, at which we were joined by the ladies of the family. First in honour and in place was Señora Vallego, whose sister is married to Captain Wilson, of the barque Index, an honest Scot from "Bonny Dundee;" next came one of her sisters-in-law, who is the wife of Captain Cooper, of the schooner California, and resides at Sonoma, as a pledge for the fidelity of the provincial navy; and lastly followed Mrs. Leese, with an unmarried sister, and Mrs. Cooper's daughter. It won't be the General's fault, if the English race does not multiply in California; so far as names went, we might have supposed ourselves to be in London or in Boston.

In front of Mr. Leese, who sat at the head of the table as master of the ceremonies, was placed an array of five dishes, two kinds of stewed beef, rice, fowls, and beans. As all the cooking is done in outhouses,—for the dwellings, by reason of the mildness of the climate, have no chimneys or fireplaces,—the dishes were by no means too hot when put on the table, while, by being served out in succession to a party of about twenty people, they became each colder than the other, before they reached their destinations. It was some consolation to know that the heat must once have been there, for every thing had literally been seethed into chips, the beans or *frixoles* in particular having been first boiled, and lastly fried with an intermediate stewing, to break the suddenness of the transition. Then every mouthful was poisoned with the everlasting compound of pepper and garlick; and this repast, be it observed, was quite an aristocratic specimen of the kind, for elsewhere we more than once saw, in one and the same dish, beef, and tongue, and pumpkin, and garlick, and potatoes in their jackets, and cabbage, and onions, and tomata, and pepper, and Heaven knows what besides,—this last indefinite ingredient being something more than a mere figure of speech, considering that all the cookery, as one may infer from the expenditure of so much labour, is the work of native drudges, unwashed and uncombed. When to the foregoing sketch are added bad tea and worse wine, the reader has picked up a perfect idea of Californian breakfast, Californian dinner, and Californian supper, and is quite able to estimate the sacrifice which a naturalized John Bull makes for the pleasures of matrimony and the comforts of Roman Catholicism. Such varieties as cheese, and butter, and milk, and mutton, and fish are, as I have already mentioned, here unknown; even game, whether of the land or of the water, is at a discount not only as a matter of business but also as an object of amusement; and the very beef has been parboiled in the feverish blood of the unfortunate bullock, first heated and infuriated by the chace, and then tortured and strangled with the lasso.

Immediately after breakfast, our horses were brought to the door; and we started to see the country, accompanied by Don Salvador and an escort of three or four soldiers. We first ascended a steep hill at the back of the mission, whence we obtained an extensive view of the surrounding region. In the distance there lay the waters of the magnificent harbour, while at our feet stretched a plain, for it exhibited nothing of the valley but its wall of mountains, about fifteen miles long and three broad. This plain is composed of alluvial soil, which is so fertile as to yield about fifty returns of wheat; and the hills present abundance of willow, poplar, pine, chestnut, and cedar. If one may judge from appearances, this valley once formed an arm of the bay of San Pedro; and, in fact, the whole harbour, in remote ages, was most probably an inland lake, which has forced its way to the ocean, through the same barrier of soft rock, which, as already mentioned, still continues to melt into the tide.

In the course of our ride, we saw several deer on the road, these animals being so tame as often to approach the houses in large herds. For beasts of chace, if here the phrase is not a misnomer, California is a perfect paradise. The Californian is too lazy to hunt for amusement; and, as to any necessity of the kind, his bullocks supply all his wants, excepting that the red deer is occasionally pursued on account of the peculiar hardness and whiteness of its tallow. Hence the number of wild animals is very considerable. Beaver and otter have recently been caught within half a mile of the mission; and there are also the red deer, the wild bear, the panther, the wolf, the fox, the rabbit, &c.

Having descended from the hill, we traversed a great portion of the plain. The waterspout, which has been already mentioned, had done a great deal of damage, sweeping away the newly-sown seed from several large fields of wheat. These fields had been highly prized by the General, as the grain had been procured from the Columbia river, and was superior in quality to his own. As one might expect, from the abundance of land, the fertility of the soil, and the indolence of the people, agriculture is conducted in the rudest possible way. As the surface of the plain presents so few obstacles to cultivation, the same land is never cropped for more than two successive years; and as Vallego's farm contains from five to six hundred acres, he thus annually breaks up about three hundred acres of what may be called wild land, either fresh from the hands of nature, or refreshed by rest. In the fields that had been stripped by the waterspout, we saw several ploughs at work, or rather at what expects to be called work in this country. The machine consists of little more than a log of wood, pointed with iron, from the top of which rises, in a sloping direction, a long pole for the oxen, while an upright handle for the ploughman is fixed to the unpointed end of the share; or, if possible, is formed out of the same piece of timber as the share itself. The oxen, as if to prevent even them from putting forth their strength, are yoked by the horns; and, considering that there are only two such animals to so clumsy a piece of workmanship, the topsoil alone is scratched, to a depth of not more than two or three inches.

Having learned from us, during our excursion, that we wished to see an exhibition of the lasso, Don Salvador had kindly sent back orders to make the requisite preparations; and accordingly, on our return to the mission, we found every thing ready for action. A band of wild horses had been driven into a pen, or *coralle*, of very strong build. The door being thrown open, Don Salvador and one or two others entered on horseback; and the former, having his lasso coiled up in his hand, swung it round his head to give it an impetus, and then, with a dexterous aim, secured in the noose the neck of a fiery young steed. After plunging and rearing in vain, the animal was at length thrown down with great violence. Soon, however, it was again on its legs, and its captor, having attached the lasso to his saddle-bow, dragged it, tottering, out of the coralle, till, with eyes starting from its head, and nostrils fearfully distended, it fell panting and groaning to the ground. The lasso being now slackened, the animal regained its breath, and, infuriated with rage, started away at its utmost speed, Don Salvador, of course, following at an equal pace. One of the assistants now spurred forward his steed, and, overtaking the victim, seized it by the tail with his hand; and at length, watching a favourable moment, he threw the animal by a jerk to the earth with such force, as threatened to break every bone in its body. This cruel operation was repeated several times, till we begged hard that the wretched beast should be released from farther torture. A second horse was then caught, and thrown down in a manner still more painful. The captor suddenly stopped his horse when at full gallop, which, being well trained, threw its weight towards one side, in expectation of the impending jerk, while the captive steed was instantaneously pitched, head over heels, to a distance of several yards.

Cruel as the sport was, we could not but admire the skill of the Californians in the management of their horses. One of the people, whether by accident or design, dropped his lasso, of which the other end was attached to a wild horse in full career; and following, till he came up with it as it trailed on the ground, he stooped to it from his saddle, and picked it up without slackening his pace for a moment. But, with all their dexterity and experience, the riders often meet with serious, and even fatal accidents, by being thrown from their horses. Don Salvador himself had had his full share of this kind of thing; he had broken two ribs, and fractured both his thighs, the one in two places, and the other in three, so that he had now very little left in reserve but his neck. There is, moreover, one peculiar danger to which the thrower of the lasso is exposed. The saddle of the country has an elevated pummel, round which the lasso, after noosing its victim, is rapidly twisted; and in this operation the captor not unfrequently sees the first finger of his right hand torn off in an instant. These evils are, of course, often aggravated by the want of proper assistance—our host's present indisposition being a curious instance of this. While engaged with the lasso, the General had dislocated his hip. The joint, however, was replaced; and he was doing well, till he bruised it slightly. He sent a messenger to the only practitioner at San Francisco, one Bail, from Manchester, for a strengthening plaster; but the Doctor, who sometimes takes doses very different from those which he prescribes, sent by mistake a blister of cantharides, which, being supposed to be salutary in proportion to the pain of its application, was allowed to work double tides on the poor General's bruise, so as to turn it into a very pretty sore, which had confined him to his bed.

During the day we visited a village of General Vallego's Indians, about three hundred in nnmber, who were the most miserable of the race that I ever saw, excepting always the slaves of the savages of the northwest coast. Though many of them are well formed and well grown, yet every face bears the impress of poverty and wretchedness; and they are, moreover, a prey to several malignant diseases, among which an hereditary syphilis ranks as the predominant scourge alike of old and young. They are badly clothed, badly lodged, and badly fed. As to clothing, they are pretty nearly in a state of nature; as to lodging, their hovels are made of boughs, wattled with bulrushes, in the form of beehives, with a hole in the top for a chimney, and with two holes at the bottom, towards the north-west and the south-east, so as to enable the poor creatures, by closing them in turns, to exclude both the prevailing winds; and as to food, they eat the worst bullocks' worst joints, with bread of acorns and chestnuts, which are most laboriously and carefully prepared by pounding, and rinsing, and grinding. Though not so recognised by the law, yet they are thralls in all but the name; while, borne to the earth by the toils of civilization, superadded to the privations of savage life, they vegetate rather than live, without the wish to enjoy their former pastimes, or the skill to resume their former avocations.

This picture, which is a correct likeness, not only of General Vallego's Indians, but of all the civilized aborigines of California, is the only remaining monument of the zeal of the Church and the munificence of the State. Nor is the result very different from what ought to have been expected. In a religious point of view, the priests were contented with merely external observances; and even this semblance of Christianity they systematically purchased and rewarded with the good things of this life, their very first step in the formation of a mission having been to barter maize-pottage, by a kind of regular tariff, for an unconscious attendance at church, and the repetition of unintelligible catechisms.

With regard, again, to temporal improvement, the priests, instead of establishing each proselyte on a farm of his own, and thus gradually imbuing him with knowledge and industry, penned the whole like cattle, and watched them like children, at the very most making them eye-servants, through their dread of punishment and their reverence for a master. In truth, the Indians were then the same as now, excepting that they shared more liberally in the fruits of their own labour, and possessed spirit enough to enjoy a holiday in the songs and dances of their race. The true tendency of the monkish discipline was displayed by the partial emancipation which took place, as already mentioned, in 1825; and, when the missions were confiscated in 1836, the proselytes, almost as naturally as the cattle, were divided among the spoilers, either as menial drudges or as predial serfs, excepting that some of the more independent among them retired to the wilderness, in order, as the sequel will show, to avenge their wrongs by a life of rapine.

These sons and daughters of bondage—many of them too sadly broken in spirit even to marry—are so rapidly diminishing in numbers, that they must soon pass away from the land of their fathers; a result which, as it seems uniformly to spring from all the conflicting varieties of civilized agency, is to be ultimately ascribed to the inscrutable wisdom of a mysterious Providence. If anything could render such a state of things more melancholy, it would be the reflection that many of these victims of a hollow civilization must have been born in the missions, inasmuch as, even at San

Francisco, those establishments had taken root sixty years before the revolution; and it was truly pitiable to hear Vallego's beasts of burden speaking the Spanish language, as an evidence that the system, wherever the fault lay, had not failed through want of time.

Previously to dressing for dinner, we took a closer survey of the buildings and premises. The General's plan seems to be to throw his principal edifices into the form of a square. The centre is already filled up with the General's own house, flanked on one side by a barrack, and on the other by Don Salvador's residence; but as yet the wings contain respectively only a billiard-room and Mr. Leese's dwelling opposite to each other. On the outside of this square are many detached buildings, such as the Calaboso, the church, &c. The Calaboso is most probably a part of the original establishment, for every mission had its cage for refractory converts; but the church, which even now is large, has been built by Vallego, to replace a still larger one, though no priest lives at Sonoma, and Father Quigas, of San Rafaël, after his experience of the dungeon, has but little stomach for officiating at head-quarters.

All the buildings are of *adobes*, or unbaked bricks, which are cemented with mud instead of mortar; and, in order to protect so perishable materials from the rain, besides keeping off the rays of the sun, the houses are very neatly finished with verandahs and overhanging eaves. If tolerably protected, for a time, the walls, which are generally four or five feet thick, become, in a measure, vitrified, and are nearly as durable as stone. To increase the expenditure of labour and materials, the partitions are nearly as thick as the outer walls, each room of any size having its own separate roof — a circumstance which explained what at first surprised us, the great length and breadth of the apartments.

At this season of the year, we found the houses very comfortless in consequence of the want of fireplaces, for the warmth of the day only rendered us more sensible of the chilliness of the night. The Californians remedy or mitigate the evil by the ludicrous makeshift of wearing their cloaks; and even among the foreigners, not more than two or three dwellings with chimneys will be found from one end of the province to the other.

The garrison of Sonoma is certainly well officered, for the General and the Captain have only thirteen troopers under their command—this force and Prado's corps, if they could only get balsas enough to effect a junction, forming a standing army of about twenty men for San Francisco alone. The absurdity of the thing consists not in the number of soldiers, for they are sixteen times more numerous in proportion than the army of the United States; the essential folly is this, that a scattered population of seven thousand men, women, and children should ever think of an independence, which must either ruin them for the maintenance of an adequate force, or expose them at one and the same time to the horrors of popular anarchy and of military insubordination.

If one may judge from the variety of uniforms, each of the thirteen warriors constitutes his own regiment, one being the "Blues," another the "Buffs," and so on; and, as they are all mere boys, this nucleus of a formidable cavalry has at least the merit of being a growing one. The only articles common to the whole of this baker's dozen are an enormous sword, a pair of nascent moustaches, deer-skin boots, and that everlasting *serape*, or blanket, with a hole in the middle of it, for the head. This troop the General turns to useful account, being clearly of opinion that idleness is the very rust of discipline; he makes them catch his cattle, and, in short, discharge the duty of servants-of-all-work—an example highly worthy of the imitation of all military autocrats. The system, however, has led to two or three revolts. On one occasion, a regiment of native infantry, being an awkward squad of fifteen Indians, having conspired against the General, were shot for their pains; and more recently the Californian soldiers, disdaining to drive bullocks, were cashiered on the spot, and replaced by new levies. Besides the garrison, the General possesses several field-pieces and carronades, which, however, are, by reason of the low state of the ammunition, rather ornamental than useful.

There is a small vineyard behind the house of about three hundred feet square, which, in the days of the priests, used to yield about one thousand gallons of wine. The General, on coming into possession, replanted the vines, which bore abundantly in the third season; and now, at the end of only five years, they have just yielded twenty barrels of wine and four of spirits, equal to sixteen more of wine, of fifteen gallons each, or about five hundred and forty gallons of wine in all. The peaches and pears also, though only three years old, were from fifteen to twenty feet high, and had borne fruit this season. In short, almost any plant might here be cultivated with success.

During the short winter, snow is never seen, excepting occasionally, on the summits of the highest hills, while at noon the heat generally ranges from 65° to 70° in the shade; and, in summer, the average temperature of the day is seldom lower than 90°. As the north-west fogs do not penetrate into the interior more than fifteen miles, there are, in fact, two climates at San Francisco; and General Vallego has chosen the better one for himself, as also for his brother, the administrador of San José de Guadalupe.

At dinner, the General made his appearance, wrapped in a cloak; and we had now also the pleasure of being introduced to the Dowager Señora, an agreeable dame of about sixty; and we could not help envying the old lady the very rare luxury of being immediately surrounded, at her time of life, by so many as five grown sons and daughters. This meal was merely a counterpart of the breakfast—the same Mr. Leese, the same stews, the same frixoles, and the same pepper and garlick, with the same dead and alive temperature in every morsel; and the only difference was that, as we were a little better appetized, we took more notice of the want of attendance, the only servant, besides my own, being a miserable Indian, dressed in a shirt, with bare legs and cropped hair.

Immediately after dinner, the ladies retired, the gentlemen at the same time going out for a stroll; but soon afterwards the ladies again met us at tea, reinforced by one or two of the more juvenile donnas of the establishment. Dancing was now the order of the day; Don Salvador and one of his troopers played the guitar, while we were "toeing it and heeling it," at the fandango, the cotillon, and the waltz. The scene was rather peculiar for a ball-room, both gentlemen and ladies, when not on active service, smoking furiously, with fully more, in some cases, than the usual accompaniments.

Among the persons present was a very fierce, punchy little man, enveloped in an immense cloak. He proved to be no less a personage than Commandant Prado, of the Presidio of San Francisco, successor, in fact, of Vallego in the same office which formed the stepping-stone to his present elevation. Besides having been engaged in many skirmishes against both Californians and Indians, he has had several narrow escapes with his life in private brawls. About two years ago, a religious festival was celebrated at the mission of San Francisco de los Dolores, in honour of the patron saint, passing through all the usual gradations of mass, bull-fight, supper, and ball. In the course of the evening, Guerrero, the steward of the mission, stabbed Prado with the ever-ready knife, for presuming to interpose in an altercation between himself and his mistress; but the corpulent commandant was not to be so easily run through; for, though breadth of beam is not generally an advantage to a soldier, yet, on this occasion, Prado's fat did succeed in saving his bacon. Such a termination of a religious festival is so much a matter of course, that, at one which took place a few months back, one of Prado's numerous enemies came up to him, and, drawing his knife, said—"What! here's daylight, and no one yet stabbed!" and it required all the influence of Vallego, who happened to be present, to nip so very promising a quarrel in the bud. On such occasions, the cloak is often invaluable as a shield; and in fact, when both parties are on their guard, there is commonly far more of noise than of mischief.

Our evening, however, passed over most amicably and agreeably, winding up, after several other songs, with "Auld Lang Syne," in which the Californians joined the foreigners very heartily; so that, as next day was Old Christmas, I could almost have fancied that I was welcoming "Auld Yule" in the north of Scotland.

On the morning of the 6th, we left the mission about seven o'clock, under a pretty heavy rain, to the great surprise of its amiable and hospitable inmates. We breakfasted at the landing-place, on the site of our old camp, after which we made our way to the mouth of the creek with the ebb-tide; but, as the wind was blowing hard from the south-east, we could not face the bay, and were obliged to retrace our steps, encamping for the third time at the landing-place, after nearly a whole day's exposure and toil. In all the course of my travelling, I never had occasion to go so far in search of an encampment as I did this day; but between our encampment and the bay there really was not a single spot where, even in the direst necessity, we could have obtained a footing. The banks of the creek were a mere marsh; and we saw and heard thousands upon thousands of cranes, geese, ducks, curlew, snipe, plover, heron, &c. These birds enjoy a perpetual holiday.

They, of course, are quite safe from the lasso; and so long as the Californians can get beef without gunpowder, they are not likely to expend it on any less profitable quarry.

By next morning the wind had returned to the northwest. We accordingly got under way at six o'clock; and, after a pleasant run down the creek, we stood across the bay of San Pedro, passed our old encampment on Murphy's estate, and, at four in the afternoon, arrived in safety on board of the Cowlitz.

It had been our intention, on this trip, to have visited Captain Sutter, the purchaser, as already mentioned, of the Russian American Company's stock in Ross and Bodega, who had settled, under the sanction of the government, on the banks of the Sacramento; but, as this prolongation of our excursion would have occupied us at least eight or ten days, we were reluctantly obliged to return without beating up the captain's quarters. Besides having thus lost the opportunity of seeing a little of the interior, we had reasons of a less romantic character for regretting our disappointment; as Sutter, a man of a speculative turn and good address, had given to the Hudson's Bay Company, in common with many others less able to pay for the compliment, particular grounds for taking an interest in his welfare and prosperity. He was understood to have served in the body-guard of Charles the Tenth, and to have emigrated, after the three glorious days of 1830, to the United States—a country which, by its acquisition of Louisiana, offers far more powerful inducements to French enterprise than any one of the rickety colonies of the grand nation. He had successively tried his fortune in St. Louis, among the Shawnee Indians, in the Snake Country, on the Columbia River, at the Sandwich Islands, at Sitka, and at San Francisco, uniformly illustrating the proverb of the rolling stone, but yet generally contriving to leave anxious and inquisitive friends behind him.

Sutter was now living on a grant of land about sixty miles long and twelve broad, trapping, farming, trading, bullying the government, and letting out Indians on hire; being, in short, in a fairer way of figuring in the world as a territorial potentate than his royal patron's heir, the Duke of Bourdeaux. If he really has the talent and the courage to make the most of his position, he is not unlikely to render California a second Texas. Even now, the Americans only want a rallying point for carrying into effect their theory, that the English race is destined by "right divine" to expel the Spaniards from their ancient seats — a theory which has already begun to develop itself in more ways than one.

American adventurers have repeatedly stolen cattle and horses by wholesale, with as little compunction as if they had merely helped themselves to an instalment of their own property. American trappers have frequently stalked into the Californian towns with their long rifles, ready for all sorts of mischief, practically setting the government at defiance, and putting the inhabitants in bodily fear; and, in 1836, the American residents, as also some of the American skippers on the coast, supported the revolution, in the hope of its merely transferring California from Mexico to the United States.

Now, for fostering and maturing Brother Jonathan's ambitious views, Captain Sutter's establishment is admirably situated. Besides lying on the direct route between San Francisco, on the one hand, and the Missouri and the Willamette, on the other, it virtually excludes the Californians from all the best parts of their own country, the valleys of the San Joachin, the Sacramento, and the Colarado. Hitherto, the Spaniards have confined themselves to the comparatively barren slip of land, varying from ten to forty miles in width, which lies between the ocean and the first range of mountains; and beyond this slip they will never penetrate with their present character and their present force, if Captain Sutter, or any other adventurer, can gather round him a score of such marksmen as won Texas on the field of San Jacinto. But this is not all; for the Americans, if masters of the interior, will soon discover that they have a natural right to a maritime outlet; so that, whatever may be the fate of Monterey and the more southerly ports, San Francisco will, to a moral certainty, sooner or later, fall into the possession of Americans—the only possible mode of preventing such a result being the previous occupation of the port on the part of Great Britain. English, in some sense or other of the word, the richest portions of California must become: either Great Britain will introduce her well regulated freedom of all classes and colours, or the people of the United States will inundate the country with their own peculiar mixture of helpless bondage and lawless insubordination. Between two such alternatives, the Californians themselves have little room for choice; and, even if there were ground for hesitation, they would, I am convinced, find in their actual experience sufficient reason for deciding in favour of the British; for they especially and emphatically complain that the Americans, in their mercantile dealings, are too wide awake for such drowsy customers, as would rather be cheated at once than protect themselves by any unusual expenditure of vigilance and caution. So much as to Captain Sutter's history and prospects.

On our return to Yerba Buena, we made arrangements with Don Francisco Guerrero, already mentioned in connexion with Commandant Prado, for visiting him at the mission of San Francisco, the oldest establishment of the kind on the bay, and the nearest to our anchorage. This gentleman, who had been steward of the mission till the progress of pillage and dilapidation rendered stewardship unnecessary, now resided here as an alcalde for the neighbouring district, or one of the local organs for the administration of Californian justice. In California, and, I believe, throughout Spanish America, the judicial system is rotten to the core. Even the fundamental distinction between executive and judiciary is practically unknown. In cases of real or fictitious importance, the alcalde reports to the prefect of his district, the prefect to the governor of the province, and the governor to the central authorities of Mexico; and, while all this tedious process advances at a Spanish pace, the accused party, even if innocent, is enduring, in some dungeon or other, a degree of mental torture more than adequate, in most instances, to the expiation of his alleged guilt.

But this is only a small part of the evil. The ordinary result, when time and tide have done their worst, is a rescript either for dismissing or for punishing without trial, perhaps for punishing the innocent and for dismissing the guilty; so that the system, to say nothing of the hardships of individual cases of oppression, utterly fails in the grand end and aim of every penal code, the identifying of crime and suffering in the minds of the people. Frequently, however, the subordinate functionaries, under the influence of personal feelings, such as caprice, or vindictiveness, or indignation, or love of popularity, pronounce and execute judgment on their own responsibility; exhibiting just about as much equity and impartiality as might be expected in a country, where there is neither a professional bar nor a free press, where education is hardly known, and government exists only in name, where the law is scarcely distinguished from the judge, and evidence is generally confounded with suspicion. Thus a prefect of the name of Castro, being informed that a man had murdered his wife in a fit of jealousy, caused the offender to be instantly destroyed under this sentence: "Let him be taken out and shot *before my blood cools;*" and a commandant, of the name of Garaletta, similarly disposed of a person suspected, but not convicted, of murder, on the curiously cumulative principle, that he had once before been accused of another crime of the same dye.

It is difficult to say whether this system is rendered better or worse by the occasional inability of the government to carry into effect even its own ideas of justice. Previously to the successful revolution of 1836, an abortive attempt of the kind had been excited by Governor Victoria's having condemned a man to be executed for the murder of his child; and, in 1837, when the foreign residents of the Pueblo de los Angelos carried before Governor Alvarado some wretches who had confessed the murder of a German, they received, and fulfilled as well as received, this unique commission of oyer and terminer: "I have not sufficient force to carry the law into execution against them; but, if you have evidence of their crime, do as you consider right."

To return, in conclusion, to our friend Guerrero, the reader must now understand pretty clearly what sort of a magistrate an Alcalde is in California. The word is of oriental origin, being part of the legacy left by the Moors in Spain, while, true to his order, the Californian *Alcalde* resembles the Turkish *Cadi* as closely on most other points as in name.

On the morning of Monday the 10th of the month, Guerrero's horses were in attendance; and a pleasant ride of three miles over some sandy hills, covered with the dwarf oak and the strawberry tree, brought us to the Mission of San Francisco. In the case of San Francisco Solano, the remains of the original establishment had been replaced or eclipsed by the more ambitious buildings of General Vallego; but here one wilderness of ruins presented nothing to blend the promise of the future with the story of the past. This scene of desolation had not even the charm of antiquity to grace it, for, as it was only in 1776 that the mission was founded, the oldest edifice that now crumbled before us had not equalled the span of human life, the age of threescore years and ten; and yet, when compared with the stubborn piles which elsewhere perish so gradually as to exhibit no perceptible change to a single generation of men, these ruins had attained a state of decay which would have done credit to the wind and weather of centuries. Oddly enough, the endemic laziness of the country had, in this instance, run ahead of Old Time, with his jog-trot and his scythe, and had done his work for him at a smarter pace and with more formidable tools. In plain English, the indolent Californians had saved themselves a vast deal of woodsman's and carpenter's labour, by carrying off doors, and windows, and roofs, leaving the unsheltered adobes, if one may name small things with great, to the fate of Nineveh and Babylon.

But these good Catholics did set a limit, and that, too, a characteristic one, to their sacrilege. They could appropriate the cattle, and dismantle the dwellings, of the missions, robbing both priests and proselytes of what they had earned in common by the sweat of their brows; but they respected the churches with a superstitious awe, even after they had degraded them into baubles by the expulsion at once of the pastors and their flocks. They left the mint, and the anise, and the cummin untouched, but trampled on the weightier matters of the law; they reverenced the altar, but disclaimed the mercy of which it was the emblem. Of this hollow show, however, the friars should partly bear the blame. It was an external religion that they had taught: they had sown the wind, and were reaping the whirlwind.

In former days, there resided here, besides the priests and soldiers, about seven hundred domesticated converts, of whom we saw only three marked, dirty, miserable creatures. In 1776, the mission had commenced operations with five cattle, the ancestors of the thousand herds that now crowd the shores of the bay; but, towards the close of its career, it had acquired about fifteen thousand descendants of the original stock for its own single share, besides considerable flocks of sheep and large bands of horses. When times of trouble, however, arrived, the priests, as I have already stated in a general way, so successfully forestalled the spoilers by killing off their animals, that the first administrador of the Mission of San Francisco came into possession of not more than five thousand cattle; and this number has been since reduced to about three hundred, that are now running wild on the hills.

Priests, cattle, savages, and dwellings, had all vanished. Nor were the spiritual results of the system more conspicuous than its material fruits, consisting, as they did, of nothing but a negative veneration for the ornaments and appendages of a deserted place of worship.

But the mission, though dead, still spake through its interesting associations. As I had perused, during our tedious voyage in the Cowlitz, "Forbes's History of California," with its many curious details, in the shape of the authentic records of the establishments, every object in the present solitude, not even excepting the mouldering adobe, had its own tale to tell of the motley life of bygone days. In making the tour of the ruins, we first entered the apartment in which the priests took their meals and received visits,—two branches of business which they understood to perfection. To say nothing of the grand staples of beef and *frixoles*, their tables groaned under a profusion of mutton, fowls, vegetables, fruits, bread, pastry, milk, butter, and cheese; of every thing, in short, which a prolific soil and an almost tropical climate could be made to yield to industry and art; and, as their dining-room was connected with their kitchen by a small closet, which served merely to intercept the grosser perfumes, they had evidently known, contrary to modern use and wont, how to heighten the zest of these good things by attacking them hot and racy from the fire, and cooling them, if necessary, for themselves, with the juice of their own grapes.

Those were the times for travelling in California. Besides its agreeable society and its hospitable board, every mission was more ready than its neighbour to supply the stranger with guides and horses and provisions, whether for visiting the immediate neighbourhood, or for prosecuting his journey through the province; and, if one did not look too critically below the surface, the contrast between the untamed savages and the half-civilized converts could hardly fail to complete, in the eyes of the hasty wayfarer, a kind of terrestrial paradise. Witness Langsdorff's artless picture, drawn from the life in 1806, of the placid existence of the presidency and missions of the Harbour of San Francisco.

Passing through the dining-room, we were conducted into a square surrounded with buildings, in which, to say nothing of less important avocations, the natives used to be employed in manufacturing the wool of the establishment into blankets and coarse cloths; their wheels and looms having been made by themselves under the direction of their zealous teachers, who had derived their knowledge on the subject from books. It was, in fact, chiefly by means of books that the missionaries had contrived to overcome all the difficulties of their isolated position:—from the preparing of the adobes to the decorating of the churches; from the constructing of the plough to the baking of the bread; from the shearing of the sheep to the fulling of the web. But, in addition to their ingenuity in planning, they toiled more diligently than any of their unwilling assistants in the actual execution of their various labours, striving at the same time to render their drudgery morally available as an example. Thus, for instance, did the astute and indefatigable fathers temper the mud with measured steps and merry ditties, in order to beguile, if possible, their indolent and simple pupils into useful labour by the attractions of the song and the dance.

The praise of all this, however, should, in a great degree, be awarded to the Jesuits, who, before they were supplanted by the Franciscans, had covered the sterile rocks of Lower California with the monuments, agricultural, and architectural, and economical, of their patience and aptitude; not only leaving to their successors apposite models and tolerable workmen, but also bequeathing to them the invaluable lesson, that nothing was impossible to energy and perseverance. Still, the system, in spite of all the sacrifices of the two foremost orders of the Romish Church, was but a show, in which the puppets ceased to dance when the wire-pullers were withdrawn; it was a body without a soul of its own, which could move only by the infusion of extraneous life; it was, in a word, typified by its own adobe, which nothing but constant care and attention could prevent from returning to its elementary dust.

From the factory we went to the church. This was a large edifice, almost as plain as a barn, excepting in front, where it was prettily finished with small columns, on which was hung a peal of bells. The interior, however, of the building presented a prodigality of ornament. The ceiling was painted all over; the walls were covered with pictures and pieces of sculpture; and the altar displayed all the appointments of the Romish service in a style, which, for this country, might well be characterized as gorgeous. Even to our Protestant tastes, the general effect was considerably heightened by the "dim religious light" of two or three narrow windows, which themselves appeared to be buried in the recesses of a wall between five and six feet thick. The church, as I have already said, remained in perfect preservation, amidst the contrast of the surrounding ruins; and considering the solidity of the walls, which, to say nothing of their thickness, had become vitrified by time, it could hardly be destroyed in any other way than by the removal of its roof. This church is sometimes, but not often, opened by Father Quigas of San Rafael, or by the priest of Santa Clara.

Thus have the zeal and industry of the fathers become useless alike to Californians and Indians. But, with respect to these deserted places of worship, the mere erection of the sacred edifice formed a small part of the exertions of the missionaries. The harder task was to fill them with reverential listeners, more particularly in early times. Even after consenting, for a consideration, to swell the muster-roll of the flock, the savages frequently indulged in noisy ridicule; and an authentic anecdote is told of one of the Jesuits, who, being a stalwart fellow, effectually put the whole of his congregation on their best behaviour by seizing one gigantic scoffer, who was in front of the reading-desk, by the hair of his head, and swinging him to and fro in the sight of his astonished companions.

In the vicinity of the church was formerly situated the garden, which, being within the ordinary range of the north-west fogs, had always been inferior to the gardens of the more inland missions. It was now choked with weeds and bushes; and the walls were broken down in many places, though, by a characteristic exertion of Californian industry, piles of skulls had filled up some of the gaps, reminding one of the pound of buffalo-bones, a hundred feet square and five or six feet high, which had been constructed, a year or two ago, by the Indians of the prairies on the eastern side of the mountains.

The soil appeared to be light and sandy; but it had, as usual, the priests to thank for the means of artificial irrigation, a small stream having been brought from the hills under their direction, and made to flow in tiny channels wherever water could be required.

We felt highly gratified by our visit, the more so as the day was bright and warm; and, after paying our respects to Señora Guerrero, a pretty young woman with black eyes and white teeth, we returned to Yerba Buena on the alcalde's steeds.

We should most probably have made an excursion as far as the mission of Santa Clara, had not the return of our courier, who arrived on the following day, hastened our departure for Monterey. It is one of the few establishments that still possess a resident priest; and Father Gonzales, a very different man from his reverence of San Rafael, is a truly worthy representative of the early missionaries. As the poor friars still continue to hope for better times, they generally strive, with a degree of zeal proportioned to their respective characters, to do their best for such buildings as may be under their own eyes; and, accordingly, Father Gonzales's mission is in a more perfect state of preservation than almost any similar establishment in the country. Besides that the church is said to be decorated with more than usual skill and magnificence, the neighbourhood presents one feature which reflects peculiar credit on the piety and energy of the Franciscans. Between the Pueblo of San José de Guadalupe and the mission of Santa Clara there lies an impassable swamp nearly five miles long; and in order to enable the inhabitants of the village to attend to their devotions, the fathers of their own accord bridged the morass from side to side with an excellent path of dry earth. Not contented with mere utility, they planted either side of the mound with a row of trees; and now, to mark the difference between the disinterestedness of the authors of the gift and the ingratitude of its objects, some of the vagabonds of the Pueblo have begun to make unsightly gaps in the avenue, as being more temptingly situated for supplying them with timber than the natural forest.

The hopes of the future, in which the poor friars, as I have just mentioned, still indulge, had, at this time, derived considerable encouragement, from the appointment of a bishop in the person of a former colleague of Father Gonzales; and, while we lay at Yerba Buena, we had much pleasure in complying with that amiable man's request, that we should fire a salute, and hoist our colours, in honour of the arrival of his friend and superior at San Diego. The Bishop of the Californias is supposed to have made some arrangement with the Mexican Government for, at least, the partial restoration of the missions—a circumstance which affords high satisfaction, not only to the priesthood, but also to the more respectable portion of the laity. That the missions can recover their cattle and resume their lands, is morally impossible; and that the priests will break new ground in some of the inland valleys, with the certain prospect of future spoliation before them, is very improbable. But the original establishments, with comparatively limited means, may still be devoted, under the light of past experience, to a more useful purpose than before. Let the priests treat the savage not as a child but as a man; let them consider him not as a mere machine but as a rational being; let them train him, not by physical coercion, but by motives addressed to his head and heart, to think and act for himself in the various relations of life. Above all, let them humanize the whites by the influences of religion; for, without the hearty co-operation of the colonists, the civilization of the savages can be neither complete nor permanent.

The expedition of our courier to Monterey, excepting that the interval had been agreeably spent by us at San Francisco, had been fruitless, for he returned with orders that the Cowlitz should instantly proceed to the seat of government, without landing any thing at Yerba Buena, and the strict letter of the law, notwithstanding the peculiarities of our case, was to be enforced against us; the real truth, probably, being, that Alvarado thought that the duties would be safer if paid under his own eye, than if left at the mercy of the other king of Brentford, his uncle, Vallego.

The law in question is oppressive to strangers, and pernicious to the government. As a striking instance of its oppression, a schooner, which was entirely laden with goods for San Francisco, lately became a wreck in Drake's Bay, which she had mistaken for her harbour, losing nearly the whole of a cargo, on which she had just paid fifteen thousand dollars of duty at Monterey. With regard, again, to the effect of the law on the interests of the government, a vessel, after entering herself, and obtaining an unconditional and unlimited permission to trade in the country, not unfrequently contrives to receive additional goods from an unlicensed consort, or to pick them up, where, perhaps, she has herself left them, in some distant nook or other of the coast, or in some of the adjacent islands. This evil is, of course, aggravated by the extravagance of the tariff, inasmuch as such extravagance renders the temptation to smuggle almost irresistible; and so well aware are the authorities of this fact, that they are generally glad to compound for the duties with all but the novices, and to accept the composition not in specie but in goods.

CHAPTER VIII.

MONTEREY.

Voyage to Monterey—Landing—Town, buildings and furniture, &c. — Neighbourhood — Christening of bridge — Mr. Spence — Governor Alvarado — Unsophisticated cockney — Californian ignorance — Mr. Ermatinger's journey from Vancouver to Monterey—Californians and Indians—Murderous desecration of baptism—Selfishness and indifference of public authorities—Compromise with custom-house—Schooner California, untried convicts—Revenue law, impolitic and oppressive—Spanish America in general, its fiscal and political condition—Contrast between Spanish and English colonies—Fruits of Spanish American independence—Pueblo of Branciforte—Mission of Santa Cruz—Mission of San Carlos, past and present.

At three in the afternoon of the 12th we left Yerba Buena, exchanging salutes with Captain Wilson, of the Index. We passed the presidio and fort under the influence of a strong ebb-tide, which, after rounding the southern side of the entrance, rushes to the southward at the rate of six knots an hour. In the very direction of the current there lay some rocks; and, as the wind failed us just at the point, the vessel, which no longer had any way upon her, was hurried towards them like a log. The anchor was dropped with thirty fathoms of chain, but dragged till we were within a few yards of the object of our fears; and when at last it did hold, it was raised so as barely to touch the bottom, that, by thus counteracting, in some degree, the action of the tide, it might enable the ship to obey her helm. By this operation of kedging, as it is, I believe, technically termed, we steered clear of the rocks, when the wind freshened sufficiently to enable us to stand off from the shore, which was not above a cable's length distant. Luckily, the rocks in question show all their danger above water, for there is a depth of seven fathoms round each of them; so that the Catilina, now lying at Yerba Buena, was lately carried in safety between them.

During the greater part of the voyage, the appearance of the coast was very uninteresting, consisting, as it did, of a chain of sandy hills, covered with a scanty verdure. By the morning of the 14th we passed the point of Santa Cruz, forming the northern extremity of the Bay of Monterey, which resembles a segment of a circle with a chord of about eighteen miles; but, in consequence of the lightness of the winds, it was eight in the evening, of the 15th, before we came abreast of the castle, and cast anchor in the neighbourhood of four vessels—the American barque Fama, schooner Julia Ann, and brig Bolivar, and the Mexican schooner California.

The harbour, if harbour it can be called, is merely the southern end of the bay, protected from the west by the northerly inclination of Point Pinos. It is sheltered from only one of the prevailing winds, the south-easter of the short winter; and so little is it land-locked, that, in the most favourable state of wind and weather, the whole beach presents nearly as troublesome a surf as the shore of the open ocean. Well was it described by one of the band of Franciscans, who first visited it after the days of Vizcaino, as "this horrible port of Monterey."

Next morning, by eight o'clock, we exchanged a salute of seven guns with the castle, which was at present so flush of gunpowder as to return our compliment without borrowing from us, as it sometimes condescends to do, the needful for the purpose; and soon afterwards we were boarded by six officers of the customs, who flocked down to our vessel like vultures to their prey. As they came up the side of the ship, they exhibited a superabundance of bowing and smiling; and, after the ordinary ceremonies were exhausted, they were conducted into the cabin, in order to proceed to business. When told that we had paid our tonnage dues at San Francisco, and had no cargo to land in Monterey, they looked like a disappointed batch of expectant legatees, leaving the table, on which the wine was already placed, with dry lips and lengthened faces.

To ourselves, however, the visit was by no means unwelcome, as a necessary preliminary to our going on shore—an operation which we effected by waiting on the outer edge of the surf, till a comber, as it is technically distinguished, wafted our boat into a little cove at the foot of the custom-house; and then one or two of the sailors, jumping out, dragged her up, so that, when the wave retired, we were high and dry on the beach.

Though infinitely inferior, as a port, to San Francisco and San Diego, yet Monterey, from its central position, has always been the seat of government. It was, however, only after the revolution of 1836 that it could be compared with the other settlements in point of commercial importance, having suddenly expanded from a few houses into a population or about seven hundred souls. . .

The town occupies a very pretty plain, which slopes towards the north, and terminates to the southward, in a tolerably lofty ridge. It is a mere collection of buildings, scattered as loosely on the surface as if they were so many bullocks at pasture; so that the most expert surveyor could not possibly classify them even into crooked streets. What a curious dictionary of circumlocutions a Monterey Directory would be! The dwellings, some of which attain the dignity of a second story, are all built of adobes, being sheltered on every side from the sun by overhanging eaves, while, towards the rainy quarter of the south-east, they enjoy the additional protection of boughs of trees, resting, like so many ladders, on the roof. In order to resist the action of the elements, the walls, as I have already mentioned with respect to the mission of San Francisco, are remarkably thick; though this peculiarity is here partly intended to guard against the shocks of earthquakes, which are so frequent that a hundred and twenty of them were felt during two successive months of the last summer. This average, however, of two earthquakes a day is not so frightful as it looks, the shocks being seldom severe, and often so slight, according to Basil Hall's experience in South America, as to escape the notice of the uninitiated stranger.

Externally, the habitations have a cheerless aspect, in consequence of the paucity of windows, which are almost unattainable luxuries. Glass is rendered ruinously dear by the exorbitant duties, while parchment, surely a better substitute than a cubic yard of adobes, is clearly inadmissible in California, on account of the trouble of its preparation; and, to increase the expense, carpenters are equally extravagant and saucy, charging three dollars for such a day's work as one is likely to get from fellows that will not labour more than three days in the week. After all, perhaps the Californians do not feel the privation of light to be an evil. While it certainly makes the rooms cooler, it cannot, by any possibility, interfere with the occupations of those who do nothing; and, even for the purposes of ventilation, windows are hardly needed, inasmuch as the bedding, the only thing that requires fresh air, is daily exposed to the sun and wind. Among the Californian housewives, the bed is quite a show, enjoying, as it does, the full benefit of contrast. While the other furniture consists of a deal-table and some badly-made chairs, with probably a dutch clock and an old looking-glass, the bed ostentatiously challenges admiration, with its snowy sheets fringed with lace, its pile of soft pillows covered with the finest linen or the richest satin, and its well-arranged drapery of costly and tasteful curtains. Still, notwithstanding the washings and the airings, this bed is but a whited sepulchre, concealing in the interior a pestilential wool-mattress, the impregnable stronghold of millions of *las pulgas*.

As to public buildings, this capital of a province may, with a stretch of charity, be allowed to possess four. First is the church, part of which is going to decay, while another part is not yet finished; its only peculiarity is that it is built, or rather half-built, of stone. Next comes the castle, consisting of a small house, surrounded by a low wall, all of adobes. It commands the town and anchorage, if a garrison of five soldiers and a battery of eight or ten rusty and honey-combed guns can be said to command anything. Third in order is the guard-house, a paltry mud-hut, without windows. Fourth and last stands the custom-house, which is, or rather promises to be, a small range of decent offices; for, though it has been building for five years, it is not yet finished.

The neighbourhood of the town is pleasingly diversified with hills, and offers abundance of timber. The soil, though light and sandy, is certainly capable of cultivation; and yet there is neither field nor garden to be seen. If one were to judge from appearances, even the trouble of fencing would exceed the limits of Californian patience, for we here and there saw premises enclosed, after a fashion, by branches of trees stuck in the ground; and this miserable makeshift was the less excusable, as the adjacent pastures were inconveniently overgrown with the prickly pear, growing to the height of twelve feet, and armed with spikes too formidable for either man or beast to encounter.

Monterey is badly supplied with water, which, in consequence of the extraordinary drought of last year, lately brought a dollar a pipe. The small stream, which runs through the town, is generally dry in summer, the very season when its water is most wanted.

On landing, we found that the good folks were all engaged at mass; and, accordingly, though rather late for the service, we followed them to church. There was a tolerable congregation of about two hundred people, principally females, who were all dressed alike, with a shawl over their heads, hanging down on their shoulders; and the priest was attended by two or three Indians, who appeared to be well versed in kneeling and crossing, &c., to be perfect masters, in short, of all the ceremonial drudgery of the Romish service. We entered the edifice only in time to receive his reverence's benediction, which, I am afraid, profited us but little, as Father Jesus Maria Real was said to bear a far stronger resemblance to Quigas of San Rafael than to Gonzales of Santa Clara. After mass, the pastor and his flock went to christen a bridge, which had been lately thrown over the little river of the town, and was now gaily decorated with banners, &c., for the occasion. In California, every spot, Monterey alone excepted, is dedicated to some saint or other—a mockery of names, which forms a curious contrast with the pillage of every thing else. General Vallego has been the only consistent spoiler, having substituted, as I have already said, the old term Sonoma for the name of the saint whom he had robbed of lands, and herds, and priests—San Francisco Solano.

As we took very little interest in the christening of the bridge, we readily attached ourselves to Mr. Spence, a native of Huntly, in Aberdeenshire, who had conducted a flourishing business here for more than nine years. After being introduced by that gentleman at the door of the church to several of the principal inhabitants, we were carried by him to the residence of Governor Alvarado. Making far less display than his compeer Vallego, the Governor has no soldiers about him, and lives in a small house, which is but poorly furnished. We were ushered into his Excellency's best apartment, which contained a host of common chairs, a paltry table, a kind of a sofa, a large Dutch clock, and four or five cheap mirrors, boasting, however, the unique feature of three large windows that reached to the floor, and communicated with a balcony overlooking the town and bay.

We found the governor lame, as we had already found the commander of the forces, the cause in the one instance being not less characteristic than in the other. Vallego had been thrown from his horse, while amusing himself with the lasso; but, about a month ago, Alvarardo, who had been entertaining the priest and some other friends, in honour of the saint of the day—probably the very saint who had been forced to contribute the wine — managed, by means of his windows and his balcony, to fall to the ground and dislocate his ankle. The nephew, in fact, possesses little of the talent and decision of the uncle, being, at least according to his present practice, more remarkable for love of conviviality than for anything else. Whatever ability he may have displayed in rising from an inferior rank to be the first man in California, he has not allowed the cares of government to prey on his vitals, for the revolution of 1836, amid its other changes, has metamorphosed its champion from a thin and spare conspirator, into a plump and punchy lover of singing, and dancing, and feasting. He received us very politely, but declined, on account of his lameness, my invitation to dine with us next day on board of the Cowlitz.

After half an hour's chat, we took our departure for Mr. Spence's house, where we had the pleasure of being introduced to his pretty and lively wife, a donna, of course, of the country. Thence we boxed the compass through the town, tacking and beating in every direction, in order to pay our respects to some of the inhabitants at their own homes. Among others, we visited an unsophisticated cockney of the name of Watson, from "Redriff," whose father had been "in the public line," and had kept "the Noah's Hark, 'tween the Globe Stairs and the 'Orse Ferry." Though he had been eighteen years in California, yet he was apparently unconscious of any lapse of time, for his notions of persons and places were pretty much the same as he had imbibed under the paternal roof. He talked as if the churchyards had enjoyed a sinecure, and as if docks and railways had committed no trespasses; and yet, while he supposed all the rest of the world to be standing still, he himself had contrived to scrape together the largest fortune in the province. Watson's simplicity did not greatly surprise us; for, even if he had been less deeply immersed in hides and tallow, and perhaps more delicate speculations, he would hardly have obtained the means of regular and continuous information. To take our own case, we had left the Atlantic nine months before, having tarried one month on Red River, and at least two months on the Columbia, besides making an offset to Sitka; and yet, in all California, we found no later news than our own from Great Britain or the United States. The demand for knowledge is necessarily inconsiderable in California. The only seminary of education in the province is a petty school at Monterey; and though under the old system, parents were, by law, obliged to send their children to the nearest mission for instruction, yet very few individuals of any age can either write or read.

While returning to our boat, we were saluted by a horseman in Spanish costume, whom we at length recognised, through his disguise, to be Mr. Ermatinger, one of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers, who had left Vancouver for California about the time of our return from Sitka, in command of our annual party of trappers. Having heard at Sonoma that he had arrived on the banks of the Sacramento, I requested him by letter to follow me, if necessary, to Monterey, that we might have an interview on matters of business; and he had accordingly hastened to Yerba Buena, whence, finding that the Cowlitz had got the start of him by a few hours, he had pursued his journey by land to this place. After tracing the Willamette to its sources, Mr. Ermatinger had crossed the height of land into the valley of the Calamet River, thence making his way to the snowy chain which terminates in Cape Mendocino. The latter portion of this route ran through the country which had been the scene of the cowardly atrocities of some Americans; but, though the Indians did, for a time, make the Company's innocent servants pay the penalty of the guilt of others, yet, through the influence of kindness and firmness combined, they have, within these last two years, permitted our people to pass unmolested. Mr. Ermatinger then crossed the snowy chain aforesaid by the Pit Mountain, so called from the number of pitfalls dug by the neighbouring savages for the wild animals; and here, partly in consequence of the lateness of the season, he and his men had to march for three days through snow, which, in some places, was two feet deep. In fact, this mountain was notorious as the worst part of their journey; for about ten years before, our trappers, being overtaken by a violent storm, had lost, on this very ground, the whole of their furs, and nearly three hundred horses.

The party now entered the valley of the Sacramento, described by Mr. Ermatinger as presenting, in a length of eighty leagues, the richest and most verdant district on the western side of the Rocky Mountains. The country, however, is subject to inundations. On the 12th of December, while we were experiencing such heavy weather in Baker's Bay, Mr. Ermatinger and his people had encamped on a pretty tributary of the Sacramento, when, in consequence of torrents of rain, the stream rose nine feet during the night, swelling in to a tide that threatened to overflow, or sweep away, its banks. In the morning, they proceeded towards some rising ground, about five miles distant; but the intervening plain had become a perfect bog, so that it was eleven o'clock at night before the party assembled, with the exception of one poor squaw and several horses;

and, before daylight returned, their green knoll stood as an island in a considerable lake. The unfortunate woman was discovered to have died in the night; and the missing animals were standing, stiff and ghastly, upon their legs, with their loads on their backs.

Hence, Mr. Ermatinger proceeded to another tributary of the Sacramento, known as the Rivière la Cache; and here he despatched his hunters in different directions, with orders to meet him at a certain spot, about two days distant from Sonoma, by the 25th of April, the latest date at which the swarms of musquitoes would allow them to carry on their trapping in the haunts of the beaver and the otter. To the appointed place Mr. Ermatinger immediately went in person, with two or three men, and the wives and children of the party; and, having there met the messenger with our letters, he first announced his arrival to General Vallego, and then made his way to Yerba Buena.

From Yerba Buena Mr. Ermatinger's route lay along the bay as far as the Pueblo of San José de Guadalupe, thence advancing to the mission of Santa Clara; and from this establishment again it carried him through a beautiful district upwards of a hundred miles long, varied with hills and plains, woods and streams, all in a state of nature. I had myself intended to travel by this road from Yerba Buena to Monterey; and the more that I heard of it from Mr. Ermatinger, the more did I regret that I had permitted myself to be deterred from undertaking the journey by exaggerated accounts of the danger and discomfort which, at this season, the state of the waters was likely to occasion.

What a contrast does Mr. Ermatinger's brief narrative present to the position which the Spaniards occupy with respect to the Indians! While a handful of strangers leaves women and children almost unprotected in the wilderness, and sends forth solitary hunters in every direction, the permanent colonists of the country —many of them being themselves children of the soil—are the victims of a systematic course of savage depredation. In the palmy days of the missions, the practice of sending out soldiers to bag fresh subjects for civilization tended to embitter the naturally unfriendly feeling of the red man, more particularly as the aborigines of the interior were constitutionally more restless and energetic than the savages of the coast; and the revolution of 1836 aggravated the evil by turning loose into the woods a multitude of converts, whose power of doing mischief, besides being increased by knowledge and experience, was forced into full play by a sense of the injustice and inhumanity of the local government. But the Indians of all tribes are, from day to day, rendered more audacious by impunity. Too indolent to be always on the alert, the Californians overlook the constant pilferings of cattle and horses, till they are roused beyond the measure even of their patience, by some outrage of more than ordinary mark; and then, instead of hunting down the guilty for exemplary punishment, they destroy every native that falls in their way, without distinction of sex or age. The bloodhounds, of course, find chiefly women and children, for, in general, the men are better able to escape, butchering their helpless and inoffensive victims, after the blasphemous mockery of baptism. The sanctifying of murder by the desecration of a Christian rite, however incredible it may seem, is a melancholy matter of fact, the performers in the tragedy doubtless believing that, if there be any truth in the maxim that the end justifies the means, surely the salvation of the soul is sufficient warrant for the destruction of the body. I subjoin a more detailed description, on the authority of an eye-witness.

When the incursions of the savages have appeared to render a crusade necessary, the alcalde of the neighbourhood summons from twelve to twenty colonists to serve, either in person or by substitute, on horseback; and one of the foreign residents, when nominated, about three years before, preferred the alternative of joining the party himself, in order to see something of the interior. After a ride of three days, they reached a village, whose inhabitants, for all that the crusaders knew to the contrary, might have been as innocent in the matter as themselves. But, even without any consciousness of guilt, the tramp of the horses was a symptom not to be misunderstood by the savages; and accordingly, all that could run, comprising, of course, all that could possibly be criminal, fled for their lives. Of those who remained, nine persons, all females, were tied to trees, christened, and shot. With great difficulty and considerable danger, my informant saved one old woman, by conducting her to a short distance from the accursed scene; and even there he had to shield the creature's miserable life by drawing a pistol against one of her merciless pursuers. She ultimately escaped, though not without seeing a near relative, a handsome youth, who had been captured, slaughtered in cold blood before her eyes, with the outward and visible sign of regeneration still glistening on his brow.

Before any reader rejects the testimony of my informant on account of its intrinsic improbability, let him read, mark, and inwardly digest an anecdote told with much zest by the Jesuit historian of French Canada,—an anecdote of which the more horrible features, let us in charity believe, must have been veiled from the pious writer himself by the lofty phraseology of the Latin language.

The Christian Hurons had captured some of the heathen Iroquois, and had doomed them, according to custom, to die by the most cruel tortures. Without once exhorting his proselytes to the graces of mercy and forgiveness, the attendant missionary was contented to implore, and even to bribe them, that he might be permitted to baptize their victims. Christened the Iroquois were accordingly, reciting, either by rote or by inspiration, their new-born belief amid the torments of the fire and the knife, while their chief, who had received the name of Peter, rushed from the stake after his ligatures were consumed, and, with a blazing billet in either hand, scattered his circle of persecutors like a flock of sheep. It was to the foolhardy valour of this chief that the capture of himself and his countrymen had been owing; and, with reference to this fact, the Jesuit historian closes his extraordinary narrative, which occupies four pages of classical diction, by expressing his opinion that to the reckless courage of their leader the prisoners were indebted for their salvation,—an opinion which, if entertained also by the attendant missionary, may sufficiently account both for what he did and for what he left undone, both for his anxiety to christen the Iroquois and for his indifference about humanizing the Hurons. In truth, cruelty, when thus varnished, becomes mercy in its loveliest form; the butchers of California, as well as those of Canada, having adopted the best means of doing the greatest good to those that hated them.

Under these circumstances, the two races live in a state of warfare that knows no truce. The Indian makes a regular business of stealing horses, that he may ride the tame ones, and eat such as are wild. Sometimes, however, he raises his eyes to the young brunettes themselves, one girl having been actually carried off from San Diego, and no less a person than Señora Vallego's sister having almost been the victim of a conspiracy which the General, with all his taste for foreign alliances, took care to defeat. In his turn, the Californian treats the savage, wherever he finds him, very much like a beast of prey, shooting him down, even in the absence of any specific charge, as a common pest and a public enemy, and still more decidedly disdaining, in a case of guilt, the aids of such law and justice as the country affords. In the latter event, he not merely punishes him on his own responsibility, but does so, in some degree, according to judicial forms; Mr. Spence's brother, who has a farm at a little distance from Monterey, having hanged two horse-stealers, who had confessed the crime, the very night before our arrival in the port.

For such a state of things, however, the public authorities are far more to blame than private individuals. Contented with extorting the amount of their own salaries from the missions and the foreign trade, they care little for the general welfare and security, though a band of fifty resolute horsemen, provided they chastised only the actual marauders, would hold at bay all the savages, with their wretched bows and arrows, between Sonoma and San Diego. In the Hudson's Bay Company's territories, it is no uncommon thing for twelve or fifteen men to maintain, with proper management, an isolated post in peace and safety against larger numbers of more formidable neighbours.

After being joined by Mr. Ermatinger, we made our way through the surf with some difficulty, and found, on board of the Cowlitz, two custom-house officers, one of them a brother of General Vallego. They remained with us all night, keeping a close watch on our movements.

Next morning, we were again boarded by the whole gang; and, after a good deal of chaffering and higgling, we entered into a compromise for transshipping into the Fama, which was bound for San Francisco, some necessary supplies for our establishment at Yerba Buena, paying exorbitant duties on some articles, and obtaining leave to pass others free. As an instance of the hardship to which vessels are subjected, in not being allowed to break bulk without visiting Monterey, we had to pay a freight of about two hundred dollars for carrying back part of our cargo to San Francisco, being at least 15 per cent. on the value of the shipment.

In all probability, the want of funds for fitting out the schooner California had rendered the authorities somewhat more pliable. As provisions were needed as well as money, Alvarado, as I have already mentioned, purchased from us some flour and salmon as sea-stores; all this preparatory fuss being necessary for the voyage of a paltry tub to San Blas, the nearest port in Mexico to California.

This national vessel, a mere apology for a coasting cruiser, is an old, cranky craft, not mounting a single gun, and so badly manned that she is unable to make any progress by beating against the wind. I have already mentioned that the skipper's wife, a sister of General Vallego, resides at Sonoma, so that, as soon as he casts anchor in Whalers' Harbour, Captain Cooper starts off with the boat and the bulk of the crew across the Bay of San Pedro, to see his friends; and, as the victualling department, which is never in a flourishing condition, is peculiarly low at the end of a voyage, the mate has been known to starve three days at a time, in sight of herds of cattle.

Besides our friend, Mr. Hales, who had been kicking his heels in Monterey in expectation of the sailing of the schooner, and some other passengers, the California had on board seven convicts, if men, who had not been tried, could be so called, who were to be transported by order of the executive government, on charges of murder and robbery, and to be left, as was supposed, on the uninhabited island of Santa Guadalupe, lying to the south of San Diego. On this spot there was said to be plenty of water and wild goats, though, in all probability, Alvarado did not care even if the fellows should die of hunger, or live by eating each other.

To return to the question of duties, the revenue of the province is by no means considerable, having amounted, last year, to about one hundred and ten thousand dollars. As the securalized missions, besides having seen their best days, are always fleeced by the administradors, whose "nails" are proverbially worth more than their pay, the treasury of course depends chiefly on the tariff for its supplies,—a tariff of which the whole burden falls at last on the colonists themselves. As the Californians enjoy no such monopoly of hides and tallow, as to influence the prices of those commodities in the market of the world, the foreign trader, in his dealings with them, must, of course, deduct from the actual value of his purchases at least the full tale of the dollars which the government has previously exacted from him. To give an instance, without aiming at extreme accuracy, the goods which are now given for three hides would, if untaxed, be paid for two. Thus, to sum up, in one word, the proceedings of the citizens and rulers of this teeming land, the rapacity of the latter fearfully depreciates the only equivalents which the indolence of the former enables them to offer for all the comforts and luxuries of civilized life. To make matters worse, the Californians receive little or no return for the virtual confiscation of one third of their substance; for the whole of the spoil is devoured by the mere semblance of a government, which, as we have elsewhere seen, has neither the power nor the inclination to protect the two thirds that are left.

As an example of the profligate expenditure of the public money, the custom-house of Monterey, though it has to deal only once for all with every vessel that trades on the coast, musters twelve leeches, that suck the blood of the country to the tune of fifteen thousand dollars a year. The whole of the fiscal business might be equally well done, at a third part of the expense, by a collector, a comptroller, and a clerk; and it is a mere pretext to say that the present twelve are maintained to be a check on each other by the Mexican government, which, as it draws no revenue from the province, has nearly as little interest in the matter as the Emperor of China. In truth, the revolutionary functionaries of California, after seizing the reins of power in defiance of the central authorities, make, as is to be expected, a mere convenience of the laws of the republic, enforcing them to-day against others, but dispensing with them to-morrow in favour of themselves.

But the state of things, which has been just described, is not peculiar to California. Throughout the whole of Spanish America, the machine, which is called a government, appears to exist only for its own sake, the grand secret of office being to levy a revenue and consume it; and public men have little or no object in life but to share the booty, while private individuals look with apathy on intrigues which promise no other change than that of the names of their plunderers. Hence, in the absence of any balancing power, such as public opinion, between those who possess the spoil and those who covet it, almost every change of rulers is effected by a successful rebellion, by the triumph of force over law. In a word, the whole country either always is, or is always liable to be, the prey of violence and disorganization, one part of it differing from another only in this characteristic way, that the elements of anarchy are numerous and powerful, in proportion to the nearness of the seat of government. Nor ought such a system of misrule to surprise us. In the days of Spanish domination, no native of the country, even if the proudest blood of Castile alone flowed in his veins, was competent to fill the lowest office under the crown; while the old Spaniards, who were the local rulers of every colony, were universally expelled, under the new order of things, by those who, besides envying them as a privileged class, hated them as the instruments of an intolerable despotism. Thus, after the achievement of independence, the country found itself almost utterly destitute of political experience, while the entire remodelling of its institutions rendered such a qualification necessary in its highest possible degree. Hitherto ruled by an oligarchy of strangers, who were themselves the slaves of the most arbitrary sovereign in Europe, the Spanish colonies, as if by a leap, emerged at once into the position of independent republics with hardly any other definite principles to guide them in the selection of what was new than the indiscriminate hatred of all that was old. The result was inevitable. Liberty degenerated into licentiousness, while power was merely another name for tyranny; and, though the reality of government nowhere existed, yet the form of the thing was multiplied beyond all former example, either by the constant succession of sectional struggles, or by the occasional disruption of a whole into its parts.

As Spain is deeply responsible for the miseries of her transatlantic children, so has England reason to claim much of the merit of the very different career of her revolted colonies. Founded chiefly by various sects, that left England to avoid a persecution which, in Spain, would have been hailed as mercy, the revolted colonies were, from their very commencement, governed by themselves on principles which were republican in everything but the name. Their revolutionary war, therefore, affected little or nothing of their laws and institutions, but the tie that connected them with the old country, leaving, on the whole, the same men to keep the same machinery in motion; and, to illustrate and to establish this by an instance, Rhode Island retained, and, I believe, still retains, her royal charter, without comment or alteration, as her republican constitution.

Now, mark the result, as contrasted with the condition of Spanish America. In spite of the essential evils of pure democracy—a government which can be efficient only where the virtue and patriotism of the great mass of a people are such as to render government almost superfluous—the citizens of every state in the confederation enjoy a degree of security for property, liberty, and life, such as is utterly unknown in any portion of Spanish America; again, instead of constantly fluctuating, at the expense of much blood and treasure, between centralism and federation, our transatlantic kindred have, for more than fifty years, exhibited a union of their own making, which, without trenching on the rights of its component parts with respect to internal proceedings, curiously blends in itself the principles of a consolidated dominion with those of a federal republic; and, last, though not least, the United States, in all that constitutes the material prosperity of a nation, have surpassed every country but the one that gave them birth, standing before the world as the most formidable rival of England in the race that has made her what she is—a position which accounts, more satisfactorily than anything else, for the undisguised and incurable jealousy, on the part of the Americans, of the land of their fathers.

But to return to the Spanish colonies: there appears to be reasonable room for doubting whether their independence has not cost them more than it is worth in an anarchy, which, inherent as it seems to be in every man's mind, threatens to be as durable as it is general. If Spain ruled her sons with a rod of iron, she secured to them, in a pre-eminent degree, the blessings of peace and order; if she burdened and fettered them, she guaranteed the undisturbed enjoyment of all the energy and freedom that she left; if she enhanced the price of imported goods by taxes and restrictions, she took care that the resources, which were to buy them, should not be wasted by the locust-like marches and countermarches of alternately victorious factions. In truth, the emancipation of Spanish America has been an unmixed good to the English races alone, for on them it has conferred, not only the monopoly of the trade, but also, through such monopoly, the virtual sovereignty of the country and of its adjacent oceans.

To resume the thread of my journal: the Catilina arrived to-day, the 17th of the month, from San Francisco, swelling the number of vessels in port to six. The air was cool, with heavy rain, from morning to night; and the tops of the distant mountains were covered with snow. It was quite the weather for a fire; and, as there was no pleasure in going ashore to be drenched, we took care to have our full allowance of the luxury of a blaze on board. Several whales were sporting near our vessel, the bay of Monterey being a favourite resort of that fish; and we were told that the shark, the thresher, the cod, and the sardine, also abounded. The sardine, by the by, furnishes an admirable illustration of the industry of the good folks of this province. The Californians, as has been elsewhere stated, eat no fish, because thay have no boats to catch them; but, when a westerly gale has driven millions of sardines on the strand, they do take the trouble of cooking what Dame Nature has thus poured into their laps.

The only places in the neighbourhood which are worthy of notice are, the Pueblo of Branciforte, and the Missions of Santa Cruz and San Carlos, the first two lying on the Bay of Monterey, and the last on the River Carmelo.

Branciforte contains barely a hundred and fifty inhabitants; and, as being the least populous, it is also, of course, the least profligate of the three pueblos of the upper province. But the deficiency of the pueblo in this respect is said to have been in some measure supplied by the uncanonical proceedings of some of the fathers of the neighbouring mission. In 1823, one

Quintanes, then a priest of Santa Cruz, forgot one of his vows in the society of a certain squaw, who, through penitence, or indignation, or vanity, or some other motive, let her husband into the secret of her conquest. After watching his opportunity, the man at last succeeded in mutilating the lover in the most brutal manner, leaving him insensible, but was himself dragged to the calabozo, whence, according to common rumour, he was soon afterwards carried off by the devil for his impiety. Quintanes, on the contrary, died with the fame of a martyr, for a long time elapsed before the truth was known through the confessions of a woman who had been privy to the injured savage's fatal revenge. Treading in the footsteps of Quintanes, though with more caution and greater success, his present reverence of Santa Cruz, brother of the jovial priest of Monterey, finds pleasant relaxation, to say nothing of his bottle, in a seraglio of native beauties, which is said to be, in general, more numerously garrisoned than the Castle of Monterey. I need hardly add, that the mission in question is in the usual state of decay and dilapidation; and, in fact, being so close to the seat of government, it was sure to be one of the first to suffer,—for a Californian is not likely to advance one step faster or farther than is necessary even in the pleasant and profitable path of spoliation.

Originally, the mission of San Carlos also stood on the bay, being the second that was established in the upper province. In a former passage, I have noticed that an expedition, which had been sent from San Diego by land to discover Monterey, had failed in its immediate object, though it succeeded in making the more valuable discovery of the Harbour of San Francisco. Next year, however, two expeditions, the one by land, and the other by sea, reached the desired spot; and a graphic letter—whose second paragraph is a curiosity well worth preserving—conveyed from Father Junipero Serra to Father Palou the following account of their proceedings.

"My dearest friend and sir. On the 31st day of May, by the favour of God, after rather a painful voyage of a month and a half, this packet, San Antonio, commanded by Don Juan Perez, arrived and anchored in this horrible port of Monterey, which is unaltered in any degree from what it was when visited by the expedition of Don Sebastian Vizcaino, in the year 1603. It gave me great consolation to find that the land expedition had arrived eight days before us, and that Father Crespi and all others were in good health. On the 3rd of June, being the holy day of Pentecost, the whole of the officers of sea and land, and all the people, assembled on a bank at the foot of an oak, where we caused an altar to be raised, and the bells to be rung: we then chanted the *Veni Creator*, blessed the water, erected and blessed a grand cross, hoisted the royal standard, and chanted the first mass that was ever performed in this place; we afterwards sang the *Salve* to Our Lady, before an image of the most illustrious Virgin, which occupied the altar; and at the same time I preached a sermon, concluding the whole with a *Te Deum*. After this, the officers took possession of the country in the name of the King our lord (whom God preserve!). We then all dined together in a shady place on the beach; the whole ceremony being accompanied by many volleys and salutes by the troops and vessels.

"As in last May it is a whole year since I have received any letter from a christian country, your reverence may suppose in what want we are of news; but for all that, I only ask you, when you can get an opportunity to inform me, what our most holy father, the reigning pope, is called, that I may put his name in the canon of the mass; also to say if the canonization of the beatified Joseph Cupertino and Serafino Asculi has taken place; and if there is any other beatified one, or saint, in order that I may put them in the calendar, and pray to them; we having, it would appear, taken our leave of all printed calendars. Tell me also if it is true that the Indians have killed Joseph Soler in Sonora, and how it happened; and if there are any other friends defunct, in order that I may commend them to God, with anything else that your reverence may think fit to communicate to a few poor hermits, separated from human society. We proceed to-morrow to celebrate the feast, and make the procession of *Corpus Christi*, (although in a very poor manner,) in order to scare away whatever little devils there possibly may be in this land. I kiss the hands, &c.

"Fr: Junipero Serra."

As all this happened, at the earliest, in the year 1770, some of the younger witnesses of the solemn and ambitious pomp may have lived, and may still be alive, to mark the contrast. To say nothing more of the expulsion of the friars, and the desecration of their labours, the Spanish crown, which, by its recent acquisition of French Louisiana, then possessed a colonial empire stretching in length from the sources of the Missouri to the confluence of the Atlantic and the Pacific, and, in its breadth, generally embanking either ocean, was left in about half a century without a single province, or even a single partisan, on the American Continent. This revolution, more extensively influential than any other that the world had ever seen, was far too improbable to enter, at that time, into any human calculations of the future. The United States had not yet given life and form to the opinion, that distant dependencies must sooner or later become independent; the colonial rulers, whether civil or military, were, through the prejudices of birth and station, more deeply attached to Spain than to her provinces, while the colonists themselves, sunk in ignorance and luxury, were contented to hug the muffled chains that checked their growth and impeded their movements; and, though here and there liable to be plundered by foreign assailants, yet Spanish America, as a whole, had proved herself to be more decidedly impregnable than perhaps any other country on the face of the globe. But, as if in mockery of man's foresight, the axe was already laid to the root of the tree. In 1763, the cession of Canada to England, and the transfer of Louisiana to Spain, by relieving the English colonies from their hereditary terror of France, had broken the strongest tie that kept them to their allegiance; and in 1765, within three short years, they had practically exhibited, in forcibly resisting the execution of an imperial statute, the rebellious tendency of their new-born ease and security,—a tendency which, in eleven years more, ripened into the declaration of independence.

Again, the American war, partly by inspiring the French auxiliaries with an enthusiasm for liberty, and partly by embarrassing the French finances beyond the hope of remedy, was one main and immediate cause of that great European revolution, which, by placing Spain under the armed heels of a foreign dynasty, gave to Mexico and South America, at once, a favourable opportunity and a plausible pretext for rebellion; thus sending back to the one-half of the new world the same impulse which it had itself originally received from the other.

The heavy rain on Monday was on Tuesday succeeded by bright and warm weather, and we gladly went ashore, though at the cost of upsetting one of our boats in the surf. Such an accident is quite common, particularly with men unaccustomed to the work—our captain, for instance, and a whole party of friends, who had been dining on board, having been comfortably capsized into a cold bath, no farther back than last evening.

Though I was myself detained by business in the town, yet most of my friends started off to visit the mission of San Carlos, which, in this its second situation, is about four miles distant from Monterey, lying near the sea, on the Carmelo. The intervening country was very picturesque, presenting a succession of grassy slopes, with a sufficient sprinkling of timber to relieve the monotony: while in the distance there appeared, in pleasing contrast, the illimitable ocean on the one hand, and the snow-capped mountains on the other. The number of cattle that grazed on the rich pasturage was very considerable. In fact, throughout the whole country, the herds roam so much at will, as to be dangerous to those who are not well mounted; and instances are not uncommon, in which solitary individuals have been "treed," for several hours at a time, by some ferocious rascal of an old bull.

Near the mission there is a very distinct rent in the earth, of a mile or so in length, and of thirty or forty feet in depth, the result of one of the recent earthquakes. The mission itself, in addition to the hand of the spoiler, has also had this same subterranean enemy to encounter; for the beautiful church, which, as usual, superstition has wrested from rapacity, has had one side pretty severely shattered by a recent shock. The exterior of this sacred edifice is more highly finished than is generally the case in the missions, inasmuch as the skill and taste of the good fathers have, in most instances, been reserved for the interior decorations. Two elegant towers sustain a peal of six bells; and on the walls of the same are two or three monuments; one of them, which reminded us that we too were strangers in the land, in memory of a marine of the "Venus," closing an appropriate inscription with the characteristic request, "Priez pour lui." In the interior, among other images, are two of the Virgin Mary, each holding a beautifully-dressed doll, to represent the infant Saviour. In addition to the images there are several excellent pictures, each surmounting a tablet, which bears some description of it, generally terse and pithy; for instance, underneath the representation of Christ carrying his cross, the reader finds a homily in the line, "Thy sins were the cause of this misery." Several paintings portrayed, for the edification of the savages, the torments of purgatory and hell; and opposite to them was a realization of heaven, with an amusing preponderance of popes, priests, and nuns.

With the exception of the church, the immense ranges of buildings were all a heap of ruins. Here again, as in the case of Santa Cruz, the proximity of the ruling powers had hastened the work of destruction, the last tile having been rifled from the roofs, and sold to adorn the houses of Monterey. Of the seven hundred converts residing here, according to Humboldt, in 1802, not one remained; and the only living tenants of the establishment were a man and his wife, whose single duty was to take care of a church that had no priest.

CHAPTER IX.

SANTA BARBARA.

Voyage from Monterey—Mrs. Wilson—Von Resanoff and Donna Conception—Town, its situation and buildings, &c.—Inhabitants, manners, and dress, and customs, &c.—Resemblance of Spanish colonist to old Spaniard—Californian happiness and ease—*Compadres* and *Commadres*—Californian hospitality—Bishop of Santa Barbara—Episcopal pomp—Roman see, its estimate of distant dependencies—Home-made wine and brandy — Church — Santa Guadalupe and the miraculous blanket—Organist—Candlemas-day, gunpowder—Valley of Santa Barbara—Aqueducts and cisterns — Grist-mill—Garden — Indian village, remarkably old woman—Ball, with Scotch reel—Embarkation—Carcase of right whale—Perfect paradise for fish—Bishop's present of wine—San Pedro, pueblo of Nuestra Senora, with its bulls and its bears—Mission of San Gabriel—Valley of the Tulares, bands of horses—"Police" of California—San Diego—Concluding remarks on California—Gradual spread of English race in new world—Ultimate destiny of California—British claims, financial and territorial—Arrival in region of trade-winds.

On the 19th of the month, having completed our business in Monterey, we prepared to take our leave. But, as there was not a breath of wind all day, it was ten in the evening before we got under way, in company with the Fama and the Bolivar, and the two schooners California and Julia Ann, leaving the port and its twelve tax-gatherers deserted by every vessel except the Catilina. By next morning, the wind was right ahead, with the south-easter's usual accompaniment of thick and rainy weather—a state of things which continued with no other change than an increase of the gale, till, towards evening on the 22nd, the sky began to clear, and the wind hauled round to the westward. At this time, according to our dead reckoning, we were off Point Conception, a remarkable promontory, whence the coast, instead of continuing to run a little to the east of south, trends nearly due east for a very considerable distance. Besides this peculiarity, the headland in question possesses the more practical distinction of terminating the belt of coast, which, during nine months of the year, is affected, more particularly in the mornings, by the north-west fogs; and, in fact, the sudden turn of the land places all, that is, below Point Conception, in the same position as the interior, with respect to the prevailing breezes of the summer. It is, moreover, probably with a precise reference to this cape, that San Francisco and Monterey, on the one hand, and Santa Barbara, San Pedro, and San Diego, on the other, are respectively classified as the windward and the leeward ports.

About thirty miles to the eastward of Point Conception lies Santa Barbara, with four islands abreast of it in the distant offing; and, in reliance on our dead reckoning, we ran boldly before the wind, so as to make a straight course for our destined port. About eleven in the evening, the first of the islands, as we supposed, was seen on our starboard bow; but, before midnight, the cry of "Land ahead!"—land so near, that we could discern the surf breaking on the beach—came just in time to prevent us from running ashore in the bay of San Luis Obispo, situated forty miles to the north of Point Conception. To us, the error in our calculations appeared to be the more unaccountable at the time, inasmuch as we had been taking for granted that the current on the coast uniformly set towards the south, and was, therefore, always in our favour. But we soon came to the natural conclusion, that the current must be affected in its direction by the wind; and, besides our own experience in corroboration of this view, we found, from Langsdorff, that Von Resanoff's vessel, already mentioned, had been repeatedly carried to the northward, in the month of March, by the currents having, on one occasion, drifted imperceptibly, in a single night, from the mouth of the Columbia to the entrance of Whidbey's Harbour. In fact, where there do not happen to be any disturbing causes, this connexion between winds and currents may be regarded as a physical law, whether it be that the air moves the water, or the water the air. Thus the easterly trade-wind forces the Atlantic into the Carribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico, with a current accelerated by the comparative narrowness of the intermediate channels; while this same current, forced to the north-eastward, under the name of the Florida Stream, by the opposing continent, is doubtless assisted in cleaving its well-defined way to the banks of Newfoundland, by the general prevalence of the south-westers on the adjacent waters.

Having escaped from the danger of the baffling currents,—almost the only danger on this part of the coast, for, at least to the north of Point Conception, the terrors of a lee-shore are hardly known, — we next morning doubled Point Conception in real earnest; but, as the wind was light, it was dark before we could reach the roadstead. Seeing the Julia Ann standing into the port, we fired a rocket and blue light for signals to guide us; but, though the schooner took the hint, yet she was too far off for us to benefit by her answers. We, therefore, lay-to for the night.

In the morning, we found ourselves distant about ten miles from the mission of Santa Barbara, which, being situated on an eminence within a quarter of an hour's walk from the town, forms, with its whitewashed walls, an excellent landmark for steering into the harbour. Being almost becalmed, with the prospect of not gaining an anchorage for several hours, we lowered the whaleboat, and stowed away as many of our party as she could accommodate, boarding the Julia Ann on our way, to thank her owner, Mr. Thompson, for his politeness of the previous evening. It was well that we did so; for, unless that gentleman had added to his kindness by accompanying us in his own boat to the proper landing-place, we should have had considerable difficulty in getting ashore. During the season of the south-easters, the surf is sometimes so heavy as to prevent boats from landing, to say nothing of their grounding on the sands and being entangled in the seaweed. In summer, however, the surf is less dangerous, while the shallows are said to be deepened by the banking up of the sand on the beach in the absence of the seaward gales.

With the pilotage of Mr. Thompson and the assistance of his boat's crew, which luckily happened to consist chiefly of Sandwich islanders, perfect ducks of fellows, we surmounted all obstacles without any mishap; and our guide, after conducting us to his residence and introducing us to Mrs. Thompson, handed us over to Mr. Scott, a native of Perth, to whom we had letters of introduction from his partner, Captain Wilson of the Index. Mr. Scott, who is one of the most prosperous merchants in the country, received us in such a manner as to make us feel that we were among friends, —an impression which every face that we saw in Santa Barbara only tended to confirm.

We immediately started to pay our respects to the principal inhabitants, amongst others Don Antonio Oreaga, Don Antonio Aguire, Don Carlos Carillo, and Mrs. Burke, by all of whom we were received with great cordiality; and then, returning to Captain Wilson's house, where Mr. Scott resided, we had the pleasure of being introduced to Mrs. Wilson, whom we already knew by name as a sister of Señora Vallego, and whom we now found to be one of the prettiest and most agreeable women that we had ever met either here or elsewhere. Before she became Mrs. Wilson, she had been the wife of Captain Pacheco, one of the few persons that have lost their lives in consequence of the revolutionary troubles of California,—a country in which, from various causes, intestine commotions have hitherto been comparatively harmless. Having been comrades in the same service, or being the sons of such as were so, the Californians cherish, either by habit or by inheritance, feelings of mutual regard, while their simplicity of character and contentedness of disposition tend to prevent them from being split into petty cliques by social vanities and commercial rivalries. Again, even when they are divided against each other by political excitement, they possess but scanty means of doing mischief. Gunpowder, as we have seen, is always a scarce article; the sword is an awkward weapon to wield where there is so little of personal animosity; and as to the lasso, the Californians have not yet elevated it, I believe, to the dignity of noosing men, however cleverly it can disable a fellow without either killing or wounding him. To return to Mrs. Wilson, she insisted on our making her house our head-quarters, while Mr. Scott devoted the whole of his time to our service in the double capacity of interpreter and guide.

After dinner, we were joined by the remainder of our party, the Cowlitz having by this time come to anchor; and we again sallied forth to see a few more of the lions. Among the persons whom we met this afternoon, was a lady of some historical celebrity. Von Resanoff, having failed, as elsewhere stated, in his attempt to enter the Columbia in 1806, continued his voyage as far as San Francisco, where, besides purchasing immediate supplies for Sitka, he endeavoured, in negociation with the commandant of the district and the governor of the province, to lay the foundation of a regular intercourse between Russian America and the Californian settlements. In order to cement the national union, he proposed uniting himself with Donna Conception Arguello, one of the commandant's daughters, his patriotism clearly being its own reward if half of Langsdorff's description was correct: "She was lively and animated, had sparkling, love-inspiring eyes, beautiful teeth, pleasing and expressive features, a fine form, and a thousand other charms; yet her manners were perfectly simple and artless."

The chancellor, who was himself of the Greek Church, regarded the difference of religion with the eyes of a lover and a politician; but, as his imperial master might take a less liberal view of the matter, he posted away to St. Petersburgh with the intention, if he should there be successful, of subsequently visiting Madrid, for the requisite authority to carry his schemes into full effect. But the Fates, with a voice more powerful than that of emperors and kings, forbade the bans; and Von Resanoff died, on his road to Europe, at Krasnoyarsk in Siberia of a fall from his horse.

Thus at once bereaved of her lover, and disappointed in her hope of becoming a pledge of friendship between Russia and Spain, Donna Conception assumed the habit, but not, I believe, the formal vows, of a nun, dedicating her life to the instruction of the young and the consolation of the sick. This little romance could not fail to interest us; and, notwithstanding the ungracefulness of her conventual costume and the ravages of an interval of time, which had tripled her years, we could still discover in her face and figure, in her manners and conversation, the remains of those charms which had won for the youthful beauty Von Resanoff's enthusiastic love and Langsdorff's equally enthusiastic admiration. Though Donna Conception apparently loved to dwell on the story of her blighted affections, yet, strange to say, she knew not, till we mentioned it to her, the immediate cause of the chancellor's sudden death. This circumstance might, in some measure, be explained by the fact, that Langsdorff's work was not published before 1814; but even then, in any other country than California, a lady, who was still young, would surely have seen a book, which, besides detailing the grand incident of her life, presented so gratifying a portrait of her charms.

Santa Barbara is somewhat larger than Monterey, containing about nine hundred inhabitants, while the one is just as much a maze without a plan as the other. Here, however, any thing of the nature of resemblance ends, Santa Barbara, in most respects, being to Monterey what the parlour is to the kitchen.

The site of the town has doubtless been fixed by the position of the port, if port it can be called. In the offing, as already stated, lie four islands, the nearest of them, however, being too distant to afford any shelter; the bay, as the shore of the mainland may perhaps be termed, is exposed at every point to the worst winds of the worst season of the year; and, to crown all, the bottom is not to be trusted in the hour of trial, being hard sand covered with sea-weed. But the port, such as it was, had been selected for want of a better, while the superiority of the climate, which was at once drier than that of San Francisco and Monterey, and cooler than that of San Pedro and San Diego, rendered the neighbourhood the favourite retreat of the more respectable functionaries, civil and military, of the province. Hence, among all the settlements as distinguished from the rascally pueblos, Santa Barbara possesses the double advantage of being both the oldest and the most aristocratic.

The houses are not only well finished at first, but are throughout kept in good order; and the whitewashed adobes and the painted balconies and verandahs form a pleasing contrast with the overshadowing roofs blackened by means of bitumen, the produce of a neighbouring spring. Compared with the slovenly habitations of San Francisco and Monterey, the houses of Santa Barbara are built and maintained at an addition of cost the greater on this account, that nearly the whole of the difference immediately resolves itself into that most expensive of all articles in this indolent country, the time of hired labourers and mechanics. In spite of the abundance and cheapness of most of the materials, a comfortable dwelling of two stories cannot be erected for less than five or six thousand dollars in hard cash, while to the interest of the capital which is thus already sunk must be added the annual expenditure in repairing the inroads of wind and weather. But it is internally that the houses of Santa Barbara are seen to the greatest advantage. The rooms are, in general, handsomely furnished, many of them with carpets; and, indeed, the saloon of Don Antonio Aguire quite struck us with surprise, set off, as it was, by the presence of his young wife and her black-eyed beauty of a sister. In Santa Barbara, as elsewhere, the beds appear to be the grand point of attraction, and to embody all the skill and taste of the females of families; though the farther that one advances to the south, the linen and the lace, and the damask, and the satin, and the embroidery, serve only to enshrine more populous and lively colonies of *Las Pulgas*,—decidedly the best lodged, and, as we found to our cost, not the worst fed denizens of California.

Nor is the superiority of the inhabitants less striking than that of their houses.

Of the women, with their witchery of manner, it is not easy, or rather it is not possible, for a stranger to speak with impartiality, inasmuch as our self-love is naturally enlisted in favour of those who, in every look, tone, and gesture, have apparently no other end in view than the pleasure of pleasing us. With regard, however, to their physical charms, as distinguished from the adventitious accomplishments of education, it is difficult even for a willing pen to exaggerate. Independently of feeling or motion, their sparkling eyes and glossy hair are in themselves sufficient to negative the idea of tameness or insipidity; while their sylph-like forms evolve fresh graces at every step, and their eloquent features eclipse their own inherent comeliness by the higher beauty of expression. Though doubtless fully conscious of their attractions, yet the women of California, to their credit be it spoken, do not "before their mirrors count the time," being, on the contrary, by far the more industrious half of the population. In California, such a thing as a white servant is absolutely unknown, inasmuch as neither man nor woman will barter freedom in a country, where provisions are actually a drug, and clothes almost a superfluity; and, accordingly, in the absence of intelligent assistance, the first ladies of the province, more particularly when treated, as they too seldom are by native husbands, with kindness and consideration, discharge all the lighter duties of their households with cheerfulness and pride. Nor does their plain and simple dress savour much of the labour of the toilette. They wear a gown sufficiently short to display their neatly-turned foot and ankle, in their white stockings and black shoes, while, perversely enough, they bandage their heads in a handkerchief, so as to conceal all their hair except a single loop on either cheek; round their shoulders, moreover, they twist or swathe a shawl, throwing over all, when they walk or go to mass, the "beautiful and mysterious mantilla."

The men are generally tall and handsome, while their dress is far more showy and elaborate than that of the women. Round a broad-brimmed hat is tied a parti-coloured cord or handkerchief; a shirt, which is usually of the finest linen, displays on the breast a profusion of lace and embroidery; and over the shirt is thrown a cotton or silk jacket of the gayest hues, with frogs on the back, and a regiment of buttons on the breasts and cuffs. To come next to the nether man, the pantaloons are split on the outside from the hip to the foot with a row of buttons on either edge of the opening, which is laced together nearly down to the knee; round the waist is a silken belt which, to say nothing of its value as an ornament, serves the utilitarian purpose of bracing up the inexpressibles; and underneath, through the gaps aforesaid, there peer out a pair of full linen drawers and a boot of untanned deerskin, the boot on the right leg invariably forming the scabbard for that constant companion, the knife.

But our dashing friend, to be appreciated by the reader, must be placed on horseback,—the quadruped being generally as gay as his master. The saddle, which is encumbered with trappings, rises both before and behind, while at either side there swings a wooden shovel by way of stirrup. Thus comfortably deposited on his easy chair and pair of footstools, the human half of the centaur propels the whole machine by means of enormous spurs, with rowels to match, setting rain at defiance from head to heel, without the help of any of your patent waterproofs. To say nothing of the broad-brimmed hat, his legs are protected by a pair of goat-skins, which are attached to the saddle-bow, and tied round the waist, while his body is covered by a blanket of about eight feet by five, with a hole in the centre for the head. This blanket, or *serape*, appears to be to the vanity of the men what the bed is to that of the women. It varies in price, from five dollars to a hundred, sixty dollars being the ordinary rate for a fine one; it is made of cloth of the most showy colours, sometimes trimmed with velvet and embroidered with gold. With such painted and gilded horsemen, anything like industry is, of course, out of the question; and, accordingly, they spend their time from morning to night in billiard-playing and horse-racing, aggravating the evil of idleness by ruinously heavy bets.

Implicit obedience and profound respect are shown by children, even after they are grown up, towards their parents. A son, though himself the head of a family, never presumes to sit, or smoke, or remain covered in presence of his father; nor does the daughter, whether married or unmarried, enter into too great familiarity with the mother. With this exception, the Californians know little or nothing of the restraints of etiquette; generally speaking, all classes associate together on a footing of equality; and on particular occasions, such as the festival of the saint after whom one is named, or the day of one's marriage, those who can afford the expense give a grand ball, generally in the open air, to the whole of the neighbouring community.

In such a country, singing and dancing may be expected to be as common as eating and sleeping. The balls, in fact, look more like a matter of business than anything else that is done in California. For whole days beforehand, sweetmeats and similar delicacies, of which the fair Señoras are doatingly fond, are laboriously prepared in the greatest variety, the little flour that can be got being almost exclusively devoted to the composition of such dainties; and from beginning to end of the festivities, which have been known to last several consecutive nights, so as to make the performers, after wearing out their pumps, trip it in sea-boots, both men and women display as much gravity as if attending the funeral obsequies of their most intimate friends. Again, with respect to music, no one can enter a house without finding one or more of the family playing on the guitar and singing. From the father and mother, down to the youngest child, all are musicians, every one strumming away in turn till relieved by another; and, though one may have too much even of a good thing, yet it must, in justice, be owned that they generally possess correctness of ear and sweetness of voice.

They play nothing but national music, the fandangos, boleros, and baccaroles of Old Spain, having, in this respect, as in almost every other, had little opportunity, and perhaps as little inclination, for deviating from the customs of their fathers.

In all but the place of their birth, the colonists of Spain have continued to be genuine Spaniards, the same causes operating to produce uniformity of character on either side of the water. Throughout Spanish America, the temperature does not, in general, materially differ from that of the old country, while something like the same alternation of mountain and valley tends still farther to make the one a physical counterpart of the other. Nor have moral influences led the two branches of the race in different directions. Spain and Spanish America, by the mildness of their climates and the abundance of their resources, have equally fostered indolence and improvidence; they have equally been the votaries of a church which practically, if not intentionally, checks mental culture, and impedes material improvement; they have equally passed through the successive tyrannies of individual despotism and popular licentiousness.

To bring all these points of resemblance to bear with greater weight on the uniformity of character, both Spain and Spanish America were studiously shut out from the rest of the world, almost as studiously as China or Japan, this policy of the government having been seconded by the prejudices of the people. In this respect, however, the new country has been induced, by the necessities of its situation, to relax the bigotry and pride of the old; for it is only by freely communicating with foreigners that Mexico and South America can realize commercial prosperity—the main object and principal fruit of all their sacrifices of property and life, of peace and order. In California, this tendency of the grand revolution has been more peculiarly powerful, inasmuch as the province depends more exclusively than any other portion of Spanish America on extraneous supplies; and here, accordingly, foreigners and natives cordially mingle together as members of one and the same harmonious family.

In a word, the Californians are a happy people, possessing the means of physical pleasure to the full, and knowing no higher kind of enjoyment. Their happiness certainly is not such as an Englishman can covet, though perhaps a Californian may with reason disparage much of what passes under the name in England—the accumulating of wealth for its own sake; the humouring of the caprices of fashion; and the embittering even of the luxuries of life by blended feelings of envy and pride. But, whatever may be the merits or the demerits of Californian happiness, the good folks thrive upon it. They live long, warding off the marks of age for a period unusual even in some less trying climates; and with regard to the women this is the more remarkable, inasmuch as they are subjected to the wearing effect of early wedlock, sometimes marrying at thirteen, and seldom remaining single after sixteen. In the matter of good looks, both sexes merely give nature fair play, scouting as well the cares as the toils of life.

To make these toils and cares, if possible, sit more lightly upon them, men and women have respectively their sworn allies, under the names of *compadres* and *commadres*—a custom which bases temporal friendship on a spiritual foundation. The name appears to be derived from the circumstance that the *compadres* are bound to stand godfathers, and the *commadres* godmothers, to the children of each other, so as to render the spiritually connected pair fellow-fathers or fellow-mothers of one and the same infant, who in turn is bound to regard the adoptive parent and the natural one with equal veneration. As between the parties themselves, the engagement is a most important and momentous one, each being bound to assist the other under any circumstances, and at any inconvenience, trouble, or expense. To men, particularly when travelling, or when borne down by misfortune, the custom in question is highly beneficial; and as to the fair sex, one can easily imagine in how many ways a confidante, pledged to fidelity by this holy alliance, can become useful and agreeable. Perhaps nothing can give a better idea of the closeness of the connexion, than that brothers and sisters often sink their natural relation in the conventional titles of *compadres* and *commadres*.

Among the light-hearted and easy-tempered Californians, the virtue of hospitality knows no bounds; they literally vie with each other in devoting their time, their homes, and their means, to the entertainment of a stranger. This we found to be more particularly the case in Santa Barbara, where accommodations were pressed on our acceptance in almost every house; and as we were unwilling to lose an hour of the agreeable society of the place, to say nothing of the discomfort of embarking and disembarking through surf, and shallows, and sea-weed, we gladly distributed ourselves among our friends for the night. Next morning, the 25th of the month, we again met at Mrs. Wilson's breakfast-table, and immediately afterwards, having been provided with horses through the attention of Dr. Den, a true son of Erin, we started off for the mission of Santa Barbara, about a mile distant from the town, where the Bishop of the Californias, whose arrival in his diocese we had already honoured with a salute, had taken up his residence. Independently of the central position of this establishment, Father Garcia Diego had reasons for his choice, which were peculiarly creditable to the neighbouring community. Unlike the Vandals of San Francisco and Monterey, the inhabitants of Santa Barbara had evinced something of taste and feeling in sparing the buildings of the mission, a disposition which doubtless formed a stronger ground of the bishop's preference than even the ready-made home which it gave him. In fact, all but the better classes were unfriendly to the bishop: the provincial authorities regarded him with an eye of jealousy as a creature and partisan of the central government; and the mass of the people dreaded any symptom of the revival of a system which had, in their opinion, sacrificed the temporal interests of the colonists to the spiritual welfare of the aborigines.

Even in this his day of small things, the bishop received us with much pomp and ceremony, attended by two monks, three or four graduates, and a train of servants. In addition to the episcopal costume, which, besides its intrinsic gorgeousness, doubtless looked all the better for being new, he wore, to say nothing of more vulgar jewels, a diamond ring, which had been presented to him in the name of the pope on the occasion of his consecration. The churches of the remote east and west have always been special pets of the Roman see. The discoveries of Portugal and Spain, the most zealous supporters of the Catholic faith, just came in time to console the pope for the loss of half of Europe, with a far more extensive dominion in India and America; so that, by the earlier part of last century, his Holiness, who had just grasped California and still held China, had made Rome the centre of a spiritual empire, which, in the largest sense of the expression, literally stretched from sea to sea. If this dominion has, since that time, seen its limits contracted and its strength broken, the successor of St. Peter, of course, clings with the greater tenacity to all that remains of it; while, through the instrumentality of France, he is striving to find compensation for this his second loss in the clustering isles of the Pacific Ocean. It is thus that the erection of a transatlantic bishopric is hailed at Rome as a peculiar triumph of the church; and it is a curious fact that the illustrious genius of Columbus has conferred a more durable authority in the new world on his own native Italy, than on the Castile and Leon of his royal mistress, Isabella. In fact, almost from the very beginning, the papacy indirectly swayed the destinies of the new world; and not only did Spain and Portugal vie with each other, but even France, with less reason for gratitude, rivalled their zeal in establishing beyond the setting sun a Roman empire that was to outlive their own. Compared with England, those powers certainly made far greater sacrifices for the conversion of the heathen; though, to place the comparison on juster grounds, we should remember the important facts, that England herself had no foreign influence at work to clothe her in the garb of piety, and that most of her continental colonies, at least as far as religion was concerned, were the very reverse of national establishments.

From the gate, where we were received by the bishop, we were conducted into an apartment of ordinary size, lighted by a small grated window. This room and its contents presented a contrast which, besides being agreeable in itself, was interesting as an evidence at once of the simplicity of the old fathers, and of the ostentation of their episcopal successor. The walls were whitewashed, and the ceiling consisted of rafters, while articles of furniture that would not have disgraced a nobleman's mansion occupied the floor. The carpet was the work of the Indians of Mexico; the table was covered with crimson velvet, on which lay a pillow of the same material, adorned with gold; and the sofa and chairs had seats of the same costly and showy description. But the gem of the whole was a throne, with three steps in front of it. It was hung with crimson velvet, which was profusely trimmed with tissue of gold; and its back displayed an expensively framed miniature of the reigning pope, painted by a princess, and sent by Gregory to the bishop, along with his diamond ring, as a gift. In this his own chair of state, the good prelate insisted on placing me, though I am afraid that, in thus planting a heretic before his most highly valued memorial of His Holiness, he must have sacrificed in some degree his orthodoxy to his politeness.

Between the bishop and his two monks there was a contrast not less striking than that between the apartment and its furniture. While the former was overloaded with finery, the latter were arrayed in the coarse and simple habit of their own mendicant order, even to the sandals on their feet, and the ropes round their waists. One of them, Father Narcisse Duran, was from old Spain, a pious and laborious man, and prefect of the missions; and the other, Father Antonio Ximenes, was a Mexican by birth, who was more a man of the world than his companion, and endeavoured to interest us in favour of the missions against the spoliation of the local authorities.

While we were engaged in an agreeable and amusing conversation, some of the attendants brought in a table, placing on it, among other refreshment, a pile of cakes, the work of Donna Conception. The wine was the produce of the vineyard of the mission, rather sweetish, but of excellent quality; the brandy, also home-made, was superior to the wine, being flavoured with fruit into a perfectly colourless cordial; and the cigars, as the bishop assured us, had been selected by himself in Mexico. After our repast, which was seasoned and recommended by the hospitable pleasantries of the bishop and Father Antonio, we proceeded to take a view of the establishment.

We first entered the vestry, a spacious room hung with pictures and crucifixes, where the good prelate took evident delight in showing the rich vestments and the massive plate, more particularly a pix of solid gold for the consecrated host. From the vestry we followed the bishop into the church, crossing ourselves, and kneeling, according to his example, as we passed the altar. This edifice, which far outshone everything that we had previously seen in the country, was large, but well proportioned. The altar-piece was at once simple and elegant. A pair of full curtains of spotless white, springing from a crown of glory over the communion-table, were held open by two well executed statues of seraphs, so as to disclose a portrait of Santa Guadalupe, cased in a golden frame.

Encouraged by the admiration which we could not refrain from expressing, the good bishop detailed to us such a history of the painting, as convinced us that the new world had its miracles as well as the old. Upwards of three hundred years ago, the saint made her appearance in the spirit, to a Mexican Indian, daguerreotyping on his blanket a likeness of herself, of which the portrait before us was a copy. The blanket was forthwith surrounded with a border of cloth of gold, and enshrined in one of the principal churches of the City of Mexico; and, though the border has often required to be renewed, yet both the representation of the saint and the fabric that bears it have hitherto triumphed over time, with all its moths and damps. But the miraculous durability of the saint's work has been subjected to a peculiarly severe test, a bottle of vitriol having been lately broken by accident, so as to soak the inestimable blanket without doing any injury. The good father, during his recent visit to the capital, had himself seen this blanket, and told us with a kind of whispered awe that the impression, though it assumed at a distance the appearance of a finished painting, yet presented on closer examination a number of unmeaning stains. To the faith of our informant, the proof of the prodigy was completed by the fact that the many artists who had critically examined the marks had unanimously decided that they were not the work of human skill.

To continue our survey of the church, the walls were covered with the usual assortment of pictures and images, while from the ceiling were suspended several beautiful chandeliers by means of flags of silk of various colours, spangled with silver and gold. In the music-gallery there was a small but well-tuned organ, on which a native convert was executing several pieces of sacred music with considerable taste, and amongst them, to our great surprise, Martin Luther's hymn. This man was almost entirely self-taught, possessing, like most of his race, a fine ear, and great aptitude; and, though his countenance was intelligent enough, yet his dress was rather a singular one for an organist on active service, consisting of a handkerchief that confined his black locks, and a shirt of rather scanty longitude, belted round his waist.

Besides the organ, the choir mustered several violins, violoncellos, triangles, drums, flutes, bells, &c., with a strong corps of vocalists; and had we been able to wait to the 2nd of February, we should have enjoyed a grand treat in the musical way, as the bishop was then to celebrate pontifical mass with the full force of voices and instruments. Immense preparations were making for this religious festival, some of them being, according to our notions, of a very peculiar kind. Fireworks, for instance, were, if possible, to be exhibited; and, as gunpowder could not be obtained for love or money either for this purpose or for the giving of signals, we won the hearts of bishop, priests, graduates, servants, and all, by promising to present them with a barrel of the needful from our ship.

When Roger Bacon invented gunpowder, he little thought that he was providing future friars of his order with an engine for propagating the faith; but, whether the sublime or the ridiculous predominated in the bishop's contemplated show, he was at least making a more innocent use of the deadly composition, than many zealots of orthodoxy had made before him, in the cause of religion.

From the body of the church we ascended into the belfry, which commanded the most extensive view of the valley in which the mission stood, running to the sea from a parallel range of rocky hills at the distance of five or six miles; while there rose immediately under our feet two elegant towers, containing a large peal of bells, the heaviest weighing about four tons and a half.

The church, with its appendages, as just described, is said to have cost the priests several years of toil with about two thousand native workmen, the fathers themselves discharging the multifarious duties,—self-taught in all,—of architects, masons, bricklayers, carpenters, and labourers. To close the description of the buildings, the dwellings of the natives and the workshops were, here as well as elsewhere, hastening to decay.

This mission is plentifully supplied with excellent water, brought down all the way from the rocky hills already mentioned, by the labour of the priests and their converts. About a quarter of a mile from the dwellings, the grand reservoir, which is sheltered from the sun by an edifice of stone, is fed by a single conduit, while again it sends forth two channels, the one open and the other covered. The open channel flows into a vast cistern, about sixteen feet deep and about a hundred feet square, which, as adobes cannot bear the wet, is, of course, built of solid masonry; and as a crowd of natives, if left to their own notions of cleanliness, would have engendered a pestilence, this cistern was intended to afford them the greatest possible facilities for the washing of their clothes and their persons. The covered channel, which rests partly on an artificial aqueduct, terminates in front of the church with a classical urn, throwing out a number of graceful jets into a circular basin that surrounds it; this basin empties itself into a second, through the mouth of a grotesque figure of a man lying on his belly; and the second again, through the jaws of a lion, pours its water into a third, which, overflowing its brim, sends forth in every direction a number of rivulets to irrigate the gardens and fields.

In addition to these works, which, whether in point of taste or of utility, might well be deemed wonderful, the fathers had brought from the hills another stream for the comparatively vulgar purpose of driving the grist-mill of the mission. But now the water was stopped and the reservoir choked with weeds and bushes; while, to express in one word the present state of agriculture, the best use which the Californians had been able to find for a ready-made grist-mill was to unroof it. The fathers themselves, too, had for a long time discountenanced the introduction of such machinery, not because they had no wheat to grind, but because, even without the means of economizing labour, they often hardly knew how to employ their proselytes. This narrow policy, of course, tended to defeat its own object, for the mere drudgery of beasts of burden could not teach human beings to be spontaneously industrious. It, in fact, lost sight of one grand distinction between civilization and barbarism; the latter knowing no other expedient to lighten toil than the forced assistance of the slave, but the former enlisting in its service not only the creatures of earth and air, but also the very elements themselves.

The garden, which is walled all round, consists of five or six acres. Notwithstanding the neglect of several years, it contained figs, lemons, oranges, pears, apples, grapes, quinces, raspberries, strawberries, melons, pumpkins, plums, prickly pears, and whole avenues of olives. In the days of the priests, fruits were to be obtained here at every season, more particularly raspberries and grapes, from the spring to the close of autumn, and strawberries all the year round. But, ever since 1836, not only had the branches been left unpruned, but even their very produce had been allowed to fall to the ground; so that now most of the trees were in a deteriorated condition, and the figs in particular had, on the recent arrival of the mission, been cut down to their stumps. Of esculent vegetables there was an almost endless variety,—potatoes, sweet and common, cabbage, tomata, garlick, onions, chili pepper, and, of course, the everlasting frixole, &c. Of plants and flowers, even in the depth of winter, we saw the following in bloom :—the jonquille, the marigold, the lily, the wallflower, the violet, the hollyhock, &c. The priests had just begun to turn their attention to the garden, after having made the requisite preparations for accommodating the bishop; and they had accordingly repaired the water-trenches, cleared away weeds and underwood, and pruned the trees and vines.

After bidding farewell to the bishop with mutual thanks and good wishes, we were presented by his priests with a curious pile, in the form of a beehive, made of the seeds of the pine, all baked and ready for eating, as a specimen of both the food and the ingenuity of the natives. With many apologies for making so poor an offering, they regretted that they could no longer do as they could once have done, and referred to the old times when they could have supplied us with provisions, fruit, wine, &c., for our voyage to the Sandwich Islands; "and, perhaps," added Father Antonio with a good-natured nod, "with more than you wanted."

Before returning to the town, we extended our ride through the undulating and picturesque valley. It was carpeted with an unusually close sward, which had undoubtedly been owing to the constant pasturing of the cattle; and it displayed a great profusion of clover. Both here and in the garden the soil was evidently excellent; and the priests had assured us that, on the farm of the mission, twenty-five returns of wheat were a poor crop, and eighty or a hundred by no means uncommon.

We visited a village of free Indians, situated in the valley. The inhabitants were the miserable remains of the two thousand natives that once swarmed here; and they now found room in eight or ten hovels of bulrushes, similar in every respect to those which we had seen at Sonoma. They appeared, however, to be, on the whole, more comfortable than General Vallego's serfs, possessing enclosures of land, with a few cattle and horses; and yet they were engaged in the wretched expedient of making bread of acorns. Among them, there was one woman so old that she must have been well advanced in life at the first settlement of the upper province, and must have seen the missions rise, and ripen, and decay before her. Her skin was shrivelled, so as to look, in the absence of other clothing, like a case of parchment; her eyes were dim and sunken; her body was bent double; but, nevertheless, amid all these signs of age, her head, the more hideous, perhaps, on that account, displayed a thick and tangled bush of black hair.

We returned to Mrs. Wilson's in time for dinner, without having visited, as we had intended, the mineral springs, hot and cold, in the neighbourhood. In the afternoon, we were honoured with a visit by the bishop. He was drawn by four mules, in an antique carriage, and was attended by a band of outriders, in the persons of Father Antonio, and several graduates and servants.

After half an hour's chat, during which he reiterated his professions of friendship, he again betook himself to his rickety conveyance, and rattled off with all the pomp and circumstance of episcopal dignity.

In the evening, we attended a ball, given on the occasion of a wedding. We were highly amused with the serious looks of the dancers; nor were we less highly gratified by their graceful movements, as they went through some of their mysterious figures, tying themselves into a knot, which they again untied without separating hands. Previously to our departure, the entertainments were, in compliment to us, varied by a Scotch reel, to which the solemn gravity of the Californians, who shared in it, gave additional zest in our eyes. After having been gratified at Sonoma with the national song of "Auld Lang Syne," we were the less surprised at receiving this mark of attention from the people of Santa Barbara—the head-quarters, as it were, of foreign influence in the province. In fact, on account of its central position, the superiority of its climate, and the respectability of its population, this little town is the favourite resort of the supercargoes, captains, and owners on the coast, many of whom, as we have seen in the cases of Mr. Thompson and Captain Wilson, have selected it as the permanent home of their families.

Next morning, being the 26th of the month, we paid farewell visits to our hospitable and agreeable friends, and embarked on board of the Cowlitz, with the intention of leaving the port immediately. In sleeping ashore, by the by, we had run some risk of being detained longer than we could well afford to stay. To the southerly winds, which prevail during the winter, every point of the bay, as I have elsewhere stated, is a lee-shore; so that, when the push comes, the vessels in port have no other choice than that of making the best of their way past Point Conception into the open ocean, and there remaining till the storm has blown over.

Just as we embarked, the wind failed us, so that we were unable to move; and, to turn our detention to the best account, we went to examine the carcase of a right whale that was floating near. It had been killed by threshers, which, small as they are, are more than a match for their unwieldy victims, their mode of operation being to burke the monster by pummelling his air-holes with their tails—while such of them as prefer the anatomical department effect a diversion by nibbling at his belly from below. The huge animal was weltering like a small island among the sea-weed, being large enough for five or six people to stand high and dry on him; for, though small of his kind, he yet measured from fifty to sixty feet in length. Had he been taken alive, he would have yielded about a hundred barrels of oil; but the best of his bladder had been carried off by the shark, the sword-fish, &c., while the remainder of it was by no means in prime condition. Such, however, as he was, the crew of the Julia Ann had made prize of him, and expected to wring about forty barrels out of him. His body was puffed up with wind, which the stroke of a knife let out with a hissing noise and an insufferable smell; and indeed the whale has been known to burst among his human persecutors with the report of a cannon, and almost to suffocate them with the stench.

Of fish for the table, there was an abundant variety in our neighbourhood, though, for the reasons already mentioned, they were left undisturbed in their native element. Even the approach of Lent made no difference to them, beef being orthodox for both laity and priesthood all the year round; but, taking pity on the consciences of Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Scott, we sent each of them a tierce of salted salmon from our sea-stores.

In the evening, the brig Catilina, which we had left alone at Monterey, came to anchor. I have been the more particular in recording the arrivals and departures of vessels, with the view of explaining more in detail the nature of the trade in which they are engaged.

Early next morning, we received on board, as a present from the bishop, a barrel of wine, the produce of the vineyard of the mission. Most of the stuff which we had tasted we should have carried away without compunction, thinking that we were doing the owners a service; but we were sorry to deprive the very reverend donor, in the present state of his cellar, of a really good article, which might have been at least as available as our gunpowder for the festivities of Candlemas Day.

It was afternoon before the wind suited us; and then, under the influence of a fine breeze, we rapidly made for the island of Santa Cruz, leaving the little town of Santa Barbara behind us, with many recollections of the kindness and hospitality of its inhabitants. As the intermediate channel, or, rather, according to the nomenclature of the whole coast, the intermediate canal, is only twenty-five miles wide, we soon passed, not only the island just mentioned, but also that of San Nicholas, on which the Russians formerly killed vast numbers of sea-otters.

We were now steering our course for the Sandwich Islands, though, had we not been very much pressed for time, we should not have hurried away from a country which had afforded us so much interest and amusement, without visiting the remaining ports of San Pedro and San Diego.

San Pedro is an open bay, which has no better claim to the character of a harbour than almost any other point on the coast, being exposed to both the prevailing winds, and being destitute of every thing in the shape of a house, or even of a shed. Its only recommendation is, that it affords access to the pueblo of Nuestra Señora, about eighteen miles distant, which contains a population of one thousand five hundred souls, and is the noted abode of the lowest drunkards and gamblers of the country. This den of thieves is situated, as one may expect from its being almost twice as populous as the two other pueblos taken together, in one of the loveliest and most fertile districts of California; and being, therefore, one of the best marts in the province for hides and tallow, it induces vessels to brave all the inconveniences and dangers of the open and exposed bay of San Pedro.

In this village, the custom of making the bull and the bear bait each other, though common to the whole province, is peculiarly popular and fashionable; a custom which, by excluding human combatants from the arena, banishes entirely that higher interest which arises from the introducing of "man, and man's avenging arms," into the national entertainment of the old country. In Spain, the cruel spectacle involves the display of dexterity and courage; while, in California, it possesses no redeeming quality to raise it above the dignity of a cock-fight. Between the two animals there is a natural antipathy, which often leads them, even in a state of nature, into deadly contests, and in these cases the bull is generally the assailant; for the bear, when let alone, is contented to carry on the war only against the calves. Having the advantage of choosing his time and place of attack, the bull often disables the bear at once; but even when bruin is all but gored to death, he cunningly seizes his enemy, while exulting in his victory, by the tongue, or any other tender part, and destroys him. When the two animals, however, are pitted by their common enemy against each other, the bear, seeing no means of escape, encounters the bull with more determined front; but even here the terms are not equal, for bruin, unless sufficiently reduced, as he almost always is, by fatigue and rage, is tied by the leg, so as to reach his adversary only with his claws. The savage sport ends with the death of one or other of the combatants, and perhaps of both. For the tortures which, when at Sonoma, we saw inflicted by means of the lasso, we could find something of an excuse in the well-founded pride of the performers; but we could fancy no palliation for the delight with which the Californians, on the safe side of an impassable barrier, were said to gloat on the dying throes of at least one of two caged brutes.

The best evidence of the fertility of the soil in the neighbourhood of the village just named, is to be found in the once flourishing condition of the mission of San Gabriel, distant about eight miles. That establishment is said to have possessed, in the palmy days of its prosperity, the almost incredible number of eighty thousand cattle, and to have forced at once into the market, on the approach of evil times, nearly fifty thousand head. After making due allowance for exaggeration, the district must be a splendid one to have yielded pasture for such multitudes, over and above the hundreds of smaller herds belonging to the pueblo. The garden of this mission was justly celebrated for the excellence of its fruits and the flavour of its wine, producing, in the greatest abundance, grapes, oranges, lemons, olives, figs, bananas, plums, peaches, apples, pears, pomegranates, raspberries, strawberries, &c., &c.; while at the mission of Santa Buenaventura, not far distant, there were, in addition, tobacco, the plantain, the cocoanut, the indigo plant, and the sugar-cane. In fact, there is hardly a vegetable or fruit which cannot be produced in California. Such, to give a particular instance, is the bounty of Nature, that, amid the richest profusion of the ordinary elements of soap, she furnishes a ready-made substitute in the bulbous root of a certain plant, called the amole; and such is the laziness of the inhabitants, that they almost universally use the free gift of mother Earth in spite of its decided inferiority.

To return to San Gabriel. This mission was founded under circumstances which, if they do not involve a miracle, serve at least to explain why the Church of Rome is peculiarly successful with ignorant savages. I quote the words of Father Palou, the biographer of Father Junipero Serra. While Father Pedro Cambon and Father Angel Somera were selecting a site for the mission, under the safeguard of ten soldiers, "a multitude of Indians, all armed, and headed by two captains, presented themselves, setting up horrid yells, and seeming determined to oppose the establishment of the mission. The fathers, fearing that war would ensue, took out a piece of cloth with the image of our Lady de los Dolores, and held it up to the view of the barbarians. This was no sooner done than the whole were quiet, being subdued by the sight of this most precious image; and, throwing on the ground their bows and arrows, the two captains came running with great haste to lay the beads which they brought about their necks at the feet of the sovereign queen, as a proof of their entire regard."

In the neighbourhood of the mission of San Gabriel commences the valley which pours the San Joachin into Freshwater Bay, the receptacle also of the Sacramento. This region, by far the finest in the province, is distinguished as the Tulares from the number of bulrushes, called *tule* by the natives, to be found in its waters. Though it has hardly been trodden by civilized man, yet it is capable of supporting millions of inhabitants. Its lakes and rivers all teem with fish, while most of them afford the means of communicating with the ocean. Its undulating surface is studded with forests, generally free from the encumbrance of underwood, of cedar, bastard maple, mulberry, ash, poplar, birch, sycamore, beech, plane, yellow and white pine, and mountain, live, and scrub oak. The size of trees in California, as is also the case on the more northerly coast, is occasionally quite incredible.

One tree is mentioned by Humboldt as being a hundred and eighteen feet in girth; but this is a walking-stick to another tree at Bodega, described to me by Governor Etholine, of Sitka, as being thirty-six Russian fathoms of seven feet each in span, and seventy-five in length; so that, even if it tapered into a perfect cone, it must have contained nearly twenty-two thousand tons of bark and timber. In addition to more than all the beasts of chace, which have already been enumerated under the head of Sonoma, the magnificent valley of the Tulares contains immense multitudes of wild horses, which are often seen in bands of several thousands each. Enveloped in clouds of dust, these enormous troops indicate their approach chiefly by making the ground tremble beneath their tramp; and, as a proof of the extent of the tumultuary columns, one person has been known, while a band was galloping past him, to lasso and bind five horses in succession.

Nor are the birds inferior in number and variety to the quadrupeds. In the Tulares there are the eagle, the turkey-buzzard, the falcon, the goshawk, the sparrow-hawk, the large-horned owl, the partridge, the crane, the heron, the goose, the duck, the pelican, the cormorant, the water hen, the humming-bird, the golden-crested wren, the wood pigeon, the plover, the snipe, the goat-sucker, the bee-eater, the woodpecker, the crested quail, and the condor. Though most of these are seen in other portions of the province, yet the condor is said to be rarely observed beyond the limits of this teeming valley, where he has been found measuring twelve feet in breadth between the tips of his wings. The crested quail, which is said to be peculiar to California, is delicious eating. It appears in flocks of two or three hundred at a time. It is not unlike a small partridge, excepting that it has a beautiful spotted plumage and a tuft of feathers on its head, somewhat resembling a peacock's crest. Some of the larger birds are of incalculable utility in devouring the myriads of carcases, which the farmers are too lazy even to burn, and which, being most numerous in the hottest months of the year, must otherwise generate a pestilence; and the turkey-buzzard in particular, being so tame as to be knocked down with a stick at the very doors of the houses, is familiarly distinguished as the "Police of California."

To return to the coast. The last of the five ports, San Diego, is, next to San Francisco, the safest and best harbour in the province, being land-locked, with deep water and a good bottom. The soil of the neighbourhood is sandy, while its climate is remarkably dry, two features which, as already stated, admirably fit it for the curing of hides.

Thus, at its opposite extremities, Upper California possesses two of the best ports on the Pacific Ocean; while each of them is greatly enhanced in value by the distance of any other harbours worthy of the name, San Francisco being nearly a thousand miles from Port Discovery, to the north, and San Diego being about six hundred miles from the Bay of Magdalena, to the south.

What a splendid country, whether we regard its internal resources or its commercial capabilities, to be thrown away on its present possessors—on men who do not avail themselves of their natural advantages to a much higher degree than the savages whom they have displaced, and who are likely to become less and less energetic from generation to generation and from year to year! Sooner will the Ethiopian whiten his skin, than the Californian lay aside his indolence; and in fact, without such a change of pursuits as he has at present no motive for attempting, he can find no employment for industry in the possession of cattle, that need no care, and of horses, that involve no expense. The love of labour must be nursed, as well as acquired, by real or imaginary necessity. If Scotchmen are industrious, they have had to contend with a rugged soil and an ungenial climate; and if Dutchmen are industrious, they have had to pay a rent to nature for their country, in the expense of embanking seas and rivers; but neither Dutchmen nor Scotchmen could retain their laborious habits, and still less could they communicate them to their children, in California, were it not that they would long continue to consider as necessaries of life many other things besides the daily supply of their physical wants.

The English race, as I have already hinted, is doubtless destined to add this fair and fertile province to its possessions on this continent—possessions which, during the last eighty years, have grown with unexampled rapidity. Previously to the capture of Quebec, Englishmen were confined to the comparatively narrow strip of land between the Atlantic and the Alleghanies, being, in effect, surrounded by inveterate foes—by the Spaniards, towards the south, and by the French, towards the north and west. At the peace of 1763, they became undisputed masters of Florida, the eastern half of Louisiana, and the whole of Canada; thus reaching, as if by a single leap, the Gulf of Mexico, the Mississippi, and the remotest sources of the St. Lawrence; and, in the first quarter of the present century, the younger branch of the race extended its dominion to the Rocky Mountains, while the elder, carrying its commerce across this formidable barrier, occupied with its trading posts a country of a thousand miles in length, as far as the shores of the Pacific Ocean. In this state of things, the south alone remained to its ancient possessors; and, as Texas has been wrested from Mexico on the one side of the continent, so will California be speedily lost to her on the other; either province, too, being only the first step in a march, of which the rate of progress appears to be merely a question of time.

The only doubt is, whether California is to fall to the British or to the Americans. The latter, whether one looks at their seizure of Texas or at their pretensions to the Oregon, have clearly the advantage in an unscrupulous choice of weapons, being altogether too ready to forget that the fulfilment of even the most palpable decrees of Providence will not justify in man the employment of unrighteous means. But, though England cannot afford to acquire additional territory by such measures as would shake that reputation for integrity on which her empire is founded, yet she has one road open to her by which she may bring California under her sway, without either force or fraud, without either the violence of marauders, or the effrontery of diplomatists.

Mexico owes to British subjects a public debt of more than fifty millions of dollars, which, though never formally repudiated by her, is a burden far too heavy for her to bear. By assuming a share of this debt, on consideration of being put in possession of California, England would at once relieve the republic and benefit the creditors, while the Californians themselves would eagerly prefer this course to the only other possible alternative of seeing their country follow in the wake of Texas.

In fact, under the treaty of 1790, which has been already cited, England is even now entitled to colonize a considerable portion of the upper province. As America has renounced every thing that lies below the parallel of forty-two degrees, England and Mexico, as the successor of Spain, are regulated in their reciprocal relations to the southward by the stipulations of the international compact aforesaid; so that England, without being questioned by any one, may immediately occupy the coast from the forty-second parallel of latitude down to the due range of the settlement of San Francisco.

Now, the due range of a settlement varies in direction according to its position. If unconnected, like Monterey, with the interior, a settlement must be presumed to be likely to spread along the coast; while, if situated, like San Francisco, at the outlet of many navigable waters, it will, in all probability, creep along the shores of its lakes and rivers. Neither on principle, therefore, nor in fact, does San Francisco extend many miles to the northward of the mouth of its harbour; so that, to take an instance, England may to-morrow justifiably occupy the valley of Santa Rosa, which opens into Bodega Bay.

To return to my narrative, which left us on the 27th of the month. Making our way from Santa Barbara to the southward, we soon lost sight of California and its adjacent islands, while a fine breeze from the north-west carried us in three or four days into the region of the north-east trades.

CHAPTER X.

VOYAGE TO HONOLULU, &c.

Course and distance—Appropriate name of Pacific Ocean—Gradual increase of temperature — Bottle-nosed porpoise and flying fish —Albatros and tropic bird—Amphibious voyage, its literary advantages—Volcanic mountains of Hawaii—Early discovery of Sandwich Islands by Spaniards—Cook's discovery accidental—Mutual relations of the islands of the group—Volcanic origin of group—Volcanic agency, its general direction—Lahaina, residence of king—Communication between islands in days of barbarism—Peopling of Polynesia—Brig Joseph Peabody—Ruggedness of Woahoo—First impression of torrid zone—Distant view of Honolulu—Harbour, its discovery—English pilots—Coral reefs—Every thing to remind us of England, contrast between us and early navigators—Harbour, general description—Towing through channel—Governor Kekuanaoa and others—Our residence—Honolulu, population and buildings, climate, &c.—Valley of Nuannau, scene of important battle.

Our course from Santa Barbara had been so nearly due south, that, on catching the trades in about latitude 27°, we were only in about longitude 118°, rather to the east than otherwise of the meridian of our point of departure; and as between our present position and the port of Honolulu the difference of latitude was barely six degrees, while the difference of longitude amounted to forty, we now steered west-south-west, under all our canvass, on a voyage of fully two thousand three hundred miles. This immense distance we accomplished pretty much in the line of the crow's flight; for, during the twelve days of our run, our breeze, though it ranged from north-east to east-south-east, was yet uniformly fair; and so equable was the weather, that we never took in either studding-sail or sky-sail during the whole of our course. The only thing that broke that monotony of progress, which becomes almost tiresome in the swiftest steam-ship, was the circumstance that our rate of sailing varied from six to eleven knots an hour.

If it was under similar circumstances, as is said to have been the case, that Magellan, the first European that traversed this ocean, and probably the first navigator that spanned it at a stretch, made his way from South America to the Philippines, he could not possibly have bestowed on it, so far as his own knowledge went, a name at once so appropriate and so expressive as that of the Pacific. Nor did his individual experience differ from the general fact. Excepting in its more northerly and more southerly latitudes, this boundless sea, embracing, as it does, as much of the equator as all the rest of the world put together, is ordinarily so calm, that open boats may cross it with safety; and, in fact, its least sheltered portion, lying between the Polynesian Islands and Spanish America, and almost equalling the breadth of the Atlantic, has actually been so traversed, Captain Hinckley, whom we met at San Francisco, having carried a number of horses,—rather ugly customers, by the by, for the occasion,—in an undecked vessel from California to Woahoo. It is doubtless this characteristic tranquillity of the Pacific Ocean which has been the means, under Providence, of peopling almost every islet that floats on its bosom,—a fact which appears to be in itself truly remarkable, without reference to the times and modes of its gradual accomplishment.

As we edged away towards the south, the heat became more oppressive from day to day. The skies were usually a little overcast, coming down upon us now and then with a flying shower; so that, even when our breeze was at its freshest, the air felt close and sultry. In the very draft that ventilated the cabin, the thermometer ranged from 70° to 74° of Fahrenheit, seldom showing a difference of more than one degree between day and night.

Of the finny creatures we saw very few; not a whale, not a shark, not a dolphin,—the bottle-nosed porpoise and the flying fish alone showing themselves. The liver of the former is said to be very good eating, and the latter to be a delicacy, excepting that it partakes of the dryness and insipidity of the deep-sea tribes. All this, however, we were obliged to take on trust, for we caught neither the one species nor the other; nor would the flying fish, while it whisked through the air perhaps a furlong at a time, condescend to heighten our amusement by falling exhausted on our deck.

Among the tenants of air, we had no companions save the albatros and the tropic bird. The latter is the most elegant creature of these regions: it is beautifully white, with a dash of pink; and, as it generally soars high in the heavens, it looks almost transparent in the sunshine, glittering like a speck of silver, or a flake of snow. The albatros, again, is of various colours, brown, gray, and speckled, the largest measuring eight or nine feet between the tips of the wings; though, in the Southern Pacific, it is sometimes found broader by half, and as white as snow. When skimming the surface of the water with expanded pinions, it surpasses the swan in gracefulness; but on the deck of a vessel it is a mere waddler, besides that it becomes sea-sick, and pumps up a most unromantic cascade of yellow oil. But this curious bird would not come to our relief any more than the flying fish; and, in fact, excepting within ten degrees of Cape Horn, where it has keen air and short commons, it is too dainty to be hooked by means of a bait.

In such a state of affairs, books were our best auxiliaries in the grand business of killing time; and, during these my wanderings, I have often felt that an amphibious voyage possesses this singular advantage, that the leisure of the water, besides being itself beguiled by the task, prepares one, by means of reading, to profit by what one may see and hear on the land.

On the evening of the 9th of February, we felt tolerably certain that the next day's sun would find us within the visual range of Hawaii; though, as nothing but the clearest atmosphere could serve our purpose, we were rather likely than otherwise to be prevented from actually seeing it. In the morning, however, this last anticipation was agreeably disappointed. At a distance of a hundred and ten miles, we descried the snowy summit of Mouna Kea, the nearer as well as the loftier of the two volcanic mountains, which, with the table-land between them, occupy the entire centre of the island. Its height is variously estimated from about fourteen thousand to about sixteen thousand feet,—a calculation which, independently of other modes of measurement, tallies pretty accurately with the fact, that it has been distinctly seen from positions more remote than our own by a score of miles; so that, in the extent of visible horizon, Mouna Kea falls very little short of the stupendous St. Elias, on the north-west coast, which Vancouver continued to see in his wake, still "like a lofty mountain," at a distance of fifty nautical leagues. For several hours, we discovered no other symptom of land than Mouna Kea, swelling, as if a solitary iceberg in breadth and height, out of the blue ocean: not a single winged messenger came to salute us; and our only companions on the borders of this archipelago were the albatrosses and tropic birds that had followed us all the way from California.

Mouna Loa, the more distant of the two central mountains of Hawaii, is very little inferior in height to Mouna Kea, being, according to most calculations on the subject, more than thirteen thousand feet above the level of the sea. Its visible horizon, therefore, must have reached, if it did not overleap, the track of the galleons running before the trade-wind from Acapulco to Manilla; and the chances of its being seen by the Spaniards in early times were considerably increased, if the crater on its summit, as was most probably the case, was then in a state of activity. Even if there were no direct evidence of the discovery, the contrary supposition would be all but incredible; for the mere silence of a jealous people with respect to islands, which, though useless to Spain, might yet have furnished an impregnable shelter to the plunderers of her commerce, would not have even a negative bearing on the fact. To give an analogous example, Nootka Sound had, in all probability, been known to the Spaniards before it was discovered by Cook; and it was perhaps the same nervous dislike of publicity that enabled Americus Vespucius, as the first person who detailed the wonders of the new world to the old, to usurp what would have been Columbus's richest reward.

But there is ample proof of a general description, that the Sandwich Islands had been seen, and visited too, by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, or, at the latest, in the seventeenth. Among the natives there have been found to exist traditions of the occasional appearance among them of a race different from their own, too numerous and too circumstantial to be explained by any thing but their essential truth; and perhaps such traditions carry more of verisimilitude in them on this account, that they almost exclusively refer to Hawaii, the very island which, as being at once the largest and the loftiest and the most southerly of the group, was the most likely to attract the notice of the Spaniards. Again, the Spanish charts, however carefully they were kept out of the hands of the enemy, contained still more positive, if not more interesting, proof of the hypothesis; one chart in particular, which was found by Anson on board of his great prize, having been the means of revealing for the first time to the world at large a cluster of islands in the latitude; and, considering the instruments and the science of the times, pretty correctly in the longitude of the Hawaiian group; and of this cluster, by the by, one island was distinguished as La Mesa, or The Table, the most natural and appropriate of all names for the truncated summit of Mouna Loa, the first, and for hours the only, landmark to a vessel approaching from the south. Moreover, besides such charts and traditions, circumstances, more conclusive in their nature so far as their number goes, confirm the same view. The helmets and cloaks of the natives resemble those of the Spaniards; their military tactics, as compared with those of the other savages of Polynesia, bear the impress of civilized instruction; and perhaps in the Hawaiian language a careful investigation might detect many words of Spanish origin.

Though Cook must have been acquainted with Anson's chart, yet he would appear to have discovered the Sandwich Islands, without reference to its information. As the error in the longitude, on the part of the Spaniards, which has been already mentioned, placed the group considerably too far to the east, our celebrated navigator, if he had been looking for La Mesa, would have kept so much to the windward of Hawaii as most probably not to be within the visual range of either of its landmarks, while, in reality, he had bent his course so far to the west, that he barely descried the island which terminates, in that direction, a group occupying nearly three degrees and a half of latitude, and fully five degrees and a half of longitude.

In fact, though neither Cook nor the Spaniards had discovered the archipelago, some vessel or other must soon have stumbled on it. Each of the four principal islands, Hawaii, Mowee, Woahoo, Kauai, presents points high enough to prevent any seaman from passing in clear weather between any two without seeing at least one of them; so that, generally speaking, the group, as a whole, was as little likely to remain hid as an ordinarily level country of the size of Great Britain would have been to remain so in the same neighbourhood.

Next morning, the 11th of the month, gave us a full view of Mowee, with its rugged hills of about eleven thousand feet in height, this island ranking next to Hawaii as well in elevation as in extent and position,—a remark which may also be applied to Woahoo with respect to Mowee, and to Kauai with respect to Woahoo. In fact, the whole group appears to have been thrown up from the deep by volcanic action, advancing from the north-west to the south-east, and increasing in force as it advanced; so that, while island rose after island, each grew at once in height and in breadth according to the intensity of the power that heaved it upwards from the waters. Thus, Bird Island, a barren rock taking its name from its only inhabitants, and lying about as far to the north-west of Kauai as Kauai lies of Woahoo, must be considered as the germ of the archipelago,—as the first fruits of a submarine energy that was here only kindling its fires; while the other main links in the chain, Kauai, Woahoo, Mowee, and Hawaii, not only differ, as I have just mentioned, at once in extent and in elevation, but also present as they proceed less and less evidence of antiquity in their gradually diminishing proportions of land capable of cultivation,—a proof the more conclusive, inasmuch as the soil of the whole group undeniably consists of the successive gifts of years, and ages, and centuries. Moreover, the visible laboratories of the subterranean fire, which are scattered over the archipelago, confirm the same view; the craters are all extinct, excepting on Hawaii; and even on Hawaii, Mouna Loa, the most south-easterly of its three great safety-valves, alone bears living testimony to the creative impulse that has called the whole chain into existence, and bears it, too, only through its lateral volcano of Kilauea, which, besides itself looking to the east, appears, by the gradual advance of subsidiary outlets down its eastern declivities, to be rolling the hidden sources of its strength,—peradventure there to forge fresh islands,—under the bed of the ocean. But in whatever order or at whatever times the Sandwich Islands came into being, they must in all probability have sprung from the ocean. Coral and shells are said to have been found on some of the mountains of Kauai; and the whole group is known, from a careful comparison of minute changes in different localities, to be slowly but surely continuing to rise,—to be still, as it were, in the throes of creation.

It is a curious coincidence, which it would be unphilosophical to ascribe to chance, that the direction of volcanic agency, as just described, has, generally speaking, been one and the same in this archipelago and on the neighbouring continent. The general line of the western shore of America from Behring's Straits to the equator is as nearly as possible parallel with the chain of the Sandwich Islands,—the opposite coast of Asia, by the by, running with a similar inclination to the southern extremity of Malacca, so as to complete an isosceles triangle with half the circumference of the earth as its base; and on the said western shore of America, volcanic agency appears to have travelled from the north-west to the south-east; for Mount Edgecumbe, in the neighbourhood of Sitka, and Saddle Hill, near the mouth of the Columbia, have exhausted themselves, and the craters of California are diminishing in activity, while the more southerly fires continue to blaze as fiercely as ever.

In corroboration, or at least in illustration, of the last two paragraphs may he cited other physical phenomena from the history of the Sandwich Islands. Inundations of the sea, as if the water periodically struggled to recover the land annually escaping from its grasp, have often flooded the lower shores of the group, flowing and ebbing with a force that seemed to concentrate into a few minutes the tides of a week; and on one of these occasions, which caused a heavy loss of property and life, the great volcano of Kilauea,—for great it confessedly is, with whatever other volcano on the earth's surface it may be compared,—palpably exhibited a sympathy with the ocean in a fiery inundation of more than ordinary magnitude. Now the very last instance of the kind happened just about nine months before our arrival; and we afterwards ascertained that an almost simultaneous flood had assailed the shores of Kamschatka, a country whose southern extremity is situated in a line with the general direction of the Hawaiian archipelago and its volcanic agency. Here again it would be by no means philosophical to consider the coincidence as fortuitous.

To return to Mowee: Lahaina, on the leeward side of its western extremity, has been for a considerable time the residence of the king. In the days of Cook, as all the world knows, each island, or at least each of the four principal islands with its adjacent islets, had its own king, who would appear, however, rather to have been the lord paramount of the chiefs than the immediate sovereign of the people. After a lapse of thirteen years, Vancouver found the political condition of the archipelago to be pretty nearly the same, excepting that the king of Hawaii was obviously on the point of becoming the master of the whole group. His island was about twice as extensive and perhaps also twice as populous as all the other islands, large and small, put together: he had the whole force of his little monarchy at his disposal, for he held Hawaii at once by inheritance and by conquest, having vanquished and slain in self-defence the rightful occupant of the throne, whose heir he was, and having subsequently crushed the rebellions of various chiefs who envied his elevation,—and though last, not least, he had earned the sympathy and assistance of foreigners by the humanity and integrity, which, in spite of the example of the other kings, and of the suggestions of his own chiefs, he had uniformly displayed in his intercourse with them.

Accordingly, in 1795, the very year after Vancouver's final departure, Kamehameha acquired by force of arms permanent possession of Mowee and Woahoo, while he soon after received the voluntary submissions of his royal brother of Kauai. But Hawaii, as has often happened elsewhere, gradually became a dependency of its own conquests. Its victorious chief removed the seat of government to Honolulu in Woahoo, which, on account of the superiority of its harbour, was the favourite resort of foreign vessels; and, though he did pass the last few years of his life in his native island, yet neither of his successors has imitated this his later example. Honolulu was indeed speedily found to be too troublesome a home for youths, who, being destitute of their father's commanding character, wished to escape from the importunities and assumptions of white residents and white visitors; and, at last, Lahaina was selected as the ordinary abode of Hawaiian majesty, affording perhaps the most central position in the archipelago, with Mowee and Hawaii to the east, and Woahoo and Kauai to the west.

As we proceeded on our voyage, we had in sight, at one and the same time, the four islands of Mowee, Lanai, Molokoi, and Woahoo, the first three on our left, and the last on our right. We were, in fact, now sailing along one of the eight seas, as the native ditties designate the channels of various width, which separate the islands from each other,—a form of expression which, even if it stood alone, would indicate not merely that the islanders knew the extent of their secluded group, but also that they were habitually impressed with a sense of common nationality. In the case of this archipelago, mutual communication was doubtless facilitated by the circumstance that the north-east trades, falling pretty nearly at right angles to the general direction of the group, seldom presented to the voyager the obstacle of a head-wind, whether he was running to the north-west or to the south-east; and even in the case of such other archipelagoes of the Pacific as possessed not the same advantage, mutual communication between island and island seems to have been maintained, if not with equal ease, at least to such an extent as evinced considerable skill and boldness in navigation.

In all probability, the gregarious disposition, if one may so speak, of the Polynesian Isles has been an instrument in the hands of Providence for the peopling of this vast ocean. Besides rendering the natives all but amphibious, it multiplied, to an infinite degree, the chances of their being involuntarily carried to neighbouring clusters, and that, too, while transporting from one island to another the fruits and the animals of their original homes. Whether Polynesia, as a whole, has derived the germs of its population from Asia or from America, its parts are demonstrably proved by points of identity, which may hereafter be noticed, to have been colonized from each other by successive families of one and the same race — families which must often have accomplished voyages fully as long as the voyage of Columbus from the Azores to the Bahamas. As an instance of this, the Sandwich Islands, according to the traditionary belief of the inhabitants, were peopled from Tahiti, distant from the most southerly extremity of Hawaii upwards of thirty-six degrees of latitude; and, whether this traditionary belief be correct or incorrect, the rude minstrelsy of the group, certainly more ancient than the visits of civilized navigators, makes household words, not merely of Tahiti, but also of Nuhahira of the Marquesas, as well as of the names of other islands of other groups.

But the mere accomplishment of long voyages was not the most wonderful feature in the grand scheme of colonizing the Polynesian Isles. Their successful result, as I have already hinted in a former passage, appears to be far more wonderful. When we consider how many civilized mariners, with all the light of science and experience to guide them, traversed the length and breadth of the Pacific before each of the now known groups was revealed to the world—when, for instance, we reflect that one section of the Marquesas was visited in 1595, and the other, sometimes distinguished as the Washington Islands, only in 1791—how marvellous, or rather how miraculous, that ignorant savages, with their frail and tiny barks, should have so uniformly reached the same goals, forestalling, as it were, those honours which are deemed worthy of being a bone of contention between the rival navigators and rival nations of modern times! Either the primeval adventurers must have possessed a secret, which is now lost, for discerning some symptoms or other of distant land, or they must often have perished miserably in their blind pursuit of unknown shores, or, what is far more probable than either supposition, they must have been led by a special Providence to their respective havens through means as unerring, though not so palpable, as a pillar of cloud or of fire.

To give a definite form to this last hypothesis, might not birds, while retracing their flight to clusters previously visited, have lent the pilotage of their own mysterious instinct across the trackless waste of waters?

In the channel between Molokoi and Woahoo, we were joined by the American brig, Joseph Peabody, bound for Honolulu from Mazatlan — a vessel which, carrying on trade between Mexico and the Sandwich Islands, brought under our notice one instance more of the ubiquity of the English race in the very ocean which was once closed against it as an inland lake of the Spanish Indies. In company with this ship, we passed the south-eastern point of Woahoo, forming, of course, the boundary between the windward and the leeward coasts of the island.

In our present position, Woahoo bore a remarkably sterile and rugged aspect, exhibiting, at least to our comparatively distant view, nothing but desolate rocks, which varied in form, and in form only, between the truncated crater and the towering peak — the sandal-wood, which once clothed them, having been literally extirpated. Of the craters, the most perfect and conspicuous was the headland, which bounded our prospect of the coast towards the west. It was distinguished by the natives as Leahi, which was merely translated into Diamond Hill, from a notion that it contained, or had once contained, precious stones. On rounding this cape, we saw immediately before us a belt of level ground, washed in front by the sea, and skirted in rear by the continuation of the mountains, of which, however, the lower slopes partook, in some measure, of the verdure of the plain below. This belt appeared to extend as far as the eye could reach, and was studded with clumps and groves of trees, among which the tall and straight stem of the cocoa-nut could not be mistaken; and this noble palm, to me the first peculiar symptom of a tropical climate, electrified me, as it were, with the consciousness of having now entered a new world, of being now surrounded by a hitherto unknown creation. At its nearer extremity, just within the promontory, lay the village of Waikiki, while, at a distance of about six miles, the town of Honolulu presented a strange admixture of the savage and the civilized, stacks of warehouses rising amid straw-huts, and the whitewashed Mariners' Chapel, with its stunted tower, overtopped by still remaining specimens of primeval vegetation.

Waikiki Bay used to be a favourite place of resort among the earlier voyagers, possessing the only essential requisites for a port of refuge and refreshment; shelter from the trade-winds; a beach that would afford a landing; and ground that would hold an anchor. In 1794, however, Waikiki Bay was supplanted, in common with most of the frequented anchorages in the group, though, of course, more completely than any of the others, by the dock-like harbour of Honolulu, which was, in that year, entered and surveyed by an English skipper of the name of Brown; so that, so far as the right of discovery went, not only the whole group, but also its most valuable part, had fallen to the lot of our country. Within a few months, Brown met the same fate as Cook, without having, like his more distinguished predecessor, done anything to provoke it, being murdered, for the sake of booty, by the savage tenants of the very spot which he had fitted to be, not only the metropolis of Polynesia, but also the emporium of the Pacific. Happily, Brown's death was the last act of bloodthirsty treachery that disgraced the shores of Woahoo, for, in 1795, the very year in which our countryman fell, Kamehameha, the friend of the whites, became, as I have already mentioned, the undisputed lord of the island.

On coming in sight of Honolulu, we had made signals for a pilot by hoisting our colours and firing two guns, our companion having done the same; and very shortly two came off to us, Reynolds, an American, boarding the Joseph Peabody, and "Old Adams," an English tar who has lived on the islands these thirty or forty years, and appears to have been appointed to his post by a British man-of-war, taking the Cowlitz under his charge. "Old Adams," who knows his work well, is very tenacious of his official dignity; and we were told that, when he was last autumn piloting the Vincennes, he flared up at some interference or other on the part of Commodore Wilkes, called his boat alongside, and left the vessel and her commander's superior judgment to boot, in the lurch.

The harbour, which is capable of containing about forty vessels, appears to owe its existence to the peculiar habits of the lithophyte. The coral reefs, such as generally gird the Polynesian Islands, though they are less continuous in this group than elsewhere, form a natural breakwater, while a gap in the work of the submarine architects is wide enough for the passage of ships without being so wide as materially to diminish the amount and value of the shelter. Generally, though, as Sir Edward Belcher has shown, not universally, such openings are to be found only on the leeward sides of the islands, while their precise position on the same is said to be commonly, if not exclusively, opposite to the mouths of streams, the temperature of the fresh water being supposed to be too low for the taste and health of the little builders. With both these conditions, the harbour of Honolulu literally complies. To say nothing of its being on the southerly coast of the island, it receives a brook that has just escaped from the almost frigid atmosphere of the mountains, formed, as it is, from the numberless cascades which rush down the sides of the valley of Nuannau, or Great Cold, in the very rear of the town. Whether or not the proximity of cold water satisfactorily explains the phenomenon in question, the antipathy of the insect to that element seems to be a matter of fact beyond denial or doubt. It is almost entirely within thirty degrees of latitude on either side of the equator, within the range, in fact, of the trade-winds, that the labours of the lithophyte abound; while, even within such assigned limits, they are far more widely spread in the Asiatic section of the ocean, on which the current flows from the south, than on its American section, on which the current comes down from the arctic seas.

As the entrance of the basin is too intricate to be attempted with anything but a fair wind, we were reluctantly obliged to wait for the sea-breeze, which generally blows in the morning, from a little before sunrise to about nine o'clock; and we accordingly anchored for the night in the outer roads, where we were soon visited by Mr. Pelly, the Hudson's Bay Company's agent in the archipelago, and Mr. Allan, an officer in our regular service. We had met pilots who spoke our language as their vernacular tongue; we now enjoyed the society of English visitors; and, as if still further to remind us of home, and also to make amends for our not landing at once, we were favoured by Captain Dominis, of the American brig, which was in company, with several English and American newspapers, bringing intelligence down to the 9th of December. These journals were an inestimable treat to wanderers, who had received no tidings from the civilized world of more recent date than April; and we heard, with much interest, of the burning of the tower of London, of the accession of the Conservatives to power, of the birth of the Prince of Wales, and of a thousand topics more, of which even the least important yielded a peculiar pleasure, which "gentlemen of England, who live at home at ease," can never appreciate, when communicated to us in our own idiom, at the distance of nearly half the globe from our native land.

What a contrast between our own times and the days of the discoverers of this group! "Whilst we were at dinner," says Captain King, the friend and companion of Cook, "in this miserable hut, on the banks of the River Awatska, the guests of a people with whose existence we had before been scarce acquainted, and at the extremity of the habitable globe, a solitary, half-worn pewter spoon, whose shape was familiar to us, attracted our attention; and, on examination, we found it stamped on the back with the word *London*. I cannot pass over this circumstance in silence, out of gratitude for the many pleasant thoughts, the anxious hopes, and tender remembrances it excited in us. Those who have experienced the effects that long absence and extreme distance from their native country produce on the mind, will readily conceive the pleasure such a trifling incident can give." But the personal contrast, if I may presume so to speak, between us and our celebrated navigator himself was still more striking. We had just anchored in front of a large and flourishing town, into which the enterprise of the English race had attracted upwards of eight thousand comparatively civilized natives; and, on the self-same day, the 11th of February, in the year 1779, did Cook return to Kalaikeakua Bay, after what had appeared to be his final departure, to seal, ere half a week should have elapsed, his discovery with his blood!

On the morning of the 12th, we were all stirring betimes. While the vessel was preparing to enter the harbour before a fair wind, we took a more careful look of the town, observing in particular a fort well provided, to all appearance, with guns, and admirably situated for commanding the narrow and intricate passage; and, in the event of hostilities, we could not help thinking that even the most formidable visitor would be wise, while on the safe side of the reef, to begin by smashing so ugly a customer into silence. But the harbour is said to have worse enemies to dread than shot and shells. In consequence of the gradual rising of the islands, to which I have already alluded, the opening in the reef is supposed to be diminishing in depth, a difference of three feet having been actually observed and ascertained about fifteen or sixteen years after Brown's exploration; while the very brook, to which, in all probability, the gap in the lithophyte's labour is owing, is generally believed to be, to a certain extent, neutralizing its own work by washing down mud to elevate the bottom of the basin. To provide against the possible results of such causes, the basin might easily be dredged, and the reef might, by some means or other, be cut to a sufficient depth; and at all events there has been found, at a distance of a few miles to the westward, a harbour equal to that of Honolulu, though its shores are by no means so well fitted to be the site of a town. It seems hardly worth while to mention another candidate for future honours in a convenient basin with a beautiful country round it, situated on the windward side of Woahoo; for its reef, which has only nine or ten feet of water on the opening, would require far more cutting at the very outset, than that of Honolulu would require for ages yet to come.

On entering the channel, whose breadth did not exceed twice the length of the Cowlitz, we could almost have touched with an oar a crowd of natives who were elbowing each other on the reef up to their middles in water, all the while jabbering, and shouting, and bellowing, in their outlandish tongue, which, by reason of the numerical superiority of its vowels and the softness and indistinctness of its consonants, resembled rather a continuous howl than an articulate language. On our handing out a hawser to these fellows, who, if sufficiently numerous, could, I verily believe, tow a vessel swimming, we were speedily hauled close to the wharf; and, after mooring our ship and saluting the town, we prepared to go ashore.

On landing, we immediately proceeded to pay our respects to several of the inhabitants, beginning, as in duty bound, with Governor Kekuanaoa, one of the natives who accompanied the late king and queen to England: we were much pleased with the shrewdness of this old gentleman, who in fact has, by his official ability, raised himself from the rank of a subordinate chief to be one of the principal rulers of the archipelago. We next called in succession, for etiquette of that kind is requisite in Honolulu, on the British, French, and American consuls, and some of the principal residents.

Mr. Pelly, being aware beforehand of the probability of our arriving about this time, had procured a house for accommodating us during our visit, being nothing less than a royal palace. It had been originally built by the king, Kauikeaouli, or Kamehameha III., for his own use; and when his majesty, for the sake of retirement, removed his court from Honolulu to Lahaina, it was transferred to Haalilio, who, like Kekuanaoa, has risen in the world by his talents, till at last, after Haalilio, in his capacity of secretary, followed his master to Mowee, it was reserved as a kind of caravansera for receiving such of the principal chiefs as might visit Honolulu. The lower flat, however, had been devoted to vulgar and utilitarian purposes, being occupied as a store; and the upper flat, which, in addition, of course, to kitchen, outhouses, yard, &c., was our share of the palace, consisted of four apartments, two large and two smaller.

Having collected together furniture, &c. &c., we established ourselves in our new domicile. The walls of the rooms were hung with several good engravings of the American Declaration of Independence, a portrait of the King of Prussia badly executed in oil, and various daubs of coloured engravings. These paltry embellishments, however, were an evidence not of savage but of civilized taste, for they had been presented, always excepting, of course, the symbols of democracy, by His Prussian Majesty, who must have borrowed his idea of the Kamehamehas from the good old times when a gallon of beads would have bought up half the hogs of a whole valley. This gift, from one king to another, could not have cost the donor much beyond five pounds sterling. In this our temporary home we received visits from all the missionaries and foreign residents in the town.

Honolulu contains a population of about nine thousand souls, nearly one thousand perhaps consisting of pretty equal proportions of foreigners and half-breeds. It is about half a mile long and about a quarter of a mile broad; and it consists of one good street, which, having been but recently opened, is only half finished, with a number of narrow and irregular alleys. Most of the houses are built in the native fashion, which will be described at large in the sequel; but there are also many substantial edifices, some of them of two stories, of wood, adobes, coral, and stone, with tinned roofs, which, generally speaking, are finished with balconies, verandahs, and *jalousies*, and enclosed within small gardens of ornamental plants, indigenous and exotic.

But already has this incipient metropolis begun, like its older models, to go out of town. The more respectable of the foreign residents have their rural boxes up the adjacent valleys; but more particularly up the valley, elsewhere mentioned, of Nuannau, or Great Cold, as being the nearest and most accessible.

The very name of this principal retreat of the Polynesian Cockneys explains the matter at once: they find their city too hot to hold them; not because the heat is very intense, but because it is tolerably uniform and constant, with little or no regard to the distinctions of day and night, or of summer and winter. This cannot be made clearer than by borrowing from the Hawaiian Spectator a table of the average temperatures at Honolulu of every month of two successive years, expressed decimally in degrees of Fahrenheit:—

MONTH.	7 A.M.		2 P.M.		10 P.M.	
	1837.	1838.	1837.	1838.	1837.	1838.
January . .	67·9	69·3	76·6	75·6	71·3	71·5
February . .	71·1	71·2	77·7	75·3	72·7	72·1
March . . .	69·6	72·0	76·6	75·1	72·4	72·5
April . . .	72·1	71·5	78·4	76·7	73·7	72·8
May . . .	73·4	73·2	80·2	80·3	75·0	75·5
June . . .	76·1	75·5	81·9	81·7	77·5	77·1
July . . .	76·4	76·4	81·5	82·5	77·3	77·9
August . .	76·9	77·2	82·8	83·2	78·1	78·4
September .	76.5	76·7	83·0	82·6	77·0	78·4
October . .	74·8	75·0	80·6	80·1	76·0	76·9
November .	72·7	72·3	77·9	76·6	73·8	73·7
December .	69·9	71·5	76·5	76·3	71·1	73·3
Average of Year	73·1	73·5	79·5	78·8	74·8	75·1

These temperatures, besides being almost as regular as clockwork, are decidedly low for a place which is fully two degrees within the tropics,—both their lowness and their regularity being caused chiefly by the trade-winds, which, blowing over so little land on even the broadest of the islands, sweep the leeward coasts with the same purity and coolness, generally speaking, as they have brought from the ocean to the windward shores. If at any point to the leeward the temperature is materially higher than at the corresponding point to windward, the difference may be traced to the fact, that there the wall of mountains is at once so near and so continuous as to screen from the trade-winds all that lies between it and the sea, with occasionally a belt of the sea itself into the bargain. This is more or less the case at Lahaina; whereas, at Honolulu, on the contrary, the valley of Nuannau, which opens directly on the town, forms a natural funnel for the free and easy passage of the north-east gales.

To return to the suburban villas, the diminution of heat has its accompanying drawbacks, which make it cost fully as much, perhaps, as it is worth. The change is too sudden to be agreeable, for a walk of three or four miles up the gentle ascent of the valleys makes one glad to substitute thick woollens for the lightest and scantiest covering, merely jacket, and shirt, and trousers, of grass-cloth; and this change is entirely owing to the abruptness with which one rises above the level of the sea; for the city of Mexico, which is nearly in the latitude of Woahoo, and almost twice as high as its loftiest peaks, enjoys, on her inland table-land, at least the average temperature of the very shores of that island. But the suddenness of the change in question is less objectionable than the rains, which so frequently drench the valleys. Being intercepted at almost every point by the mountains, the clouds which have been wafted hither on the wings of the trade-winds exhaust themselves on the windward side and central region of each island, leaving little for the leeward coast but a few flying drizzles; so that the inhabitants of Honolulu are frequently tantalized by the sight of showers advancing down Nuannau, but arresting their course on the very verge of the parched plain of the town.

It is chiefly during the winter—the months of February, March, and April—when the trades are either interrupted by calms, or supplanted by breezes from the south and west, that the south-western shores receive their share of rain; while, in proportion as the leeward coast thus becomes the windward, the windward also becomes the leeward coast. But, disagreeable as is the drought of summer at Honolulu, the moisture of the winter is still more so; and, in fact, so much is the wet disliked, that, throughout the whole group, even the native villages have always been more numerous to leeward than to windward; thus, for the sake of a pleasanter atmosphere, sacrificing productiveness of soil, and submitting to the labour of irrigation. The leeward side, it is true, possesses the advantage of more favourable shelter for its fishing-grounds; and, perhaps, the circumstance is worthy of notice, that this very advantage of Kamehameha's district of Kona, by exciting the cupidity of some rival chiefs, led to the war in which that truly magnanimous savage laid the foundations of his supremacy.

The name of this first and best monarch of the archipelago leads me, in concluding my general account of Honolulu, to notice, that the valley of Nuannau is classic, nay, sacred ground, in the annals of the Sandwich Islands, as having been the theatre of the decisive battle, in which civilization actually achieved its real triumph over barbarism. Kamehameha was here opposed by his own lieutenant, Kiana, who had traitorously united his division of the army with the forces of Woahoo—a chief who had visited the civilized world, and was the grand patron of the plundering and murdering policy which, if successful, would have rendered the islands not a blessing, but a curse to the trade of the world; and the first shot on Kamehameha's side, fired too by an English tar, in the person of the well-known John Young, laid Kiana prostrate, with all his schemes of massacre and spoliation. From that day forward, the whole group, with one exception in Kauai, which, as the island was still independent, only confirmed the rule, afforded greater security to foreigners than most countries in Christendom; and Honolulu, in particular, is more deeply indebted for its wealth and prosperity to the victory, which protected its civilized visitors from treachery and violence, than to the discovery which sheltered them from the perils of the ocean. If Young had not, under the auspices of the only sincere friend of the whites, rid the island of Kiana, Brown's Harbour would have continued to be rather a snare than a refuge to strangers.

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The manuscript of these "Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second" was found at Strawberry Hill on the death of Horace Walpole, along with that of the "Memoirs of the Reign of George the Third," lately published by Sir Denis Le Marchant, in two chests, relative to which the author left written directions that they were not to be opened till a considerable period after his decease. That time having arrived, the seals were removed, and the nobleman to whom the Memoirs had been bequeathed (the Earl of Waldegrave), decided on giving them to the public; and that they might possess every possible advantage it was arranged that they should appear under the editorial auspices of the late Lord Holland, whose intimate acquaintance with the period illustrated, family connexion with the most celebrated individuals of the time, and distinguished scholarship, appeared to point him out as above all men peculiarly fitted for the task of preparing them for the press.

There can be no question that the "Memoirs of the Reign of George II." far exceed in public interest any of the numerous productions of the same accomplished pen. The writer was in a position either to observe the extraordinary events then occurring, or to command intelligence from the most secret sources. Known as the son of the ablest minister the age produced (Sir Robert Walpole) and having many of his nearest friends and relatives members at different periods either of the government or of the opposition, it is impossible to imagine an individual more favourably circumstanced to record the stirring scenes and great events that made the reign of George II. so remarkable. But to these advantages must be added a talent in portraying the characteristics of his contemporaries, and a vivacity in describing the scenes in which they figured so conspicuously, in which he is without a rival."

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NARRATIVE

OF AN

OVERLAND JOURNEY ROUND THE WORLD.

CHAPTER XI.

SANDWICH ISLANDS.

Origin of Hawaiian nation—Amount of population—Language—Food—Houses—Dress—Appearance and disposition—Customs and amusements.

As our visit took place in the dull season, for the whalers had not begun to arrive on their way from the winter fishing of the south to the summer fishing of the north, so small a town as Honolulu could hardly yield a sufficient number of incidents to vary the daily entries of a month's residence; I therefore abandoned, during my stay, the form of a journal, merely recording, from time to time, my impressions of what I saw and heard. These impressions I propose to arrange in this and the next chapter; and for this purpose I shall separate, though without aiming at extreme accuracy of classification, all that relates to the people in their individual capacities, from all that distinguishes them, if I may so speak, as a body politic.

I shall, in the first place, consider the interesting though purely speculative question, as to the original source of the native population.

ORIGIN OF THE HAWAIIAN NATION.

All the Polynesians, as I have already stated, have clearly had one and the same parentage. Though their general resemblances in manners and customs, in religion and government, in appearance and dress, might be made to fill volumes, yet they would, one and all of them, be less conclusive on the point, than the fundamental correspondence both in the words and in the structure of their languages. With but little difficulty, and in some of the instances with none at all, Tahitians, Marquesans, Samoans, Tangans, New Zealanders, and Hawaiians, to say nothing of the less known groups, can render themselves intelligible to each other; and of this similarity of dialects, the strongest, as well as the most gratifying proof is to be found in the fact that native converts of one archipelago have sometimes gone forth, as missionaries, to communicate the glad tidings of salvation to another. Thus a chief, who accompanied Mr. Ellis from Tahiti to the Sandwich Islands, often addressed the natives with effect; and Sir Edward Belcher found a little colony of Samoan teachers labouring, or rather wishing to labour, among the savages of the New Hebrides. To offer more specific evidence of the fundamental correspondence in question, the subjoined table is quite decisive, at least with respect to words; for the identical meanings of six nearly identical sounds, in three different dialects, cannot possibly be accidental:—

Tahitian.	*Hawaiian.*	*Marquesan.*	*English.*
Ovai.	Owai.	Ovai.	Who.
Evan.	Ewalu.	Evau.	Eight.
Eiva.	Euva.	Eiva.	Nine.
Vahine.	Wahine.	Vahine.	Woman.
Maitai.	Maitai.	Maitai.	Good.
Tatou.	Tatou.	Tatou.	Tatoo.

Perhaps a careful examination of different dialects might suggest some hints as to their comparative antiquity. As the general tendency of language to become softer by change would derive special force from the feeble and almost childish organs of the race under consideration, any dialect might reasonably be deemed more recent, in proportion as its alphabet and pronunciation might be more meagre and effeminate. Now, the common language of the Polynesian Isles appears to have travelled from the west towards the east. Thus the Hawaiians, and apparently the Tahitians also, abhor a concourse of consonants, while the New Hebrides have their Erromanga, the Feejees their Banga, and the Friendly Islands their Tonga; or, to use the better known name, their Tongataboo. If an Hawaiian were desired to pronounce any one of these three words, he would either insert a vowel between the two consonants, or omit the harsher consonant; and he would, most probably, adopt the latter course, just as he would transform *England* into *Enelani*. In all probability, *Tonga* and *Tona*, or *Kona*, the name of a district, already mentioned, of Hawaii, are one and the same word; and, to give an instance of which there can be no doubt: *tangata*, the Samoan for *man*, has been softened into the Hawaiian *tanata*, or *kanaka*. Again, the very name of Samoa, the chief of the Navigator Isles, involves the letter *s*, which the Hawaiians, as also, I believe, the Tahitians, altogether reject, as being too much for their powers of utterance. Thus they change *fashions* into *patena* or *pakena*, *missionary* into *mitinary*, or *mikinary*, and *consul* into *tonatele*, or *konakele*. Finally, the Marquesan and Tahitian dialects, though they partake, in an eminent degree, of the softness of the Hawaiian, have yet retained, at least, one consonant, namely *f*, which it has discarded. Thus *Fatuiva*, one of the Marquesan Isles, and *Paofai*, a chief of Tahiti, would, in the mouth of an Hawaiian, respectively become *Patuiwa* and *Paopai*; while there can be no mistake as to the original orthography, inasmuch as the *f* is distinguished, in the one word, from *v*, and in the other from *p*. Might not a similar application be made of the table which preceded this paragraph, with respect to these three dialects? In the first four of its six words, the *v* of the Tahitians and Marquesans becomes the *w* of the Hawaiians—the former being, of course, a consonant; but the latter, however it may be classed by grammarians, being really *oo*, sounded as quickly as possible. If there be any truth in these desultory and incomplete suggestions, then must this archipelago have been peopled after the Marquesas and the Society Islands, and they again after the more westerly groups.

This result, which, so far as the Sandwich Islands are concerned, agrees with the traditionary lore of the archipelago, is consistent with nearly all the arguments which can be brought to bear on the subject. Looking, on the map, at the tolerably continuous chain of islands and groups of islands, from Sumatra to the Marquesas, and at the comparatively open ocean between this its last link and the American continent, a plain man would instinctively infer, at least in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that Polynesia, as certainly as Australasia itself, must have been peopled, not from the new world, but from the old; and he would find his inference materially confirmed by the fact, that, on any and every conceivable hypothesis, the isles of the Pacific could have been colonized from the westward long before the eastern shores of that ocean contained a single family of human beings; while, on farther investigation, he would confessedly discover vastly more numerous traces of Asia than of America in the ethnographic characteristics of the Polynesian Isles.

The single, absolutely the only, answer to all this, is the physical fact that the trade-wind blows from the east along the whole breadth of the route which has just been chalked out for the primeval colonists of the islets of this greatest of all seas. Now, in the face of so much direct proof of an Asiatic origin, the evidence in question, of an American origin, amounts to nothing, unless the difficulty of advancing from west to east in spite of the trade-wind actually amounts to an impossibility.

But, so far from amounting to an impossibility, the difficulty itself, strictly so called, can hardly be said to have existed. As the trades, even at their steadiest, take to themselves a few points of elbow-room, having ranged, for instance, in our own case, as already mentioned, between N.E. and E.S.E., the Polynesian groups, occupying about fifty degrees of latitude, might all be intersected, without any formidable interventions of a foul wind, by one and the same track, starting from the westward; and, even independently of this constant oscillation of the ordinary current of air, the same result could be still more easily and more directly attained with the aid of the opposite monsoons, which blow, with greater or less regularity, during two or three successive months of the year. Moreover, on such a point, one fact is more conclusive than a score of arguments; and, unfortunately for the partisans of the east wind, all the facts are stubborn supporters of the other side of the question. The inhabitants of each group, in whatever direction their ancestors reached it, think nothing of sailing from its westerly to its easterly islands; and Captain Beechey fell in with several men and women, who had drifted six hundred miles with a large canoe in the very teeth of the general direction of the prevailing trades.

But, even if the alleged difficulty amounted to an actual impossibility, the claims of Asia to be the cradle of the Polynesians, though they might be weakened, would yet not be disproved. The westerly gales, which generally blow on either side of the region of the trades, might carry vessels far enough to the eastward to make the tropical breeze a fair wind to the westward, more particularly if they had started from the more northerly coasts of Asia; and, in fact, one Japanese junk, in December, 1832, was driven to Woahoo, with four men alive out of her crew of nine; while again, in 1839, another was found drifting about half way on the same involuntary voyage, with several individuals on board, the same whom we afterwards saw at Ochotsk, which they had reached immediately from Kamschatka, on their homeward route from the Sandwich Islands.

Farther, if the trade-winds had really rendered a voyage from west to east impracticable, Polynesia would, in all probability, never have been peopled. There is not the least evidence for believing, there is not the slightest reason for supposing, that the aborigines of America ever possessed a canoe or any other vessel stout enough to survive the dangers of the intervening ocean, during a voyage which could not, under the most favourable circumstances, occupy less than three or four weeks. All the obstacles of the trade-wind notwithstanding, I should more readily conclude that the Marquesas colonized Southern America than that Southern America colonized the Marquesas—so far, at least, as the mere question of navigation might be concerned.

From what country, then, of Asia, did the Polynesians spring? Almost, to a moral certainty, from some point, or rather points, between the southern extremity of Malacca and the northern limits of Japan—an answer which appears to be corroborated by that most conclusive of all features of resemblance, the similarity of language. Premising that, in such a case, nothing like identity is necessarily to be expected—for, according to general experience, the human race was diffused over the globe rather by the migration of whole tribes than by the emigration of parts of them—there seems to be no ground for doubting that the dialects of Polynesia are connected with the languages of the adjacent coasts of Asia. To say nothing of the admitted fact that the Chinese residents of the Sandwich Islands pick up the Hawaiian with great facility in a short time, the Malayan tongue is universally allowed to bear a striking analogy to the language of the groups of the Pacific. To the eye, indeed, and perhaps also to the ear, there is said to be a staggering difference in the predominance of vowels on the part of the latter, and of consonants on the part of the former. This difference, however, is susceptible of a satisfactory explanation. The concourse of consonants in the Malayan arises, in a great measure, from an admixture of the Arabic, which, to a moral certainty, must have taken place long after Polynesia began to be peopled; and, even if the admixture in question had been anterior to the colonization of any of the islands, the concourse of consonants just mentioned would, to a considerable extent, have been nominal, inasmuch as the short vowels of the Arabic are sounded without being written. But, farther, the peculiarity under consideration of the language of Malacca, supposing it to have been both original and real, would tend rather to support than to impugn the foregoing views. The Hawaiian has been shown to embody fewer consonants than the Marquesan or the Tahitian, and the Tahitian and the Marquesan again to embody fewer than the Samoan, or the Fejeean, or the Tongan, or the dialect of the New Hebrides, the *taboo* of the eastern groups, to add another instance to the instances already cited, assuming the form of *tamboo* to the westward. Now, on the very same principle, one ought not to be surprised to find that the consonants become more numerous and more harsh as one approaches to the native seats of a language so widely diffused.

To conclude this head with one remark more: if any ethnographic similitudes do exist between America and Polynesia, they may be safely considered as common results of one and the same cause. Though the new world must have received inhabitants from the old across the strait which separates them, just as certainly as if the two were connected by an isthmus, yet it might, in all probability, have received others, and those, too, in more regular and continuous streams, along the chain of stepping-stones which extend from China to the north-west coast, comprehending Japan, the Kurile Islands, and the Aleutian archipelagoes; and, to show that this supposition is far within the limits both of possibility and of probability, a Japanese junk, such as has been used since the first settlement of the country, lately found its way to the western shores of the new continent with a living crew on board, and without the aid of any intermediate place of refreshment or of rest. In a word, America and Polynesia appear to have been chiefly, if not solely, colonized from one and the same general region of Eastern Asia.

AMOUNT OF POPULATION.

But the origin of the nation has in it less to interest us than that sentence of death which seems to be hanging over it, in common with many other aboriginal tribes of Polynesia and America.

The inhabitants of the group were estimated by Cook to be about four hundred thousand in number. But this calculation, besides being at best a guess, was inevitably based on incomplete and erroneous grounds. At each of the few points which he visited, Cook, as an object not merely of curiosity but also literally of worship, must have seen crowds that formed no part of its permanent population, while he could hardly have been aware of the comparatively scanty extent of land capable of sustaining human life; and, independently of such extraneous causes of exaggeration, he must naturally have been disposed rather to overrate than otherwise the value of his discovery. In all probability, the actual population of the whole archipelago, when Cook visited it in 1778 and 1779, did not exceed the half of his vague estimate. In 1792, Vancouver, who had accompanied Cook on his last voyage, was led to conclude that the number of inhabitants had been greatly diminished during the interval of thirteen years, more particularly in Hawaii, the island to which hitherto Kamehameha's wars had been confined; but, though a diminution had most probably taken place, yet much of the apparent difference must have arisen from the circumstance that ships were no longer regarded as the floating temples of a race of gods.

In 1832, the first census was taken; and since then a second, in 1836. I subjoin the results, in connexion with the dimensions and area of each of the inhabited islands, expressed respectively in running and square miles:—

Name.	Dimensions.	Area.	Population.	
			1832.	1836.
Hawaii . . .	88 by 73	4,000	45,792	39,364
Mowee . .	48 by 30	620	35,062	24,199
Lanai . . .	17 by 9	100	1,600	1,200
Molokoi . .	40 by 7	190	6,000	6,000
Kakoolawe .	11 by 8	60	80	80
Woahoo . .	46 by 25	530	29,755	27,809
Kauai . . .	24 by 22	500	10,977	8,934
Niihau . .	20 by 7	90	1,047	995
Whole Group		6,090	130,313	108,579

In or about 1840, a third census, I believe, was taken, which, though I have not seen the whole of the official returns, is yet generally considered to have reduced the population to about eighty-eight thousand, a number which, from such partial information as I have been able to procure, I have no reason to regard as less than the truth. Kauai, the most level and productive island in the group, is divided into four districts, in every one of which, as the following short table will show, the young of both sexes, under eighteen years of age, complete, amounted, according to the census in question, to something less than a fourth part of the whole population:—

Boys and Girls .	706	309	372	685
All others . .	2,229	1,043	1,178	2,134
Totals . . .	2,935	1,352	1,550	2,819

Here was an average of one person under eighteen to rather more than three persons above it — a state of things which would carry depopulation written on its very face, unless every creature without exception were to attain the good old age of seventy-five. But the disproportion between progeny and parents would become still greater, on taking into account the fact that many of the "boys and girls" must have had "boys and girls" of their own, so as to leave perhaps hardly half a child to each couple of those who were classed as men and women in the census. One district in Woahoo afforded the only instance in which the disproportion in question was materially lessened, the inhabitants under eighteen and those above it respectively amounting to

809 and 1983; but even there the fatal destiny of the people was rapidly accomplishing, the births for the year then last past having been 61 and the deaths 132; so that, if all the 61 infants had swelled the list of deaths as well as of births, still 71 individuals must have perished—a deficiency about one-sixth greater than all the infants, if strong and healthy, could ever have supplied. To conclude this notice of the census of 1840 with one fact more, the most populous three districts of Kauai, containing between them 5,541 adults, possessed only 68 men and 65 women, who had more than two children each, in the face, too, of the bribe offered to all such in the shape of an exemption from certain taxes.

Of the only two modes in which depopulation can be doing its work, deficiency of births is shown by these details to be far more influential than excess of deaths: in other words, a nation is rapidly vanishing from the face of the earth, because its ordinary degree of tear and wear is not recruited from the ranks of a rising generation. Till lately, it is true, this was not so decidedly the case, temporary causes having operated, for a long time after the date of the discovery, to carry off the old perhaps in a greater ratio than the young. Kamehameha's wars, conducted, as they were, on an unusually extensive scale, and rendered more fatal by the use of firearms, destroyed thousands in battle; while, through the famine and pestilence which followed in their train, they indirectly more than doubled the slaughter. Again, these wars were almost immediately succeeded by a still heavier scourge, in the prosecution of a trade which, by a mysterious dispensation of Providence, virtually sacrificed to the idols of a foreign land a far greater number of human victims than had ever been actually consumed on the blood-stained altars of the group. Sandal-wood, in which the islands abounded, was known to bring high prices in China, where it was burnt, as a fragrant offering, before the images of the gods; and being, therefore, found to furnish the best means of supplying those artificial wants which occasional glimpses of civilization had created, it was sold in such quantities, as, in one particular year, to have yielded about four hundred thousand dollars.

The procuring of this lucrative medium of exchange caused, in various ways, an enormous waste of life. As the sandal-wood grew chiefly on rugged and almost inaccessible heights, the natives, accustomed, as they were on the coasts, to a temperature approaching more nearly to perfection, both in degree and in steadiness, than perhaps any other in the world, were doomed to endure the chilly air of the mountains without shelter and without clothing, the cold of the night being aggravated by the toil of the day; and, when they had accomplished their tasks with bodies enfeebled by these constant privations, and not uncommonly also by want of food, they were compelled to transport the whole on naked shoulders to the beach, by paths hardly practicable in many places to an unburdened passenger. As a matter of course, many of the poor wretches died in their harness, while many more of them prematurely sank under the corroding effects of exposure and exhaustion.

During the reign of Kamehameha, who monopolized the trade in question, such evils were in a considerable degree checked by his comparatively enlightened policy; but no sooner was he succeeded, in 1819, by Liho Liho, than they were not only systematized in the most cruel manner, but accompanied by incidental evils fully as fatal as themselves. That thoughtless and dissipated youth surrendered his father's monopoly to individual chiefs, who knew as little of wisdom as they did of mercy; to hard-hearted oligarchs, in whose eyes satins and velvets, china and plate, wines and sweetmeats, were infinitely more precious commodities than the lives of serfs. Under the new order of things, the men were driven like cattle to the hills, to every cleft in the rocks that contained a sapling of the sacred fuel; while, through the consequent neglect of agriculture and the fisheries, the women and children, without the controlling power either of social decencies or of domestic affections, were left to snatch from each other, the strong from the weak and the weak from the helpless, such miserable pittances as rapacious tyrants and hungry thralls were likely to spare for idle mouths. Never was the force of the psalmist's curse, "Set thou an ungodly man to be ruler over him," more clearly illustrated.

Happily, however, the calamities, which once so fearfully thinned the adult population, contained in themselves the seeds of their own cure. Kamehameha's wars established universal and perpetual peace; and the almost utter extirpation of the sandal-wood divested the chiefs of their principal motive for withdrawing their vassals from the ordinary tasks of procuring and preparing the means of human subsistence.

To return to the consideration of the present time, there are two causes which still continue, though in very unequal proportions, to poison the sources of national life; a spirit, or at least a practice, of emigration among the men, and the depravity of the women. With regard to the first point, about a thousand males in the very prime of life are estimated annually to leave the islands, some going to California, others to the Columbia, and many on long and dangerous voyages, particularly in whaling vessels, while a considerable portion of them are said to be permanently lost to their country, either dying during their engagements, or settling in other parts of the world.

Though this constant drain doubtless has, and, in fact, must have, an unfavourable influence on the annual increase of the people, yet, as it diminishes the number of adults at least as certainly, if not so extensively, as of children, it accounts, only in a very trifling degree, for the disproportion between the old and the young; while, at the same time, the census of 1840 shows either that the cause is exaggerated, or that its effects are overrated; for, in the four districts aforesaid of Kauai, the taxable men, as distinguished from old men, and the taxable women, as similarly distinguished, were respectively 2,784, and 2,213; the former bearing to the latter a ratio somewhat higher than that of five to four. On the second, therefore, of the two causes mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, the depravity of the women must mainly rest the blame of poisoning the sources of national life; and, unfortunately, it is but too able to bear the burden. Speaking of the mass, the females of the Sandwich Islands are worthy representatives of those of their sex who, after Cook's death, witnessed with indifference from the ships the slaughter of their countrymen and friends; while, as if still more unequivocally to evince their want of feeling, they pronounced the conflagration of the neighbouring village to be "a very fine sight." In fact, this comparison, so far as the story has just been told, involves a libel on the dead; for, as they were not necessarily the mothers of any of those whose miseries they mocked, they might still have possessed, when occasion should draw it forth, that maternal love which palpably finds no home in the bosoms of their descendants.

To say nothing of such things as infanticide, and that, too, in its most appalling form of living burial, or of artificial abortion, with its consequent sterility, the mothers of the Sandwich Islands indulge in the lesser abominations of exchanging children, and of allowing pet puppies to share Nature's food with the offspring of their own wombs,—the latter habit strongly contrasting in motive with an incident of the kind mentioned by Baron Wrangell, in the case of an aboriginal woman of Siberia, who, after a season of great mortality among the sledge-dogs, suckled two young ones, the sole remains of her husband's team, to be the germ of a new stock. So far from wondering at the numerical deficiency of the rising generation, we ought rather to be surprised that there is a rising generation at all in a country where women regard their own infants and those of others with equal affection, and lavish on either far less of their fondness than on the progeny of one of the lower animals.

Previously to the discovery, it is true, the women (the fair reader must really pardon the expression) were the same devils in human shape; and yet the work of depopulation had not then begun. Down to that epoch, *however, the disposition of the sex was controlled*, singularly enough, by a state of war, as it has, since that time, been developed, at least as singularly, by the beginnings of civilization.

As there were constant rivalries not only between the different islands but also between the different sections of each island, every chief had a direct interest in increasing the number of his dependents, and in maintaining them in a condition fit for service; and he had, therefore, a motive, such as was level to the most untutored capacity, for generally acting as the father of his people. If his vassals were made to labour, they produced or collected the necessaries of life, the only wealth then known; if he exacted from them a share of the fruits of their toil, he kept open hospitality for all comers. In a word, each little community had for its common object the supply of the common wants. This state of things, now so obsolete as to look like a romance, is shadowed forth in the following short specimen of the ancient songs—a funeral wail for a departed leader:

Alas! Alas! dead is my chief,
Dead is my lord and my friend;
My friend in the season of famine,
My friend in the time of drought;
My friend in poverty,
My friend in the rain and the wind,
My friend in the heat and the sun,
My friend in the cold from the mountain,
My friend in the storm,
My friend in the calm,
My friend in the eight seas;
Alas! Alas! gone is my friend,
And no more will return.

In those times, the influence of the chief was, of course, powerfully directed towards the rearing of children, while the abundance of food was such as seldom to bring the mother's personal convenience into collision with her feudal duty. Soon, however, peace and commerce, which casually came hand in hand, wrought a change somewhat analogous to that which similar causes gradually produced in the wilder parts of Scotland. The rank and safety of the chief no longer depended on the number and efficiency of his followers, while, in order to purchase the luxuries of civilization, he filched from them their necessaries of life, or, as in the case of the sandal-wood, screwed out of them that labour which ought to have supplied the simple wants of themselves and their families. In the consequent struggle for food, women, if they had failed to stifle life in their wombs, regarded their infants as intruders; and, without waiting for that extremity of famine which more than once made the daughters of the most enlightened city of the times devour their own offspring, they deliberately and systematically got rid of their unbidden guests, merely as a matter of general precaution; while, in the taxation of every head on the part of the merciless oligarchs, fathers as well as mothers were furnished with a still more definite motive for regarding their little ones as natural enemies.

But the result, as stated by one of the missionaries, is far more conclusive than any language of mine. In 1824, Mr. Stuart wrote thus: "We have the clearest proof, that in those parts of the islands where the influence of the mission has not yet extended, two thirds of the infants born perish by the hands of their own parents before attaining the first or second year of their age." Since that time, it is true, the tyranny of the chiefs has been limited and mitigated by law, though perhaps more decidedly in theory than in practice; but still the taxation, which will be detailed hereafter, is high enough to leave parent and child at issue in the grand business of keeping body and soul together; and, even without reference to any public exactions, the general diffusion of a taste for foreign finery brings the infant into competition, too often, I fear, into hopeless competition, with such merely external symbols of civilization as shoes, and gowns, and bonnets. But, in addition to all this, civilization has an account of much longer standing to settle. The original discoverers introduced a certain malady which, though prevented by the matchless salubrity of the climate from destroying adults, tends to poison the springs of life almost as effectually as the system of artificial abortion. If the latter permanently incapacitates a woman for becoming a mother, the former brings the infant into the world with its sentence of speedy death engraven in its very constitution.

Viewed, therefore, by itself, civilization has been, and still continues to be, a cankerworm, to prey on the population of the group. When a superior race, without fraud or violence, plants its thousands where an inferior race could hardly maintain its hundreds, nothing but the mere mawkishness of sentimentality could attempt to avert or retard the change; but there is something truly deplorable in the reflection that, in this archipelago, civilization is sweeping the aborigines from the land of their fathers, without placing in their stead others better than themselves. If there be any truth in the preceding paragraphs, which the paramount importance of the subject has induced me to extend far beyond my original intention, the principal measure for preserving the native population—indispensable even to the white colonist as the only means of supplying him with labourers—appears to be the elevation of the female character. Now, there are only two instruments by which this elevation can possibly be effected, Christianity and public opinion,—the attempt, such as has been made, to eulist pecuniary penalties in so sacred a cause, involving not merely a blunder but a crime.

In a climate which ripens girls of eight or nine into womanhood, how cruel, how preposterous, how futile, to expect from the terrors of the law any other fruits than the ingrafting of hypocrisy on licentiousness, the stifling of evidence by such means as may almost be said to anticipate puberty by barrenness! But the penal regulations against that intercourse between the sexes, which has been so common that chastity has no name in the language, are, in themselves, as repugnant to the spirit of Christianity as they are, in their consequences just mentioned, subversive of the influence of public opinion. Considering the gross ignorance of the people, there can be but little doubt that the practice of exacting money for offences which Christianity alone has, in their notions, created and defined, has the same practical tendency as that system of indulgences which Luther reprobated; in a word, the seventh commandant and its human sanctions are doubtless blended together by the islanders into something very different from the peremptory simplicity and conscious dignity of the

Divine command. "Thou shalt not commit adultery—*at least without paying down so many pieces of silver*"—is a precept which, whether viewed as a license or as a threat, degrades religion, without even the poor pretext of rendering it popular. This desecration of the decalogue, strange to say, was virtually the work of the earlier missionaries, however ingeniously they played the part of special pleaders in refuting the accusation. If they did not frame the absurd laws in question, they sanctioned them when framed; if they did not dictate the words, they inculcated the principles; if they did not mould the letter, they suggested the spirit. The sooner the missionaries get rid of such doubtful aids, so much the better for the cause to which they are, I firmly believe, most zealously devoted; and, even without reference to religion, they ought, on the mere score of morality, to discountenance a penal system, in spite of which, or, as many assert, in consequence of which, infanticide, at least in the same proportion in which it may itself have been diminished, has been succeeded by that surer mode of cheating the treasury which, in destroying the life of one child, prevents the birth of others by undermining the mother's constitution.

If it be true—and it appears to be undeniably so—that the depopulation of the group is mainly to be imputed to physical privations acting on moral depravity, the enforcing of the seventh commandment by means of extortion could hardly fail to aggravate the evil which it pretended to remedy. With respect to moral depravity, the law, as we have seen, has rather altered its direction than its essence; while, with regard to physical privations, it exposes, at a moderate computation, more than half the islanders of either sex to the chance of paying, in a month, as many fines as may be equivalent in amount to the taxes of a year. Instead of thus embittering the malady, which is eating its way into the very existence of the people, let the missionaries weary their zeal in kindling the flame of pure and undefiled religion in the female heart; in humanizing, by means of the gospel, the dispositions of those who may be said, in a subordinate sense, to control the issues of national life and death. If many of the transgressors are too young to be permanently affected by merely spiritual considerations, let the women of maturer age be taught to bring to bear on youthful females in general, and on their own daughters in particular, the influence of education and example. In a word, let the reign of terror pass away; and let "persuasion do the work of fear."

On this point, the past experience of the mission is full of hope for the future. Though the women, as being, of course, the grand agents in the systematic work of quenching infant lives, are naturally more callous and obdurate than the men, yet they have exhibited far brighter and more numerous proofs of that change of heart, which is the single end and aim of pure Christianity. To say nothing of such female chiefs as possessed political power, inasmuch as their religious zeal was, more or less, liable to the suspicion of being a political instrument, Kekupuohe, who, in Cook's days, was one of the wives of the King of Hawaii, and who was subsequently made captive by

Kamehameha, evinced the sincerity of her conversion, which took place in 1828, by learning to read, under the weight of more than fourscore years, and by inditing hymns in honour of the God of her old age. I subjoin a version of her ode on the creation :—

God breathed into the empty space,
And widely spread his power forth—
The spirit flying, hovered o'er:

His power grasped the moveable—it was fast;
The earth became embodied,
The islands also rose.
God made this wide, extended heaven;
He made the heavens long, long ago;
He dwelt alone, Jehovah by himself—
The Spirit with him.

He fixed the Sun his place,
But the islands moved, moved the islands,
With sudden, noiseless, silent speed:
We see not his skilful work—
God is the great support that holds the earth.

LANGUAGE.

Perhaps as good a specimen of the native tongue as I can produce is to be found in the following effusion of the venerable poetess just mentioned :—

Ahiai no o ikea ka mea nani,
He mea kupanaha, he hemolele wale no,
He mohala ka nani, he mae ole ke ano;
He hao ke kumu, he miliohe, he hookuhi:
Hookahi no kumu waina maoli, O ka haku.

O ka lala e piliana ia ia, ua hua ia,
Ua hua hoi ka hua, he maikai
Malaila ke ano e akaka ai,

O ka lala e hookamakamani ana ooki aku,
O luuluu hewa ke kumii,
O kaumaha hewa wale hoi ia ia.

Once only hath that appeared which is glorious—
It is wonderful, it is altogether holy;
It is a blooming glory; its nature is unwithering;
Rare is its stock, most singular, unrivalled—
One only true vine—it is the Lord.

The branch that adheres to it becomes fruitful—
The fruit comes forth fruit; it is good fruit—
Whence its character is clearly made known.
Let the branch merely making fair show be cut off,
Lest the stock should be injuriously encumbered,
Lest it be also by it wrongfully burdened.

The characteristic feature of these verses, and, in fact, of all the poetry and prose in the language, is a childish taste for the repeating of the same thought in nearly the same words — a taste which appears, moreover, to have exercised a powerful influence over the forms of very many individual words. Thus *palapala*, books; *lumeelumee*, to shampoo; *mukeemukee*, lore; *loulou*, a trial of strength by hooking the fingers; *kulakulai*, wrestling in the sea; *honuhonu*, swimming with the hands alone. Whether the halves of these double words are generally significant themselves, or whether, in such cases, the wholes generally derive their meaning from the parts, I cannot say—my only elements of knowledge in the matter being, that, while *moku* is an island, or a ship, or a canoe, *mokumoku* is pugilism; that, while *la* is the sun, *lala* is a branch; and that, while *kamehameha* is the lonely one, *kameha-*

malu is the shade of the lonely one. Portions of words, too, often present similar repetitions;—thus, Honolulu, and several instances in the foregoing hymn.

Perhaps this immediate recurrence of the same sounds may be partly owing to the poverty of the alphabet, which contains only twelve letters—a, e, i, o, u, h, k or t, l or r, m, n, p, w; the vowels being sounded, not as in the English, but as in the Italian; while it may also be, in some measure, ascribed to the paucity of combinations, arising from the inadmissibility of two consonants in succession, and from the necessity of terminating every word with a vowel.

The various peculiarities of this last paragraph, some of which have been noticed under a former head, may be best illustrated by the native forms of such European words as have been adopted into the language. Thus, hymn, *himeni;* Britain, *Beritane;* pray, *pule;* school, *kula;* in addition to others already mentioned, such as fashion, *pakena;* missionary, *mikaneri;* and consul, *konakele.* Though these examples are sufficient to show how glibly the alleged prevalence, as formerly noticed, of consonants in much of the Malayan tongue may have been softened down, yet others, of a more decisive character, may be cited with more particular reference to that point. Thus, England has become *Enelani*, the proportion of consonants being diminished more than threefold; and French has been disguised into *Pulani*, the proportion of consonants being diminished precisely fivefold.

If foreign words were largely incorporated, different originals would inevitably produce confusion, by running into one and the same version. Of this possibility, in fact, an amusing instance has already actually occurred. Brandy, as well as French, has been legitmately rendered into *pulani;* so that French brandy, by the by, would be characteristically expressed, on the principle of repetition, by *Pulani pulani.* Now, brandy and catholicism, known as the French religion, or *pule Pulani*, happened to be forced on the islands by a ship of war on one and the same occasion; and the missionaries, who were as hostile to the one as to the other, were not a little delighted to find that popery and intemperence were one and the same thing in the mouths of the people.

Considering the harlequin-like transmutations of adopted words, and considering also the mutual convertibility of *k* and *t*, and of *l* and *r*, an inexhaustible field is laid open for the speculations of any curious linguist. Even without looking below the surface, several obvious resemblances between the Hawaiian on the one hand, and the Latin and the Greek on the other, have been suggested to me. Thus, *mouna*, a mountain, from *mons; pari*, a wall-like precipice, from *paries; hala*, a house, from *aula; pono*, good, from *bonus:* and thus, also, *mele*, a song, from μελος; *aroha*, love, from εραω; *arii*, a war-chief, from Αρης; *pili*, close-adhering as a friend, from Οιλεω; *Pele*, goddess of the great volcano, from πυς, precisely in the same way as *kona*KELE, from *cons*UL; *ua*, rain from νω; and *rani*, the heavens, from ουρανος. One of these eleven examples, namely, *hula*, may perhaps be more directly derived from our vernacular *hall*, while to the same Teutonic origin may also be referred *kai* or *tai*, the sea, from *sea*, and *mahina*, the moon, from *moon*, a term which, besides being traceable eastward in some of the oriental languages, occurs also, with the correlative signification of month, in the Greek *μην*, and the Latin *mensis*.

To return to the general characteristics of the language, the indistinctness and confusion which arise from the scantiness of its elements, and its consequent repetition of the same sounds, are considerably aggravated by the copiousness of the vocabulary,—a copiousness which is said to have been, in a great measure, caused by the pride and policy of the chiefs, who habitually invented new words for their own peculiar use, and constantly replaced them, as soon as they became familiar to the people, with other novelties of the same kind. Under all these circumstances, to say nothing of the intricacy and precision of the grammar, a foreigner can never hope entirely to master the tongue; and even the missionaries, in spite of all their industry and zeal, often find their ears at fault, more particularly when the natives, as is their custom in cracking their jokes at the expense of strangers, chant their barely articulate strings of vowels in a quick and monotonous strain. As to the mercantile residents, they are sometimes mortified to find their most elegant Hawaiian received by the natives as pure English. Even among themselves, the natives, I apprehend, must experience an occasional difficulty in understanding each other; for, to take as an instance a word containing both the indefinite consonants, one person may say *kalo*, another *karo*, a third *talo*, and a fourth *taro*, while a fifth and a sixth may straddle the fence, as Jonathan says, so nicely between *k* and *t*, and between *l* and *r*, as to set all civilized orthography at defiance. Hence the various forms of almost every native name as put into shape by voyagers and others, such as *Titeree* and *Kahekili*, *Timoree* and *Kaumualii*, *Terenoui* and *Kealiihonui*. The missionaries indeed have introduced something like a uniform standard into their printed books, preferring *k* to *t*, and *l* to *r;* but most of the natives, if they can be supposed to aim at this standard at all, resemble, in their efforts, so many prattling children of two years of age.

With respect to the formation of compounds, the Hawaiian appears to be nearly as flexible as the Greek, a property of which the names of the chiefs furnish many apposite examples. Thus, *keopuolani*, the gathering of the heavens; *kapiolani*, the captive of heaven; *kaahumanu*, the feather mantle; *kalakua*, the way of the gods; *Lealeahoka*, the necklace of stars; *kamehamalu*, the shade of the lonely one. By the by, *kamehameha*, of which the last-mentioned example is a compound, suggests a curious coincidence between the name and the destiny of the great king of the islands. It may have been applied to him on account of some peculiarity in his condition, such as his being an only child, or an only surviving child,—a sense in which, unfortunately at the present time, the group contains many a "lonely one;" but had not the name been recorded as far back as the days of Cook, it might have been supposed to have been assumed, in consequence of his conquests, to embody the fact that he was monarch, or sole ruler, of all he surveyed; that he had raised himself above all equality, that he stood alone in his own little world. In a better sense, too, than that of warlike renown or political supremacy, Kamehameha was "the lonely one" of his country, having, as we have already seen, been the single savage of the group, who, in his intercourse with strangers, abjured the falsehood, the treachery, and the cruelty of his race. If any individual be disposed to charge me with too frequently dwelling on the merits of this gallant and sagacious barbarian, let him first reflect how few members of civilized society overcome, or attempt to overcome, the prejudices, whether political or religious, of early education.

To return to the language: it may, on the whole, be considered as pleasing and agreeable to the ear after a time, though at first it sounds childish, indistinct, and insipid. It lacks, as a matter of course, every thing like force or expression; and though the natives, both men and women, are fond of "speechifying," and even of preaching, yet they are by no means to be compared as orators with the aborigines of North America. While the natives of the continent, more particularly on the east side of the mountains, pour forth their very hearts in impetuous torrents of natural eloquence, the islanders may be said rather to chatter with their lips; and while the former are so famous for the boldness of their metaphors, the latter, even in their attempts at poetry, speak sober prose, without knowing it, from beginning to end. In short, the language is not capable of reaching the lofty strain of the Blackfeet, the Crees, or the Saulteaux, but flows on in a mellifluous feebleness, which, though it never offends the ear, always leaves it unsatisfied.

But the Hawaiian is no longer the exclusive language of the natives. English is daily becoming more familiar to them, being partly acquired in conversation, and partly taught in schools. It is, in fact, destined, ere long, to be the vernacular tongue of the group. It must advance as civilization advances, and the more rapidly the better; for nothing else is so likely to promote that amalgamation of the European and Polynesian races, which can alone prevent the aborigines, if they are at all rescued from the decay that threatens them, from sinking into the condition of hewers of wood and drawers of water.

At first, perhaps, the missionaries could not avoid adopting the Hawaiian language; but, in their exclusive use of it, they have, in the opinion of most of the foreign residents, done more harm than good. In the almost utter absence of native literature, the missionaries have operated on the national mind only through the medium of laborious and expensive translations,—a system which has, doubtless, had this recommendation in their eyes, that it enabled them to exercise a censorship, such as neither pope nor emperor ever exercised, over the studies of their neophytes. Whether they have ever abused this power, either in politics or in religion, I at present offer no opinion; but its mere existence assimilates the Protestantism of the Sandwich Islands, at least in kind if not in degree, to that very Catholicism of California, which the missionaries of the group are so ready to decry,—the proselytes, in either case, being subject to a tutelage, which does not even profess to train them to think for themselves. But it is not the studies only of the islanders that have been placed under clerical censorship,—their food, their customs, their amusements, &c., having all shared the same fate.

FOOD.

Under the old heathenism of the islands, the law of eating was a most complex and important affair. To say nothing of occasional and temporary prohibitions, it reserved the best of every thing for the chiefs, as distinguished from the people—and for the males, as distinguished from the females; and it, moreover, extended the privileges of its favourites to the very places where they ate. Of the law in question, every violation was a capital crime. It was death for a commoner to drink awa, or for a woman to taste a cocoa-nut; it was death for a serf to intrude on the banquet of his lord, or for a wife to enter her husband's dining-room. A system which thus proscribed females, in a country where they were as competent as males to be chiefs in their own right, could not long withstand the light of civilization. Accordingly, soon after the discovery, the taboos in question began to be relaxed and slighted, families gradually presumed to take their meals together, and women plucked up courage to nibble at cocoa-nuts. Still the law remained in force, for Kamehameha could not think of deserting, in his old age, the gods who had crowned his youth with victory; and so late as 1819, the last year of his reign, a woman was actually put to death for invading the sanctity of her husband's eating-house. In the very first year, however, after his death, the taboos on eating were abolished, chiefly through the instrumentality, as might have been expected, of a female chief. Kaahumanu, the conqueror's favourite wife, having been left as a kind of guardian or co-regent of Liho Liho, gave the young king no peace till he annulled the religion of his fathers, by publicly eating with his queens, the rickety machine of the national idolatry falling to pieces on the removal of a single peg.

Practically, however, the common people did not find that food was free; for, though superstition was no longer the pretext, yet they were still stinted and starved as before by the tyranny of their chiefs. In process of time, moreover, a new taboo was invented by the missionaries, and that, too, on grounds almost as absurd and untenable as those on which the old taboo had rested. Laying down religious rules, of which the inspired volume knew as little as it knew of the traditions of Catholicism, which they delighted to revile, the earlier missionaries "denounced" coffee, put a stopper on tobacco, and carried on a holy war against cooking on Sunday, and against all the aiders and abettors of the same. Such arbitrary doctrines were, of course, set at nought by the foreign residents. But the police, who were not allowed, like the cooks and scullions, to enjoy a day of rest, were sometimes too vigilant for the white law-breakers; and, on one occasion, the British Consul found, on his return from church, that the enemy had seized and confiscated every thing that was guilty of being hot in his kitchen. Still, public opinion and common sense triumphed, at last, in favour of folks of every colour.

The principal food of the lower class of the population—and, in fact, the favourite food of all classes—is *poi*, which deserves especial notice, as exacting from the natives, in its preparation, a degree of labour, attention, and diligence, which would alone entitle them to be reckoned as industrious. It is a sort of paste made from the root of the *kalo* (arum esculentum), a water-plant cultivated to a great extent throughout all the islands. The root in question much resembles the beet, excepting that it is not red but brown. It is reared in small enclosures, which, with great care and labour, are embanked all round, and constantly covered with six or eight inches of water; for, like rice, the kalo will not flourish in dry land. To insure a regular supply of the requisite element, streams are brought in aqueducts from the hills, and subdivided into a variety of tiny canals; while each canal feeds a certain number of patches, communicating with each other by means of sluices. On certain days, perhaps once or twice a week, the sluices are opened, and the patches of the system are overflowed, so that the water is prevented from becoming stagnant; a precaution which, besides its fertilizing effects, is necessary for warding off fevers, and other maladies, in a climate so warm and so free from storms. But, not contented with mere utility, the natives, after all the labour of cultivation and irrigation, often contrive to render the patches in question ornamental. In the neighbourhood of Honolulu, where the kalo is grown to a great extent, the patches are surrounded by a low wall, which is lined with various shrubs and trees, such as the sugar-cane, the banana, and the drooping pandanus, which thrive well in so cool and moist a situation; while the broad arrow-headed leaves of the kalo are in themselves not unpleasing to the eye.

The kalo is much used by the foreign residents as a substitute for potatoes, or rather for bread, being for this purpose either boiled or fried. But, in this case, as in most cases of the kind, the native method of proceeding is the best. A hole dug in the ground receives, first, some red-hot stones; then a covering of leaves of the plant; thirdly, the root in layers; fourthly, another covering of leaves; and, lastly, a sufficient quantity of earth to exclude the air and confine the steam. After a few hours, your kalo is baked, and may either be eaten whole, just as if fried or boiled, or elaborated into *poi*. The preparation of this dish exacts fully as much care and toil as the growth of the raw material. After being cooked in the way just described, the root is beaten into a paste with such an expenditure of labour, that the task is always assigned to the men. This paste, which is of a bluish colour, is invariably put aside to ferment. When it has become sour, it is then fit for use; and then to see the natives eat it, or to hear them speak of it, one cannot but conclude that, in their estimation, it is the greatest luxury in the world. The passion for *poi* pervades all classes, from the king downwards; and the chiefs make no secret of the fact, that, after dining with foreigners on the collected dainties of both hemispheres, they take a little *poi* at home, by way, as they express it, of filling up the corners. Nor is the taste for this delicacy altogether peculiar to the natives. Though white papas and mammas rather frown upon it, as something naughty and barbarous, yet white masters and misses are generally wayward enough to exhibit an extraordinary love for the forbidden fruit, wherever and whenever it falls in their way.

At regular meals, however, *poi* is never eaten alone, at least when the party interested can afford any addition. Happy as an emperor is he, who can flank his gourd of *poi* with a bone of pork. Squatting himself between the two candidates for his favour with as much glee as if the whole of the animal and vegetable kingdoms were his private property, he seizes the bone with one hand, and makes ready the other for an attack on the gourd. With a dexterity which ought to put civilization, with all its clumsy equipage of knives and spoons, to the blush, our enviable friend bites off the smallest possible flavour of the pork, and then, plunging two fingers into the *poi*, juggles, as it were, into his mouth, by means of a knowing jerk of the wrist, as much sour paste as would make three or four spoonfuls, even for the hungriest European. Another bite and another gulp; and "again, again, again, and the havoc does not slack," till the performer is constrained by dire necessity to desist for want of room, and to resign himself, like the boa-constrictor, after dining on a bullock, into the arms of Morpheus.

But *poi* and pork are not the only food of the natives. Of vegetables and fruits, there are yams, sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, bananas, &c.; of these the more palatable are devoured in great quantities, by those who can get them, between meals, and appear, in fact, to go for nothing in the grand business of cramming. Then, of the creatures of the deep, there are the turtle, the dolphin, the flying-fish, the mullet, the rock-cod, the bonetta, the snapper, the crayfish, the pearl-oyster, the shark, &c. These the natives prefer in a raw state, on the ground that they lose their flavour in cooking, considering it as the richest possible treat, when, on their aquatic excursions, to haul a fish from the water, and literally eat it to death; but, as to ourselves, we profited to the utmost by McIntyre's culinary talents, feasting almost constantly on as much turtle as would have made a holiday for the whole court of aldermen. Like the cultivation and preparation of the kalo, the procuring of an adequate supply of fish has tended to train the people to habits of industry, the smaller kinds being kept near the villages in ponds constructed and protected with great diligence and ingenuity. Like the kalo patches, these artificial enclosures are small, being separated from each other by embankments, and supplied with water from a running stream. Towards Waikiki, the road winds, for nearly a mile, among the remains of fish-ponds, now neglected and dilapidated; but, though there abandoned, yet such works are still maintained at Honolulu, regularly furnishing its market with fresh-water mullet. In addition to vegetables, fruits, and fish, there are goats'-flesh, dog, hog, poultry, and beef,—the beef of Kauai, according to Sir Edward Belcher, being superior to any thing of the kind that he had seen out of England.

As Honolulu contains, of course, far more consumers than producers, its necessary wants are supplied from the neighbourhood in a way to be hereafter noticed. The ordinary prices may be quoted as follows:—

Beef .	3*d.* to 4*d.* per lb.	Fowls . . 1*s.* each.
Mutton	5*d.* to 6*d.* „	Turkeys 2*s.* to 4*s.* „
Pork .	1*d.* to 2*d.* „	Salted salmon 50*s.* per barrel.
Sugar .	2*d.* to 2½*d.* „	Flour 60*s.* per 200 lbs.

Fish variable, but always moderate.

Over and above what may be considered as necessaries for the table, the group in general, and Honolulu in particular, is supplied, in an eminent degree, with nearly all the luxuries of every clime. At the feasts of the foreign residents, champagne and claret flow with lavish hospitality, while the lighter and rarer viands of every name are brought direct from the richest countries on the globe,—from England and France, from the United States and Mexico, from Peru and Chili, from India and China. In fact, such sumptuousness of living as we experienced, day after day, from our numerous friends, is perhaps not to be found any where out of London, and even there is seldom found in all its unadulterated genuineness.

Nor are the principal natives of Honolulu far behind the respectable foreigners in this matter. In proof of their advance in material civilization, let me contrast an instance of royal gastronomy, recorded by the Rev. Mr. Stewart twenty years ago, with an evening in my own banqueting experience, spent at Governor Kekuanaoa's.

Having visited Liho Liho along with Mrs. Stewart, the journalist thus proceeds: "Pauahi, the only one of his queens who had accompanied him from Oahu, was seated, *à la Turc*, on the ground, with a large wooden tray in her lap. Upon this, a monstrous cuttle-fish had just been placed, fresh from the sea, and in all its life and vigour. The queen had taken it up with both hands, and brought its body to her mouth; and, by a single application of her teeth, the black juices and blood with which it was filled gushed over her face and neck, while the long sucking arms of the fish, in the convulsive paroxysm of the operation, were twisting and writhing about her head like the snaky hairs of a Medusa. Occupied as both hands and mouth were, she could only give us the salutation of a nod. It was the first time either of us had ever seen her majesty; and we soon took our departure, leaving her, as we found her, in the full enjoyment of the luxurious luncheon."

Now for Kekuanaoa's supper. We were received by the Governor in his hall of justice, an apartment large enough for the church of a considerable parish, being sixty feet long, thirty broad, and about thirty-five or forty feet high, to the ridge pole of the roof. We there found assembled to meet us, Dr. Judd, surgeon of the missionary body, and three native chiefs, Paki, Kealiiahonui, and Kanaina; the first two of the three, as well as his Excellency himself, being remarkably tall and handsome men. In his youth, Kealiiahonui was, according to the Rev. Mr. Stewart, a perfect model of manly beauty. He is son of Kaumualii, the last king of Kauai, who was, in mind as well as body, one of the finest specimens of the race, and died in captivity at the court of Liho Liho. Kealiiahonui and his father, after the loss of their dominions, enjoyed the honour of being joint husbands of Queen Dowager Kaahumanu, already mentioned as co-regent of the kingdom, after her first lord's death; polygamy and incest powerfully aiding, in this case as in many other cases, the policy of engrafting every rival into the dominant family of Kamehameha. The remaining chief, Kanaina, was husband of the present co-regent, a sister of the king; but it was questionable how long he was to possess that high distinction, for he was said to have come to Honolulu to stand his trial for being a gallant, gay Lothario, with a view to his being divorced. But, as he was small, and for a chief, utterly puny, there were not wanting charitable souls who asserted that his royal consort did not much regret the painful necessity of shaking off a partner whose bulk and weight did so little to recommend him, and who farther insinuated that she was merely making a vacancy for the relict of Kinau, her sister and her predecessor in the co-regency, old Kekuanaoa himself.

The chiefs were all handsomely attired in the Windsor uniform, their clothes fitting to a hair's breadth: so particular, indeed, are the aristocracy in this respect, that they have imported a tailor from England for their own exclusive benefit. Supper being announced, the chiefs, each taking one or two of our party by the arm, conducted us across an open area to another apartment of considerable size, built in the European fashion, and handsomely furnished with tables, buffets, chairs, sofas, &c., the whole, or nearly the whole, being of native wood and native workmanship. The main table would have done no discredit to a London mansion, covered, as it was, with glass and plate, and lighted with elegant lamps. The fare was very tempting. It consisted of fruits of all kinds, sweetmeats, pastry, Chinese preserves, &c., with excellent tea and coffee; the latter, which had been grown in Woahoo by the governor himself, being fully equal to Mocha. Our plates, by the by, had been marked with our names, and we had been told to take our seats accordingly, his Excellency sitting at one side among his guests. In fact, the whole proceedings blended the most punctilious regard to etiquette with the cordiality of natural politeness, beating out and out and over again all that we had seen in

California, in every respect, in room, in furniture, in equipage, in viands, in cookery, and in dress. Nor were our native companions themselves so decidedly inferior as civilized vanity might fancy. The chiefs, especially our host, were men of excellent address; and, as they spoke English enough to be understood, we soon forgot that we were sipping our coffee in a country which is deemed uncivilized, and among individuals who are classed with savages.

There were but few incongruities in the course of the evening's entertainment, such as could at all mar the effect, excepting that Kanaina frequently inquired with much solicitude, as if he felt that he must soon be in the market for a new wife, whether or not we thought his whiskers handsome; and excepting also that, on going into an adjoining apartment, we caught a glimpse of a pair of legs just disappearing beneath the hangings of a fine bed. The legs in question some of our connoisseurs pronounced to be the property of a young lady; but, be this as it may, Kekuanaoa is hardly ever to be seen, whether at home or abroad, whether under a roof or in the open air, whether on the land or on the water, without a bevy of beauties, who hang about him like his shadow, without appearing to discharge any very definite or important functions. After chatting a good deal and smoking a few cigars, we took our leave, highly gratified with the hospitality and courtesy of the governor and his friends.

Nor was this our only specimen of the amelioration of the social habits of the higher classes. During our sojourn, the governor and his chiefs favoured us with their company at dinner. They conducted themselves with ease and propriety, having now laid aside the habits of intemperance in which their order was wont to indulge, as also the peculiar style of conversation to which such habits generally led. Formerly, it was a critical business to entertain the grandees in presence of ladies; for, as soon as the wine began to do its work, they would gradually become more amatory in their remarks than was either agreeable or safe.

To finish this subdivision of the chapter, the white residents generally condescend to adopt the native cookery to a certain extent in their picnic parties, characterizing, in fact, such convivialities by the name *luau*, the vernacular word for the hole or pit which serves the purpose of an oven. In these cases, the presiding genius is a hog, or a dog, or a turkey, or a goat, or, peradventure, a fowl or a fish, baked in the manner already described with respect to the kalo, excepting that, in addition to the hot stones in the pit, the creature has two or three such articles in its belly. These parties, however, are not so fashionable as they once were. Nor is this much to be regretted; for the baked animal was perhaps less of an attraction than its liquid trimmings; and certain it is, the gentlemen, on their return, required all their legs and eyes to steer clear of the cold baths which beset them on every side in the shape of kalo patches.

HOUSES.

The dwellings of the natives are extremely neat and clean, both internally and externally; and, setting aside the residences of some of the great people, they have undergone very little change, excepting perhaps in dimensions, since the days of the discovery. They are constructed of a framework of bamboos, covered with grass; and, as the roofs are high and pointed, and the walls present no other opening than a single door, the whole thing looks, from every side but one, more like a hay-rick than anything else. The interior, however, generally has a remarkably tidy appearance; the regularity of the framework, and, still more strikingly, of the knots with which the grass is made to keep its place, have a pleasing and pretty effect, while the uniform brown of the structure looks cool and refreshing to the eye.

The furniture is very simple, though generally sufficient for the wants of the inmates in such a climate. The floor, being merely the bare earth, is covered with straw mats, while low piles of the same articles, often furnished with sheets, coverlets, and pillows, constitute at once beds and bedsteads. The rest of the furniture is comprised in a few gourds and calabashes for food and water, and in a box or two, and a shelf for the stowage of all their little odds and ends.

The houses are commonly separated into sleeping and sitting compartments, by means of curtains hung across from wall to wall; but every thing, whether exposed to view or not, whether within the house itself or merely within the surrounding enclosure, is scrupulously clean and neat, presenting, in this respect, a wonderful contrast with the filth and confusion of most of the native lodges of the continent. At whatever time of the day we dropped into a house, we found no difference in any of these particulars; there was never any unpleasant smell about the premises, all the refuse of fish, vegetables, &c. being regularly carried to a distance. In fact, so far as my experience has gone, cleanliness may be ranked among the cardinal virtues of the Sandwich Islanders; for the scorpions and centipedes, with which some of the houses absolutely swarm, it appears to be almost impossible to keep out or to get rid of. Musquitoes, though numerous, are not indigenous, having been imported from California—one of the best authenticated instances on record of the emigration of these tiny tormentors of man and beast.

From the foregoing description, the houses are in themselves evidently light and portable; and, as they have no more hold of the ground than a beehive, they are, in point of fact, moved about from place to place, as we had several opportunities of observing, with very little trouble. To the end of a good hawser, which is tied round the lower part of the mansion, there hang on some twenty or thirty "kanakas,"—who, with one of their wild, cheerful songs, whisk away the concern to its new home as easily as if they were towing a ship through the harbour to her moorings,—a most convenient and economical receipt for the opening and widening of streets and squares.

Some of the chiefs, as we have already seen in our account of Kekuanaoa's feast, have had houses built in the European fashion, the materials being, according to circumstances, wood, or adobes, or limestone, or coral. But, with their characteristic ingenuity in the financial department, they have contrived to extract the cost of most of these more solid edifices out of the pockets of the public in general, and of their own dependants in particular. Elsewhere, the expense of house-warming falls on the man who is to enjoy the edifice; but your Hawaiian house-warmer permits no one, on any pretext, to cross the threshold of his new snuggery for the first time, till his visitor has paid down a tax, or gift, call it what you will, proportioned to his rank and means. Considering how convenient, or how agreeable, it is to be on visiting terms with a great man, the contributions in question have often run up to a respectable amount; and, perhaps, in places nearer home, a leader of the fashionable world might build himself a residence for nothing, and pocket money into the bargain, if only he could or would sell the *entrée*, on the Hawaiian principle, to all comers.

DRESS.

In the days of heathenism, the ordinary apparel of the natives of all classes was as primitive as possible, being a *malo* of the scantiest conceivable dimensions for the men, and a *pau*, or very, very shallow petticoat for the women; and, in this state of nudity, the highest chiefs of either sex used to board the foreign vessels without ceremony or apology. Though the more wealthy members of the community possessed, long before the introduction of Christianity, plenty of fine clothes, yet they regarded them as merely ornamental—as something which was as little necessary on the score of modesty as in point of comfort, as a kind of tatoo that could be put on or taken off at pleasure.

The only other garment in general use,—and this did not much mend the matter,—was the *kapa*, which was merely a square piece of native cloth, tied by the two upper corners in a large bow near the right shoulder, and hanging loosely behind half way down the legs,—a *facsimile*, in short, excepting as to the fabric, of the Spanish cloak of the days of Charles the First.

All these habiliments used to be made of the native cloth,—the *kapa*, in fact, deriving its name from the same; the process of manufacturing and colouring it I shall describe hereafter. Among the chiefs, however, feather cloaks of a more or less costly description were in high esteem; and perhaps nothing can give a better idea at once of the pomp and power of the native monarchs than the following description of the coronation-cloak of Kamehameha the Great. The description in question is from the calculating pen of one of the missionaries:

"His majesty Kauikeauli, the reigning king, has still in his possession the *mamo*, or feather war-cloak, of his father, the celebrated Kamehameha. It was not completed until his reign, having occupied eight preceding ones in its fabrication. It is four feet in length, with eleven feet and a half spread at the bottom. Its groundwork is a coarse netting, and to this the feathers, which are very small and exceedingly delicate, are skilfully attached, overlapping each other, and forming a perfectly smooth surface. The feathers around the border are reverted, and the whole presents a beautiful bright yellow colour, giving it the appearance of a mantle of gold. Indeed, it would be difficult for despotism to manufacture a richer or more costly garment for its proudest votary. Two feathers only (such as are used wholly in its manufacture) are obtained from under the wings of a rare species of bird inhabiting Hawaii, which is caught alive with great care and toil.

Long poles, with an adhesive matter smeared upon them and well baited, are placed near their haunts. The bird alights upon it, and, unable to disengage itself from the adhesive matter, is secured, the much-prized feathers plucked, and the bird set at liberty. A piece of nankeen, valued at five dollars and a half, was formerly the price of five feathers of this kind. By this estimate, the value of the cloak would equal that of the purest diamonds in the several European regalia; and, excluding the price of the feathers, not less than a million of dollars worth of labour was expended upon it at the present rate of computing wages."

The native attire, as just described, having obviously been quite incompatible with any moral or religious improvement, the missionaries and their wives, immediately on their arrival, set about remedying the crying evil, very properly adopting, in defiance of their instructions, the principle that, in this instance at least, civilization must precede Christianity; and they have been entirely successful in introducing decency, if not modesty, among the females. In Honolulu, the women look as if dressed in the missionary uniform; for, though their gowns differ in colour with every varied hue under the sun, flaming yellow, pure white, bright red, and the like; yet they are, to say nothing of the general sameness of materials, all cast in one mould. They are, in fact, something like bathing-wrappers, coming pretty high on the shoulders, where they are finished off with a fringe, and having sleeves loose and full, like those of a clergyman's surplice, while the body and skirt, in one, hang freely down to the ankles without being confined at the waist. This wrapper, however, constitutes the whole of a woman's daily attire. The feet and ankles are still left in a state of nature, excepting that the tatoo, which, like the touching of noses, has become obsolete for other purposes, continues to be sometimes applied to the ankles, in the idea of making the feet look smaller. The head, again, though not absolutely bare, yet presents, according to the ancient fashion of the Hawaiian beauties, nothing but wreaths of flowers and leaves, and coronets of yellow and red feathers,—ornaments which are all elegant and becoming, and remind one of the convivial costume of classical antiquity.

This description, however true it may be for six days in the week, is totally inapplicable to Sunday. Shoes and stockings, bonnets and parasols, are now in vogue, while the sober chintz is perhaps thrown aside at home, and sees the flaunting silk sail away to church in its stead. Compared with the graceful simplicity of their ordinary costume, all this finery on the part of these brown belles forcibly reminds one of the sentiment, that " beauty, when unadorned, is adorned the most,"—a sentiment, by the by, which they at one time carried to too literal an excess. Their badly-made shoes make their feet look large and clumsy; their flashy bonnets,—just fancy them of white satin, trimmed with lace,—give to their dark complexions a hideously sallow hue; and the attempt at fashion in the cut of their showy robes, joined to the awkward consciousness of being all very grand, completes the burlesque on the English and American ladies of the place.

The men, however, have not proved to be so apt pupils as the women,—the missionary civilizers perhaps having, for very obvious reasons, taken greater pains in the premises with the latter than with the former. Many of the men still swear by the wisdom of their ancestors; and it is no uncommon thing to see a finely-dressed female walking arm in arm with a husband unencumbered in his person with any more of this world's possessions than a *malo* of twelve inches by three. The only constant addition to this scrap of an apology for clothes is the wreath of flowers and leaves, which is worn by the one sex as well as by the other,—a piece of effeminacy which is not without its use, for the ornament in question is generally so arranged as to shade the eyes from the sun. Nor must it be forgotten that the graceful *kapa*, already described, still occasionally forms part of the costume of almost every individual of either sex.

But even among the men there are some exquisites, being chiefly those who have at once enlarged their notions, and saved a little money abroad. These fellows, so long as their cash lasts, lounge and saunter all day in the sunshine, habited in military surtouts, with frogs, &c. all complete, in white trousers, which fit them like their skins, in fashionable boots, in round hats, and in kid gloves of some gay or delicate colour, with their snowy wristbands turned back over their cuffs, the whole dandy being finished off with cane and eye-glass. In process of time, these bucks relapse, as a matter of course, through all the stages of worse-for-the-wearishness, shabbiness, and dilapidation, down to the *malo*, with perhaps a garland on the head and a *kapa* on the shoulders.

In fact, even among the higher classes, the abstract idea of clothes still involves far more of the ornamental than of the useful. Nor ought this to be a subject of wonder. So far as the climate is concerned, raiment is rather a burden than a benefit to the natives; and, as to moral motives, they have hardly any influence with the men, while they have probably less to do with the apparent decency of the women than a love of display. But, whatever may be the cause, the notions of the chiefs, even of the female chiefs, with regard to dress, are very far from being decidedly utilitarian. Witness the following ludicrous and inconvenient appropriation of a whole web of woollen cloth to the wants of a single lady, and that, too, in an atmosphere which would have made a salamander comfortable. At a festival celebrated in 1823, to commemorate the death of Kamehameha, one of the dowager queens—the others, by the by, being pretty well packed also,—sported seventy-two yards of kerseymere, one half of it being scarlet and the other orange; while, as the breadth was doubled on itself, the whole quantity was equivalent to one hundred and forty-four yards of single fold, something, I take it, like the height of St. Peter's at Rome. The only way, of course, in which her majesty could haul in the slack, was to have it wound, like thread on a reel, round her portly waist; and when this process had gone on till her arms were supported in a horizontal position, the remainder was borne, as a train, by her admiring attendants. This martyrdom was endured, within a month of a tropical midsummer, throughout the whole of a tedious and ceremonious procession. Perhaps in more civilized countries, royalty, on occasions of state, is only a gilded weariness both of flesh and spirit.

The inhabitants of a warm climate, as if in imitation of the birds, exhibit in their dress a greater variety of colours than the denizens of colder regions. What a difference in this respect between the variegated dwellers in Honolulu and the dingy citizens of London! The women, presenting to the cloudless sun the countless hues of the flower-garden, form a curiously suggestive contrast with the deep brown of the almost naked men, most of whom might be models for a sculptor; while a small sprinkling of many foreign costumes serves still farther to heighten the beauty and interest of the scene.

APPEARANCE AND DISPOSITION.

In complexion, the natives look like a connecting link between the red man and the negro, being darker than the former, though still removed many degrees from the sooty hue of the latter; they exhibit perhaps about the same tint as the Moors of the north of Africa. In regard to hair also, they occupy the same intermediate position: in all of them it is black; curling, or rather waving and undulating in general, and being long and straight, like the red man's, in some individuals. In feature, they are rather Asiatic than otherwise; nose full without being flat, face broad, eye black and bright. In form, they are commonly handsome, strong, and well limbed, while, in height, they are, in general, something above the average standard of Europeans. On the whole, they are, as a race, considerably above mediocrity, both in face and in person. The women in particular are decidedly pretty. They have a most lively expression of countenance, and are always smiling and attractive; and their figures may even be admitted to be beautiful and feminine, seldom inclining, when young, either to corpulency or to the opposite extreme, limbs and busts well formed, and hands, feet, and ankles, small and delicate, while their gait and carriage, though somewhat peculiar, are yet, on the whole, noble and commanding.

In the foregoing paragraph I have had chiefly the common people in my eye, though all that I have said, excepting in point of size, is equally applicable to the higher classes. The chiefs of either sex, as I have already had occasion to mention with regard to the males, are, with very few exceptions, remarkably tall and corpulent. For this striking peculiarity various reasons may be suggested. Chiefs may originally have been of a superior race,—a supposition which, considering the way in which Polynesia must have been peopled, is not improbable in itself; or they may have always selected the largest women as their wives; or they may themselves have been elevated above their fellows from time to time on account of their gigantic proportions. But, in addition to any or all of these possibilities, one thing is certain, that the easy and luxurious life of a chief has had very considerable influence in the matter; he or she, as the case may be, fares sumptuously every day, or rather every hour, and takes little or no exercise, while the constant habit of being shampooed after every regular meal, and oftener if desirable or expedient, promotes circulation and digestion without superinducing either exhaustion or fatigue. Under this treatment the grandees thrive regularly, and certainly without sacrificing or endangering health; and some of them, more particularly Kuakini, otherwise known as John Adams, Governor of Hawaii; and Kekauluohi, co-regent and wife of our friend Kanaina, have become so unwieldy, that, though otherwise in perfect health, they are yet unable to walk!

Whatever may be the cause or causes of the magnitude of the patricians, the effect itself so seldom fails to be produced, that, beyond all doubt, bulk and rank are almost indissolubly connected together in the popular mind, the great in person being, without the help of a play upon words, great also in power. Hence probably the matrimonial difficulties of poor Kanaina; and hence also the missionaries have certainly not augmented their influence by eating little but vegetables and drinking nothing but tea, till most of them are so meagre, gaunt, and sallow, as to be immediately distinguished by their looks from foreign laymen, whose religion rarely deters them from enjoying good dinners.

To pass from the appearance of the natives to their disposition. Of their domestic habits and feelings I have already said enough in an earlier subdivision of this chapter; and the less frequently that it is repeated, so much the better.

The people, in spite of all that may be inferred to the contrary from their early intercourse with foreigners, are gentle and harmless; most of the outrages, which followed the discovery, having been either prompted by revenge for past wrongs, or enjoined by the cupidity of ambitious and unprincipled chiefs. But, even if they had been wantonly and wilfully treacherous and cruel to strangers, the circumstances of their position would, to a great extent, have accounted for their atrocities; for the inhabitants of inconsiderable islands, who were constantly exposed to invasion without the means of retreat, could not fail to regard the most jealous defence of the definite boundary, which Nature had given them, as a matter of self-preservation,—a principle which goes far to explain the peculiar ferocity of the Polynesians in particular, and of maritime savages in general. In the hands of the chiefs, this principle could at any time have excited the fury of the Hawaiians against the most friendly visitors. In fact, the habit of obedience is so powerful in the great mass of the population, that by their rulers it may be turned at will either to good or to evil; and it is partly by reason of this submissive temper, which always makes them stand by their master to the last, that they form a valuable addition to the crews of whaling-vessels.

Nor is their courage less conspicuous than their fidelity. It is, in truth, above all suspicion; and of this there cannot perhaps be a stronger proof, however indirect it may be, than the fact, that, in their wars, they seldom or never had recourse to artifice or ambuscade. They are, without exception, the most valiant of the Polynesians, being perfect heroes, for instance, in comparison with the natives of the Society Islands; so that, from the lesson lately received at Tahiti, the French may be able to form some faint notion of what an aggressor may expect from the Hawaiians, more particularly when backed by the inaccessible fastnesses of their country. In short, with their fidelity and courage combined, the Sandwich islanders, if officered like our Eastern Sepoys, would, in my opinion, make the finest soldiers of colour in the world.

But perhaps the industry of the natives is the quality which promises to be most conducive to their civilization. A habit, if not a love, of labour has been implanted and cherished in them by a combination of causes more or less peculiar to their condition, which chiefly, if not wholly, resolve themselves into the niggardliness of nature and the despotism of government. While many other Polynesian tribes almost realize the caricature of a copper-coloured gentleman lying on his back under the branches of the bread-fruit, and doing nothing but keep his mouth open to catch the ripe rolls as they fall, the Hawaiians, as we have already had occasion to notice more than once, are compelled by the necessities of nature to earn their food by the sweat of their brow. Witness the construction of their fish-ponds, the preparation of their *poi*, and the cultivation of their *kalo*, with all its incidental toils of digging and embanking the beds, of erecting and maintaining the aqueducts, of fixing and regulating the sluices. So far as the *kalo* and *poi* are concerned, there are some localities, Lahaina, for instance, in Mowee, in which the bread-fruit abounds, while, with a little care and attention, it might be made to grow in all parts of the group; but, whether it be that this ready-made food be here of inferior quality, or that the favourite dish of the natives has become indispensable to them, the bread-fruit is as little valued by the Sandwich islanders, as the *kalo*, which is indigenous in many parts of Polynesia, is valued by the indolent aborigines of the more southern groups.

Nor is the despotism of government less influential in making the people work than the niggardliness of nature. Till very recently, the commoners of this archipelago, like the peasants of France before the Revolution, or of Canada before the conquest, were *taillables et coverables à misericorde*; or, to invent English for the exotic abomination, *taxable and taskable at discretion*, while they were deterred alike from invasion and complaint by a mixture of feudal servility and superstitious terror. But, within the last year or two, certain laws, for their share in which the missionaries deserve great credit, have so far remedied this evil as to subject the amounts and times of tasking and taxing to fixed rules; and though the ascertained burdens are still too heavy and too numerous, comprising work for the immediate chief, work for the king, work for the public, rent for land and a poll-tax on both sexes, yet the restriction in question, if fairly carried into actual effect, will engender in the serf the idea of property, and inspire him at once with the hope and the desire of improving his physical condition by the application of his physical energies. Though, in many quarters of the group, an adequate motive for exertion may not at present be felt, yet, in the neighbourhood of Honolulu, the sustenance of several thousands, who are exclusively consumers, constitutes at once the proof and the recompense of the industry of the adjacent cultivators.

In fact, the demand of the town affords an ample market for the natives of the surrounding country, while there is certainly no reason for the buyers to murmur as to the amount or variety of the supply. In addition to the resources of a stationary market, which is usually well furnished with fish, meat, fruit, &c., the smaller dealers go from house to house to vend their wares; the whole scene, which is quite unique, savouring of anything but indolence on the part of the rural population. Early in the morning, a crowd of natives may be seen flocking into Honolulu, all carrying something to sell. Most of them have large calabashes, suspended in a netting, at each end of a pole, which they carry across one shoulder, the contents being all sorts of small articles, *kalo* and *poi*, and fruits and vegetables, and milk and eggs, and, what is the safest speculation of all, water fresh from the cold atmosphere of the mountains; some of them are loaded with bundles of grass for the town-fed horses; others carry a sucking-pig in their arms, while the more substantial hog-merchants make the adult grunters, always there as well as elsewhere, on the verge of insurrection, trudge along on their own pettitoes; others again import ducks, and fowls, and geese, and turkeys, all alive, tied by the legs to long poles, which are carried like the poles with the calabashes; while, last though not least, a few individuals, of more airy and delicate sentiments, hawk about various kinds of curiosities, such as mats, shells, scorpions, &c.; but, above all, wreaths of bright flowers, intertwined with their kindred leaves, for the beaux and belles of the metropolis.

The sleepless avarice, which here as well as elsewhere has been one of the earliest results of the contact of civilization, lends its aid, too, to strengthen and direct industry—all classes being, as is natural and excusable, ardent worshippers of money, as the one thing needful, in their opinion, for procuring all that distinguishes civilization from barbarism. Several curious instances may be mentioned. When Vancouver brought cattle from California to colonize the islands, he found that Kalaimoku's double canoe was alone capable of taking them ashore; but he found also that Kalaimoku, the highest and most enlightened councillor of the conqueror, and hence surnamed William Pitt, would not lend his double canoe for presenting to his country a gift, which was to enrich it without pay. Again, when one of the boats of Wilkes's squadron was upset in the surf, a native promptly rescued one poor fellow who could not save himself; but, instead of striking out for the dry land, he shelved his dripping and shivering customer, on the upturned bottom of the yawl, to take his choice between promising two dollars for his life, or forthwith returning whence he came. Lastly, during our own sojourn, the American residents took a fancy to have Washington's birthday honoured by a salute from the fort; and Kekuanaoa, instead of refusing on principle or of yielding with a good grace, sold the compliment, after much higgling on both sides about terms, at the rate of half a dollar a gun. I mention these anecdotes, not to reproach any one, but merely to illustrate a characteristic feature in the disposition of partially improved savages—a disposition which necessarily springs from the fact that material civilization is more eagerly appreciated and more easily acquired than moral.

The only bad point in the native character, always excepting, of course, the besetting sin of licentiousness, is a propensity to petty thieving, with the concomitant vice of lying. But, in estimating the guilt of a savage's dishonesty, we ought to take into account the comparatively irresistible force of the temptation. To him, the rudest implements are as attractive as the most precious jewels are to a European; and I doubt much whether a vessel with diamonds all about her deck and cabin would be more sacred in the eyes of even the most select visitors, in one of our own ports, than hatchets, and knives, and nails used to be among the savages of the South Sea. Moreover, it was with the thefts as it was with the murders; the outrages of both descriptions were less the consequence of the offender's own depravity than of his chief's commands; and, long after the pillaging of vessels was abandoned, a professional pilferer was an ordinary appendage of a chief's household, a regular hunter, in short, of all such waifs and strays as might be useful or ornamental to the establishment. But the extortion of the chiefs was alone sufficient to make their vassals thieves. Knowing neither stint nor shame, it coveted all that it saw, and appropriated all that it coveted; and, if the serfs imitated those whom they reverenced, they could not be otherwise than cheats and robbers. Nor had the helpless creatures, under so precarious a tenure of all the fruits of their toil, that selfish motive for honesty, which the possession of property seldom fails to inspire; and now that the limitation of thechief's rights and the vassal's duties has enabled the commoners to have something which they may really call their own, they will gradually discover that the distinction between *meum* and *tuum* is a point of law and morals in which they have a personal interest.

In addition to dishonesty, one might be led to infer, from the rigour with which the missionaries wage war against intemperance, that drunkenness was common among the Hawaiians. Now, so far as my experience has gone, the lower classes are, with very few exceptions indeed, sober even beyond the standard of clerical self-denial, drinking little but water, and rarely indulging in the steaming beverage, "that cheers but not inebriates" their teachers. The chiefs, however, used not only to take wines to excess, but also to quaff, at a great rate, the liquor called *awa*, which nothing but aristocracy was allowed to taste. This drink was made from the root of the tea-tree, and was prepared in the following very peculiar method. In the establishment of each chief were one or two men, whose duty it was to chew the root into a pulp, which they spat out into a water-tight vessel. On this lixivium of filth and poison the operators poured water enough to extract its virtues; and, when the work of absorption was complete, the lord of the ascendant greedily swallowed an infusion, which nothing but custom could have induced even him to taste without loathing. The effects of the thing were quite worthy of the process of its manufacture. Its immediate result was a stupifying intoxication, not unlike that caused by opium; while, in its ultimate consequences, it injured the sight by rendering the eyes blood-shot, and produced on the skin a kind of leprous appearance.

CUSTOMS AND AMUSEMENTS.

The practice of shampooing, to which I have already alluded as a means of promoting circulation and digestion, is believed to be an infallible specific also for headache, and rheumatism, and other similar complaints; its medicinal influence, at least with respect to the lords of the creation, being doubtless heightened by the fact, that the shampooers are almost invariably of the weaker sex. The panacea in question, as one may easily suppose, assumes a variety of forms, inasmuch as the fair dispenser of the dose not only knows exactly in what proportions to combine the ordinary ingredients of chafing, and squeezing, and kneading, but also, when the malady appears to be deeply seated, tries to get down to it by furrowing her customer's carcase pretty forcibly with her elbows. The native name of shampooing, according to the printed standard, is *tumee-tumee;* but the foreign residents, chiefly in order to tease the missionaries who disapprove of some of the modes of operation, generally express the objectionable branches of the system by changing the pronunciation of the word, as widely as possible, into *rŭmee-rŭmee.* The practice is undeniably beneficial to the health and development of the body. If nothing more, it is clearly an easy substitute for exercise, or rather an ingenious contrivance for shifting the toil and trouble of that essential life-preserver to another person's shoulders.

The custom has doubtless been derived from Asia, prevailing, as it does, in different parts of that continent, though not always in the form just described. Cottrell, a late traveller in Siberia, mentions his having experienced in his own person something of the same kind at Omsk, and, with one exception, at Omsk only. "By way," says he, "of digesting our luncheon, a ceremony was performed, which, if we had not undergone the ordeal in a friend's house, in the vicinity of Oranienbaum, with our lamented friend Prince Butera, would have astonished us no little. A dozen soldiers placed themselves in two files close to each other, and took up each of the party, in turn, on their arms, and tossed them in the air, catching them again on their arms, and throwing them up again, as quickly as possible, a considerable height. This operation is performed very expertly; the patient, who understands the business, keeps his arms close to his sides, and his legs stretched stiffly out, and feels no sort of inconvenience. It is exactly like being tossed in a blanket." Now, as Omsk is the frontier town towards Thibet, it may well be supposed to have borrowed its exclusive discipline in question from its southern neighbours, who again border on the countries, whence Polynesia has most probably derived its population. The difference between tossing and shampooing, in itself immaterial, affects chiefly the active instruments in the business, the one being easier than the other; and, in fact, we accordingly find that, even on the continent of Asia, the athletic exhibition of the north, as one advances to the southward, has softened itself into something like the same practice that prevails among the Sandwich Islanders.

Another remarkable custom among the Hawaiians, which, however, is not likely, I take it, to last long in these more enlightened times, is their mode, evidently Asiatic in its origin, of expressing grief for the death of a superior. The mode in question is to knock out with a mallet as many front teeth as the rank of the deceased may demand, or perhaps the mourner's remaining stock may warrant. To this most oppressive poll-tax, chiefs and commoners are all alike subject; and, accordingly, most of the chiefs of our acquaintance, including our friend Kekuanaoa himself, bore in their mouths negative marks of having, more or less extensively, paid the penalty of fashion—most, perhaps, of the vacant lots, in the case of the older chiefs, having been intended to commemorate the death of Kamehameha. In the good old days of polygamy, the royal guardsmen had a hard time of it in this respect; for the deaths of queens, and princes, and princesses were so common as soon to disqualify the poor fellows for mourning any more, and to send them forth, as no longer fit for service, toothless into the world. Some time ago, we had one of these mutilated veterans on the Columbia, who, as if the honour fully atoned to him for the loss, used to boast of having sacrificed his teeth in the service of so renowned a conqueror as Kamehameha the Great. Sometimes, though not so often, very loyal people knocked out their eyes as well as their teeth. This part of the business, however, was occasionally managed in such a way as to compound matters between the mourner and the deceased on terms highly advantageous to the former. Kalaimoku, or William Pitt, for instance, exclaimed, on the death of his wife, that he had lost an eye, and was thenceforward distinguished as *Once Blind*—while, on the death of Kamehameha, this Hawaiian Ulysses, having discarded his other eye by means of a similar fiction, became *Twice Blind* for the rest of his life.

Besides games of chance, some of which appear to be similar to those played by the aborigines of the American continent, the Hawaiians are peculiarly fond of such recreations as require strength or dexterity. Among the recreations in question may be cited, as strikingly illustrative of physical character, the following sharp contest between the muscles of one party and the eyes of another. A fellow, whose arm is bare, holds in his closed hand a round stone, which he is to drop and leave under some one or other of three or four small piles of shavings of wood or clippings of cloth, passing his fist from pile to pile with inconceivable quickness; while his antagonist's business is to discover under which of all the piles the round stone has actually been hidden. Beyond the mere chance of guessing right, the latter, of course, has no other means of detecting the proceedings of the former than the movements of the muscles of the bare arm; and hence the struggle between the muscle and the eye, the muscle running through a whole "pea and thimble rig" of feints and stratagems, and the eye striving to distinguish the true action of depositing the stone from all the deceptive varieties of motion and repose. As the man with the stone may move his hand from pile to pile as often as he likes, and actually does so with incredible ease and rapidity, he has, according to our estimate of things, all the advantages in his favour; and yet the watchfulness of his enemy is often too much for him.

But the grand recreation of the natives is the constant habit of swimming. In fact, the Sandwich Islanders are all but amphibious, and seem to be as much at home in the water as on the land; and, at all times of the day, men, women, and children are sporting about in the harbour, or even beyond the reef, with shoals of sharks, perhaps, as their playfellows. These voracious creatures, however, are far less likely to meddle with the aborigines than with foreigners, not that they prefer white meat to brown, but because they have been taught by experience that one Hawaiian has more of the Tartar in him than a score of Europeans.

There is scarcely an instance on record, in which a native has suffered any serious injury from a shark. If, at any time, the latter take the preliminary step of turning over on his back to get a mouthful, the former is sure at least to elude the attack by diving below the monster; while, if he has a knife or any similar weapon, he seldom fails to destroy the enemy by carrying the war into his interior.

To return to the swimming: it was part of our daily amusement to watch the rapid and elegant evolutions of the performers, more particularly of the ladies, who, in the great majority of cases, excelled their lords and masters in agility and science. Even in point of strength and endurance, one woman, a short time before our arrival, had carried off the palm from her husband. The whole story is well worth telling, as illustrative of something better than toughness of muscle or suppleness of limb.

A man and his wife, both Christians, were passengers in a schooner, which foundered at a considerable distance from the land. All the natives on board promptly took refuge in the sea; and the man in question, who had just celebrated divine service in the ill-fated vessel, called his fellows, some of them being converts as well as himself, around him to offer up another tribute of praise and supplication from the deep in which they were struggling, to tarry, with a combination of courage and humility perhaps unequalled in the world's history, in order deliberately to worship God in that universal temple, under whose restless pavement the speaker and most of his hearers were destined to find their graves. The man and his wife had each succeeded in procuring the support of a covered bucket by way of buoy; and away they struck with the rest for Kahoolawe, finding themselves next morning alone in the ocean, after a whole afternoon and night of privation and toil. To aggravate their misfortunes, the wife's bucket went to pieces soon after daylight, so that she had to make the best of her way without assistance, or relief; and, in the course of the afternoon, the man became too weak to proceed, till his wife, to a certain extent, restored his strength by shampooing him in the water. They had now Kahoolawe in full view, after having been about four-and-twenty hours on their dreary voyage. In spite, however, of the cheering sight, the man again fell into such a state of exhaustion, that the woman took his bucket for herself, giving him, at the same time, the hair of her head as a towing-line; and, when even this exertion proved to be too much for him, the faithful creature, after trying in vain to rouse him to prayer, took his arms round her neck, holding them together with one hand, and making with the other for the shore. When a very trifling distance remained to be accomplished, she discovered that he was dead, and, dropping his corpse, reached the land before night, having passed over upwards of twenty-five miles, during an exposure of nearly thirty hours.

I have been thus particular in detailing this narrative of hardihood and skill, of piety and affection, because it harmonizes so exactly with my general plan of presenting, when possible, to the reader, the past and the present, the old and the new, the savage and the civilized, in one and the same view. In the skill and hardihood, we recognise the children of nature and barbarism; in the affection and piety, the disciples of civilization and Christianity.

In Honolulu, and most probably in the other towns and villages of the group, the taste for promenading, fostered, if not created, by the introduction of civilized finery, has, to a certain extent, thrown nearly all other amusements into the shade. Every afternoon—for all work ceases about three o'clock — the main street presents a gay and pretty scene with the varieties of costume and degrees of nudity such as I have described—a scene which, unique enough in itself, is rendered still more decidedly so by the circumstance, that many of the ladies, as I have elsewhere hinted, carry about adopted sucklings in the shape of pigs and puppies, which, however, are destined to pay their little all for their board by being baked, when fat, into holiday dinners for their adoptive mammas.

In this promenading, certain days of the week take the shine out of the others. For instance, Tuesday, as everybody washes everything on Monday, brings out the belles like so many new pins, with gowns as clean, and smooth, and stiff, as starch, and irons, and soap, can make them; while the fair wearers, that all things may be of a piece, generally embrace the same occcasion of mounting their fresh wreaths and garlands. For these reasons, Tuesday is a stranger's best opportunity for obtaining a full and complete view of the beauties of Honolulu, for, though never very prudish, yet they are now peculiarly ready to appreciate and return the compliment of being the observed of all observers. Saturday, again, has its own proper merit, inferior to Tuesday in show and ceremony, but superior to it in variety and intensity of excitement. On this day, little or no work is done; and all those who can get horses gallop about from morning till dusk in the town and neighbourhood, to the danger of such as are poor enough or unfashionable enough to walk. Saturday, in fact, is a kind of carnival, whose duty it is to atone, by anticipation, to the mass of the inhabitants for the pharisaical methodism of the missionary's sabbath. But the reader, to have a definite idea of all this walking and riding, ought to be told, that the Hawaiians, who must speak or die, never meet for any purpose, going to church, of course, excepted, without indulging, perhaps all of them at once, in a perpetual din of gossip and banter.

But the richest scene of amusement among the natives, which we witnessed, was one highly characteristic of those light-hearted creatures. A bridge and road were to be made from the town, in the direction of the valley of Nuannau. According to the law of the case, every male adult turned out to lend a hand; even domestic servants being liable either to work or to pay,—the very labourers themselves, to say nothing of others, making this unremunerated task the groundwork of all sorts of fun and frolic. The troops mustered, as if for a review; bands of music paraded about from morning till night; and the women, all decked out in their best, flitted about from spot to spot, jabbering and joking all the while in their inarticulate jargon. But the statutory labour itself was perhaps the most entertaining part of the business. The men were divided into gangs of forty, each set being sure to be constantly attended by its full complement of shouting and giggling women; and one whole gang might be seen running and laughing with a log of wood on their shoulders, which four or five men might have conveyed with ease, evidently succeeding to their own perfect satisfaction in converting the toil into a pleasure. Every day used to close with quite enough of dancing and singing; but this day of hard duty ushered in an evening of more than ordinary festivity.

I have taken no notice of the native dances, for most, if not all, of them are unfit to be noticed. They have undergone very little change for the better since the days of the early visitors; and, if they have been rendered less public through missionary zeal, they are unfortunately so much the less likely to be influenced by the gradual formation of that popular opinion, by which alone they can be abolished or improved.

The last particular which I shall mention under this head, is one in which, at least in Honolulu, every stranger, whether willing or unwilling, is obliged to take the principal share. On his first arrival, the visitor is followed through the streets by a crowd of men, women, and children, who, without incommoding him by actual pressure, are always ready to assist him in any and every possible way, to pick up, for instance, whatever he may drop, or to open gates, or to point out the lions, or to explain all that may require explanation. Meanwhile, he cannot help suspecting, that his self-elected satellites are taking their hire out of him by quizzing any little peculiarities that he may possess; for he hears behind him volley after volley of laughter, each one evidently produced by some excellent joke that has preceded it. As nobody likes to be laughed at, especially when he cannot enjoy the jest himself, the victim resolves to escape from his tormentors by wearing out their patience the next time that he calls at any house; but, let him stay as long as he likes, or till he is ashamed to stay any longer, he finds his volunteers where he may have left them, waiting to greet his return with a cheerful welcome, and to repeat their kindly-meant persecution. If he has a single drop of the milk of human kindness in his own composition, he now, of course, submits to the infliction with a good grace.

CHAPTER XII.

SANDWICH ISLANDS.

Navy — Army — Revenue — Government — Religion — Education — Productions and Manufactures — Trade.

In regarding the Hawaiians not as individuals, but as a community, I shall, to confine myself at present to the most general distinctions, begin with government and its incidents, then pass to education and religion, and lastly conclude with trade and all that concerns it.

NAVY.

Before the days of Kamehameha, the only vessels of war were canoes, such as are still in use for most purposes. These canoes, which are all, of course, seagoing craft, convince one at the first glance that the natives must be tolerably amphibious animals. They are usually hollowed out of the trunk of a cocoa-nut tree, and are generally so narrow as barely to allow a man to sit in them on his knees. This rickety machine is kept in an upright position only by the contrivance of an outrigger, consisting of two pieces of wood of about ten feet in length attached at right angles to one side of the canoe, and joined at their outer extremities by another piece of wood, which is, of course, parallel with the body of the vessel; and this appendage, while it gives security by virtually increasing the breadth of beam, does not sensibly impede the little bark's motion through the water. But, outrigger and all, these ticklish skiffs not unfrequently get capsized at sea; but, on such occasions, the crew, who, of course, must have been pitched clean out, soon set all to rights and start again, though generally with the loss of some of their goods and chattels. The savages, however, did not fail to discover that union was strength; for, by lashing together two such vessels as have been just described, they produced a *tertium quid* of twenty times their value.

These double canoes, formerly employed in war, and still used by the chiefs, are capital sea-boats, Kamehameha having at one time contemplated the conquest of Tahiti in reliance on a fleet consisting chiefly of them; and it was probably in some such galleys that the Tahitians first made their way, in days of yore, to colonize the Hawaiian group. In speed, as well as in security, the double canoes are vastly superior to the single. On a mast planted between their two parts, they carry a large sail of triangular form, which may either assist or relieve the paddles; and, as they are made of the largest trees, which are reserved for the purpose, they sometimes accommodate eighty or a hundred men each, while every man, seated as he is, in comparative ease and safety, can put forth all his attention and energy on his work.

After the discovery, canoes were gradually supplanted for all great obje[illegible] by ships, which were procured sometimes by foul means, and sometimes by fair dealing, till at last the subjugation of the whole archipelago under one ruler entirely superseded the use of the smaller description of national craft. Thenceforward, the navy consisted of decked vessels; and, though now less powerful than it has been, yet it still musters a few armed schooners of from twenty to a hundred tons, which, manned and commanded almost entirely by native seamen, are politically valuable in holding the remoter dependencies to their allegiance, to say nothing of their commercial utility in carrying provisions and passengers from one island to another.

As a beginning of civilization, this navy, however insignificant in modern eyes, is certainly superior to the squadron with which Columbus discovered America, and perhaps not inferior to that with which Drake left England to circumnavigate the globe; and, to come even to the present day, it is infinitely creditable to the Hawaiians, when compared with our own experience of the "one and indivisible" navy of California, built by foreigners, commanded, and partly manned by foreigners; and, to crown all, confined to port till victualled by foreigners.

ARMY.

Even previously to the days of the discovery, the Hawaiians appear to have possessed a better notion of military affairs than savage tribes in general possess. They marshalled themselves in something like regular lines and columns; they marched under the distinctive banners, more or less splendid according to the rank of the parties, of their respective chiefs; and, generally disdaining, as I have already mentioned, the use of snares and ambuscades, they, of course, delighted chiefly in the pitched battle with its "clear field and no favour."

Besides swords, clubs, bows, &c., which they had in common with other savages, they were peculiarly expert in the hurling of the spear, and miraculously so in the avoiding of it, when hurled against themselves. To this practice they were systematically trained; and even now, after peace has continued nearly fifty years, and civilization has substituted its own weapons for those of barbarism, the officers of the fort, who were always happy to entertain us with specimens of their native warfare, perfectly astonished us with their dexterity in the management of the spear.

One stood to be aimed at, while several others, at a distance of about twenty paces, rapidly darted against him the long spears of ancient times with such vigour and certainty, that their comrade, who acted as their common butt, could be saved by nothing but his own coolness and agility. But he was apparently as much at his ease as if he had been Gulliver among the Lilliputians; some of the weapons he would send flying off at an angle by touching them with his shoulder, or leg, or arm; others he would catch by the middle and hurl back at the throwers, thus directly turning the tables on the enemy; one or two he might, perhaps, clutch between his arm and side; and, at all events, even when a special display of skill was impracticable, he would still dodge the mischief by a slight inclination of his body. In this apparently dangerous pastime, Kamehameha was rather fond of exposing his royal person; and, when urged to be more careful of his valuable life, he replied, that it was as easy for him to avoid the spears as it was for his antagonists to throw them.

The substitution of civilized arms and discipline, though gradual, has yet been complete, excepting that one whole age of tranquillity, more particularly as it happily promises to be succeeded by another age of the same blessing, has, to a certain extent, degraded soldiering into a burlesque. Witness the training at the fort, which we sometimes attended, apparently to the great gratification of the chiefs. The officers, for the most part, were well dressed, some even making an attempt at uniform; but the men, in clothes, in accoutrements, in arms, in every thing, did certainly baffle all classification. Tall fellows and short were ranked and filed together with admirable perverseness; every one was dressed, or not dressed, according to the state of his wardrobe, or the whim of his fancy; some shouldered broken muskets, and others wooden guns; some again had only sticks, and others nothing at all. Still, however, all of them went through their exercise with much precision, marching in excellent time to the sound of their drums and fifes.

But the richest part of the treat was the Hawaiian English, in which the word of command was given. At first, we could make nothing of our corrupted vernacular; but, at last, happening one morning to stand near the captain of a number of wooden guns, a handsome fellow, by the by, with a gold-laced cap, a handkerchief round his waist, and a cane, we were fortunate enough to catch the sounds as they escaped, all tortured and dislocated, from his lips. *A-a-tee-un!* shouted the officer; and clap went all the hands, while the motley fellows drew themselves up, as one man, into the attitude of *attention*. *Cheear-a-ar!* the first division of the sound being almost inaudible, and the second bearing away all the emphasis: and the men accordingly shouldered their not very heavy firelocks. *Petee-a-ar!* came next in order, and each warrior presented the same harmless engine which he had just previously shouldered. *Pee-ba-a-tee!* crowned the climax; and the men, after drawing imaginary bayonets with as much solemnity as if they had been mesmerizing their hips, fixed the same with such an air of business about them, as entirely overthrew our gravity.

But, however ridiculous most of the details were, the impression on the whole was favourable, as often as we attended. The men, as a body, were strapping fellows, with that best of all uniforms, good looks and fine figures; and, as to any other uniform, the day of trial, when it comes, will find them, I take it, doing their duty, and doing it well too, in their brown skins and their *malos*.

These troops are merely militiamen, who, in consideration of being thus drilled two or three times a week, are exempted from all other public labour; they are, I apprehend, part of a general corps of national defenders. But, in Honolulu, the government has at command a more regular and permanent force, organized and trained to discharge the duties of a municipal police. To this body much credit is due for the order and regularity preserved in the town. Its services in this matter are but seldom invoked during the day; but, in the night, its measures are of the most prompt and summary character, for every native who is found in the streets after one of the guns of the fort has told the lieges that it is half-past eight is clapped into durance vile without ceremony, and fined next morning.

But the force in question is not less valuable in maintaining the discipline of the vessels in the harbour than in securing the peace of the town. It cannot, indeed, prevent the temporary evils of drunkenness and dissipation; but it does effectually protect the ship against the worst misfortune that can befall her in port, by such a vigilance in recovering deserters, as is but seldom evinced on more civilized stations.

In Honolulu, the militia and the police, taken together, amount to about six hundred men.

The fort, properly so called, is merely a large quadrangular building, surrounded by low stone walls. It mounts a considerable number of guns; and when the salute, which I have already mentioned, was sold and delivered on Washington's birthday, one of the guns, which had been shotted for the purpose by order of the sagacious old Governor, sent its ball beyond the reef, as a warning to all whom it might concern. In fact, the fort, as I have already mentioned, must be silenced by an enemy from the outer anchorage; for otherwise, a hostile vessel, while towing, in a helpless condition, into the chops of the harbour, would expose herself to a heavy fire, which she could not return. Besides the fort in question, a battery which has seen better days, and still shows a few rusty cannons, commands the town from a hill immediately behind it. This battery is said to have under its immediate protection one of those reserves of dollars, which the government is popularly supposed to keep *en cache* in various parts of the country. In my opinion, the battery is just as likely to be manned against an intruder by Kamehameha's ghost; and probably the incredible fable never had any other foundation than the jealous custom, given up, however, of late, of not allowing any person to visit the stronghold without being attended by a soldier.

REVENUE.

His Hawaiian majesty's ways and means are drawn from various sources and in various shapes, from every possible source, in fact, and in every possible shape; and the details, however unimportant in their direct bearing on the resources of the government, are peculiarly worthy of consideration, as illustrative of the condition of the people.

A poll-tax is levied on all and sundry, excepting old people, and children under fourteen years of age, being at the rate of a dollar for a man, of half a dollar for a woman, of a quarter of a dollar for a boy, and of the eighth of a dollar for a girl. Supposing the tables which have been already quoted to present the average proportion of ages and sexes in the whole population of eighty-eight thousand, this branch of revenue would, on a rough estimation, considerably exceed forty thousand dollars.

But an additional poll-tax, in the form of labour, is exacted from all male adults. Every man is bound, if required, to devote to public works six days in every month of four weeks, being precisely one fourth part of his whole time. From this liability even domestic servants are not exempted. They must either leave their duties for the time, or pay half a dollar for each day's default. Of this system the white residents could have but little reason to complain, if they enjoyed a legal right of compounding for the year's burden; but they possess no such privilege, being subject, on each and every occasion, to the caprice of the authorities as to the pecuniary composition for such indispensable attendants as they may be graciously permitted to keep at home: moreover, this poll-tax, with an ingenuity worthy of civilized financiers, is levied on the absent, and even on the dead, no Kanaka being allowed to go abroad till his employer has paid an equivalent for the statutory labour likely to be lost to the community during the whole term of his engagement. Reckoning the male adults at twenty-eight thousand, this poll-tax is, of course, equivalent to the labour of seven thousand able-bodied men for a whole year; or, if turned into money at the rate of composition mentioned in the following paragraph, it must amount to two hundred and fifty-two thousand dollars.

After all this fleecing, the poor creatures have earned a claim to nothing more than air and light. The land they must not meddle with, though the surface capable of cultivation, even if estimated at only a sixth part of the whole, contains at least twenty acres for every male adult in the group. They have to pay not only for the ground that they till, but even for the privilege of tilling it; or, in other words, they are themselves saddled with a third poll-tax, as cultivators of the soil, while their possessions, in proportion to extent, are assessed to a land-tax of apparently exorbitant amount. The poll-tax in question is precisely another fourth part of their whole time, being three days in the month for the immediate proprietor, whether the king or a chief, and three days in the month for his majesty, as lord paramount; and this fourth part, though such is not the case with the other, may be commuted at the tenant's option into the sum of nine dollars. This poll-tax, therefore, cannot, as a whole, be reckoned at less than two hundred thousand dollars, while the king's share of the same, even supposing him not to be an immediate proprietor at all, is exactly one half of the amount.

The land-tax, again, is payable in hogs of different lengths. If the patch be large—the largest not being bigger than an ordinary garden—the animal must measure a fathom; if it be small, he is let off for a yard; and, if it be neither small nor large, he must hit the golden mean of three cubits. But, as the length alone of a hog, to say nothing of the brute's trick of stretching himself to serve his friend, is as vague a criterion of merit as the length alone is of a sermon, weight has been practically substituted for measurement at the rate of a thousand pounds to three fathoms; and then, again, to provide for the possibility of there being no hog fat enough on the premises, the pork is valued at three cents a pound, so as to make ten, five, and seven and a half dollars, the respective equivalents of the three lengths or weights of grunter. Taking the cultivators, in round numbers, at twenty thousand, and supposing one and all of them to deal only in small patches and yard hogs, the treasury must receive either about twelve miles of pork, or precisely a lac of dollars, or something between the two.

Of that portion of the royal revenue, or at least of the king's income, which arises from his majesty's lands, I am unable to ascertain or even to guess the amount. The lands in question appear to be partly private property and partly public domain, though the distinction, I dare say, is, in practice, almost entirely nominal. In the public domain, comprising all the lands that do not belong to individual owners, the king possesses a source of revenue which is susceptible of indefinite improvement and extension. Already he derives an income from the progeny of the cattle left by Vancouver, which, besides being originally the property of Kamehameha, have long since been driven to the mountains, on account of their wildness and ferocity; and as their numbers are constantly increasing, while the demand for them promises to increase in the same proportion, they will ultimately yield a very profitable return for the wildernesses which they occupy.

But it is by encouraging the immigration of foreign settlers that his majesty must turn the best parts of his public domain to advantageous account; and all that is required by way of such encouragement is a liberal and judicious system of leasing the soil, for the purposes of extensive cultivation. But, unfortunately, such a system was long unpalatable alike to Church and State. The chiefs looked with jealousy on the whites, as being likely at no distant day to supplant themselves; and the missionaries, besides being secular enough in their aspirations to cherish the supremacy of the chiefs as an indispensable aid in the work of converting the natives, regarded white laymen in general, and with some reason, too, founded on experience, as scoffers of much of what they themselves deem morality and religion.

To return to the subject: we have seen that the written laws, intended, as they are, to mitigate the indefinite exactions of former times, deprive the natives, to speak generally, of one half of his time and of at least six dollars a year in money, or in money's worth; that they tax his existence; that they tax his labour; that they tax his property. But, as if all this was less than enough, the laws in question have taxed some of his actions, which are just as natural to him, and as innocent in his estimation, as eating and sleeping.

The conduct of the king and chiefs in this matter ought not much to surprise us, inasmuch as, under the old system of taboo, they used to impose all sorts of arbitrary and absurd prohibitions for the comparatively unprofitable pleasure of sacrificing the offenders to the gods. But the missionaries ought to have known better.

To resume the fiscal view of the subject, this taxation of sins has this bad effect, that, in more ways than one, it brings the administration of justice into merited suspicion. As detection is a mere accident, where concealment is so easy, the punishment of offences, which nobody hesitates to commit for their own sake, hardly establishes any greater certainty of guilt than impunity itself; and, as the treasury shares the proceeds with the informer, in the proportions of seventy-five and twenty-five per cent., prosecutors and judges are strongly suspected of a predisposition to make the most of a case, without any very scrupulous regard to law, or justice, or common sense.

In illustration of this determination to get money by some means or other, many anecdotes have found a place in my journal, which, however incredible in their details, serve to show what is in itself a great evil, the general want of confidence in the working of this lucrative jurisprudence.

A cobbler and his wife quarrelled with a tailor and his wife; from looks they came to words, and from words to blows, and then—what proved to be the worst part of the business for them all—they came to the governor, to try the grand cause of tailor *versus* cobbler. The plaintiff having failed to make out his charge against the defendant, his excellency, after stating that, if the tailor had established his case, the cobbler would have had to pay sixty dollars, consoled himself for the disappointment by fining all the parties, saving and excepting the plaintiff's wife, twenty dollars each.

Again: a foreign resident had a nocturnal round at fisticuffs with a Kanaka, who was too tipsy to be satisfied with his own share of the road. Two days afterwards, all the parties were summoned before the authorities, who, after a patient and thorough investigation of merits and demerits, fined the combatants six dollars each for the respective assaults, levying also on the Kanaka two other similar sums for being drunk, and for disturbing the neighbourhood; while, still farther to help the good cause, they exacted ten dollars from each of the four witnesses, very justly observing that, if they had been quiet and dutiful subjects, they would not have been in the streets at midnight.

To conclude: the annual proceeds of this branch of the royal revenue are estimated at five thousand dollars for Woahoo alone—the most productive, however, of the islands in this respect, inasmuch as it contains a larger proportion of whites, who are liable to this "poll-tax" in common with the aborigines.

In addition to these taxes, which fall almost exclusively on natives, there are still others, which, generally speaking, fall, at least primarily, on foreigners.

Certain occupations cannot be pursued without a license, which, of course, costs money. A store, which sells only by wholesale or by retail, pays twenty-five dollars, while, if it sell in both ways, it must pay fifty; a victualling house is charged the same as a retail or wholesale store, while a house of entertainment is rated at forty dollars. Neither the house of entertainment nor the victualling house is permitted to deal in spirits —a point of policy, by the by, in which the Hawaiians have been rather too much for the French. When Captain La Place came to coerce the native government into the toleration of Catholicism, he found that, through the influence of the missionaries, wines and spirits, the staple productions of France, were prohibited. Partly to promote the commerce of his country, and partly perhaps to be revenged on the zealots to whom he ascribed the persecution of his religion, the officer in question successfully negociated, at the cannon's mouth, for the admission of French wines and brandies at a duty not exceeding five per cent.; but, as he neglected to provide for consumption as well as for importation, as he certainly would have done in the event of his having thought of the precaution, he left, after all, the better half of a drawn battle in the hands of the enemy.

The harbour dues of Honolulu must also yield a considerable sum, being six cents a ton on every vessel that may touch for refreshments, and sixty on every vessel that may enter with a cargo. The distinction, though in the proportion of ten to one, is not unreasonable in itself; but it is said to be an instrument of partiality and oppression in the hands of the harbour-master. As a mere visitor is allowed to land goods to pay for his supp[illegible] without thereby becoming liable for the heavier rate, the harbour-master clearly has the power, if he has the inclination, to favour one by permitting him to land too much, and to harass another by preventing him from landing enough; and, being an American, Reynolds is shrewdly suspected by the British of being influenced in this matter by national predilections and antipathies. Either the office should be filled by a native, or the dues should be more equitably adjusted with reference to all the possible variety of circumstances.

Last, though not least, comes the import duty. This tax, under the existing state of the foreign relations of the group, cannot exceed five per cent., *ad valorem*, France having established this rate with respect to all its merchandize in general, as well as with respect to its wines and brandies in particular, and England and America being entitled to the same indulgence as the most favoured nations. In point of fact, however, it is only three per cent.;—a rate at which, moderate as it is, this branch of the revenues cannot be less than 8,000 or 10,000 dollars.

To close this subdivision of the chapter, all these taxes, with the exception of such as are levied on foreigners, do not directly yield much cash to the government. Where the sum stated is of the nature of a penalty, it is taken out, in default of payment, in the shape of imprisonment, with hard labour; but, when it is not of the nature of a penalty, it is accepted in all sorts of produce, such as cloth, cotton, arrow-root, sugar, &c.,—the whole, however, being easily convertible either into money or into imported commodities.

The king's personal share, or what may be styled the civil list, is said to amount to about £3,000 sterling. Before anything got his length, many others doubtless helped themselves with unscrupulous liberality. Now, however, a better system prevails, Dr. Judd of the missionary body having been appointed, since my departure, and in consequence, I may say, of my suggestions, treasurer-general, with sufficient powers to regulate and control the proceedings of all the subordinate receivers of the public money.

GOVERNMENT.

Previously to the conquests of Kamehameha, the government of each island was almost entirely aristocratic, the nominal monarch being little more than the first among equals. Gradually, however, Kamehameha broke the power and abridged the privileges of the chiefs, rendering them, moreover, dependent on his will for such privileges and power as he still left them; and, though he was too politic a prince to abuse his prerogatives, yet he so effectually consolidated his despotism, that his immediate successor, however inferior in personal character, was able to maintain the same position with respect to the oligarchs as the conqueror himself had occupied. In one particular of vital importance, Liho Liho extended the rights of superiority which he had inherited from his father: I allude to his having enacted, without any attempt at resistance on the part of the individuals interested, that the lands of the chiefs, instead of being hereditary, as, to a certain extent, they had been, should revert to the crown, as fiefs for life, on the death of the respective proprietors. During the minority of the present sovereign, Liho Liho's immediate successor, the chiefs did their best to recover and perpetuate their rights by repealing Liho Liho's enactment aforesaid, and declaring their lands to be exempted, unless in case of treason, from everything like forfeiture or reversion.

Of the condition of the great mass of the people, during all these changes, I have already incidentally said enough under various heads; and I need not here say anything more than this, that they had not even a notion of legal right, while most of their oppressors had little or no sense of moral obligation.

Recently, however, the political relations of the three parties, king, chiefs, and people, have undergone material and important changes. A constitution has been promulgated by which the people are not only admitted to a share in the work of legislation, but also in this respect appear to be placed on the same level as the inferior grades of the aristocracy. In addition to his majesty,—who has a negative on all the proceedings,—and to a house of nobles,—which consists of fifteen nominees of the crown,—the Hawaiian Parliament possesses also its representative body, which contains seven deputies, chosen without any qualification, or rank, or fortune on their own parts, by universal suffrage.

Whether the deputies are subject to any restriction as to sex, I cannot gather from the terms of *Magna Charta;* but, among the nobles, at least there are almost as many ladies as gentlemen—nearly half of the conclave, to make the anomaly still more anomalous, being married couples, namely, our friends Kealiiahonni, Paki, and Kanaina, with their better halves. From this constitution, the oligarchy, as such, has clearly received its death-blow, more particularly as the fifteen grandees, with their twelve separate possibilities of issue, muster among them only eleven olive branches to succeed them, of which at least six, a majority of the whole, belong to the overshadowing tree of the Kamehamehas.

Nor are the laws which have flowed from the constitution less fatal to the oligarchs in their spirit of impartiality than the constitution itself,—a high chief having been hanged a short time before our arrival, for the once venial crime of poisoning his wife. The radical reform in question has confessedly been effected by a concurrence of two very different causes, the extension of foreign commerce, and the progress of native education. Trained under the exclusive control of Protestant republicans, the young men and women of all classes could not fail to lose their hereditary reverence for arbitrary distinctions, which were as incompatible with the light of the gospel as they were repugnant to the spirit of freedom; while the chiefs were constrained to cherish the very system that was thus undermining their caste, by a conviction that nothing but the enlightening and elevating of the people could prevent themselves from being overwhelmed by the gradually swelling tide of the foreign population.

The descent of the crown is worthy of a passing remark, as throwing light on some of the national peculiarities. In consequence of the general dissoluteness of manners, the question of paternity was always more or less problematical; and the mother was the only parent with respect to whom even the wisest child had any certain knowledge. Hence all the great ones of the group, and probably, in imitation of them, the small ones too, used to marry as many of their own sisters as possible, in order to make sure at least of collateral descendants. Thus, Liho Liho married three of his sisters, while Kaui Keaouli, the reigning sovereign, had a fourth sister as his first wife. Subsequently to her death, his majesty could no longer follow suit, for his only surviving sisters, two of Liho Liho's dowagers, had, besides being too mature in years for his fancy, respectively espoused Kekuanaoa and Kanaina.

On the part of the king, therefore, the chances of genuine offspring were considerably diminished; and, as both the princesses had issue of undoubted authenticity, the hopes of the nation were turned towards the children of Kinau, as the rightful successors of all the Kamehamehas. Accordingly, Kekuanaoa's third son was formally recognised as heir presumptive of the throne, while his first and second sons were definitively appointed as the future governors, respectively, of Kaui and Mowee. Kaui Keaouli, however, brought all this arrangement into jeopardy by taking to himself a second consort in the person of a daughter of Captain Jack, the admiral of the group; but, as Captain Jack was a chief only of the third grade, her inferiority of rank, for the German doctrine of equal marriages was indigenous among the Hawaiians, concurred with the possibilities of a matrimonial mistake in strengthening the interest of the female line. Still, in the absence of positive law to the contrary, Kaluma's progeny ought to inherit the kingdom; but unfortunately both her young ones have, by sudden and premature deaths, left a clear field for the pure blood of the Kekuanaoas.

But the rules of succession are probably destined to be of little importance. Though Kaui Keaouli, now that his strict temperance gives full play to his naturally excellent sense, may hold the sceptre of Kamehameha to the end of his days, yet his successors are not likely long to retain in their hands the actual powers of government. To say nothing at present of foreign states, the whites and the half-breeds—two classes which are each becoming more and more numerous and powerful every day—will not always submit to native rulers. On the ground that the general laws, which may suit the native population, are not adapted to their own condition, they will demand, as they have, in effect, already demanded, particular laws for themselves, with a voice in making the same. When they have got an inch, they will take an ell, till at last they will become the legislators of the archipelago, and that, in all probability, through the letter of the very constitution, which has been framed, as we have just seen, to neutralize and check their influence. Under that instrument, nearly all authority is vested, either directly or indirectly, in the king; and he is the very individual in the group who has the greatest interest in keeping the foreigners in good humour, as being those from whom he derives the most productive portions of his revenue.

His majesty might thus be induced to carry into effect the measures of the whites and half-breeds, till finally he should become a puppet in their hands, a kind of Great Mogul in miniature. He might even arm them with the means of carrying their measures for themselves. He might call some of them into his council of patricians, as he has, in fact, abroad called one half-breed, son and namesake of the John Young, whom his father before him elevated to be a high chief; or he might serve their purpose with still greater ease and certainty by appointing one of them to the standing office of premier, or co-regent, of the kingdom. Without affecting to put forth these details as predictions, some such general result must soon be realized — always, of course, in default of the previous intervention of some one or other of the maritime powers.

The chances of such intervention are now less than they have hitherto been. The Russians are said to have once had an eye on the Sandwich Islands, having exhibited some sinister movements in Kauai, and having proposed to lease the uplands of Mowee for the growing of wheat; but, besides that, they have never interfered in a national capacity; they are now so little suspected in the matter, that they have not even been requested, as England, France, and America have been, to recognise the independence of the group. Again, the three powers last mentioned, by acknowledging the entire and absolute sovereignty of the Hawaiian Government, have not only disclaimed for themselves, but have virtually taken upon them to disclaim for all other states, all right and intention of appropriating the group, as if unoccupied territory, under the public law of the civilized world.

In fact, under the guarantee of America, France, and England, the Sandwich Islands are secured as effectually as any other community against foreign interference, excepting that, from their position and the inexperience of their rulers, they are peculiarly liable to come into collision with the very powers that have guaranteed their independence. Their position alone with respect to the trading interests of England and America will render neutrality extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible, in the melancholy event of a war between those kindred states; while any infringement of the law of nations in this respect will be sure to lead to the occupation of the group on the part of England, either as the avenger of her own wrongs, or as a protector against the vengeance of America. But, unlike this occasional danger, the inexperience of their rulers is a rock on which they may be dashed at any time with fatal effect; and, within these few short years, the cause in question has placed the native government at the mercy both of France and of England.

But, so far as this latter evil is concerned, territorial seizure, at least till all other means of redress have failed, appears to be prohibited by the spirit, if not the letter, of the guarantee of independence. The three Powers gave up very different claims. France surrendered nothing but her thirst for all kinds and degrees of glory: America had acquired something like an equitable title by her instrumentality in bringing the archipelago within the pale of civilization and Christianity; and England, to say nothing of an unvarying course of kindness and generosity, enjoyed all the legal rights, that could be based on a complete discovery and on repeated cessions. The sacrifices having been so unequal, a territorial seizure, which could at all be avoided, would be a fraud on England and America, if perpetrated by France, while, if perpetrated by America, it would be a fraud on England.

Even if France should effect a justifiable seizure, a seizure rendered inevitable at the moment by the obstinacy or poverty of the native authorities, America and England would be entitled to make her relinquish her prey, on giving security for adequate satisfaction. To hand over the Hawaiian archipelago to a people of a different spirit and a different tongue would in them be treason against their kindred races, that have redeemed the islands from barbarism by the arts of peace,—treason against their common language, that is training the natives to a bloodless fraternization,—treason against the great cause of human improvement, which is to find in that common language the clearest light, and in those kindred races the best instructors. But of such co-operation the incidental effects would be infinitely more valuable than the mere deliverance of a few Polynesian Isles from the clutches of an unscrupulous oppressor. It would recognise the fact, that Great Britain and the United States are still linked together by every possible tie, excepting only the bond of a common government; while it would, at least on neutral ground, merge the political asperities of this single distinction in the consciousness that, on the map of the world which Providence is visibly sketching, the American Union and the British dominions are only incomplete parts of that English empire which, already the greatest on earth, is ultimately to embrace half the globe.

As I was myself a party to the negotiation, which resulted in England's recognition of the independence of the group, I might appear to have a personal interest in defending the policy of that measure, had not Lord Palmerston's previous disclaimer of British sovereignty left little but a matter of form to be settled between Lord Aberdeen, on the one hand, and the Hawaiian Envoys and myself, on the other. But, even before Lord Palmerston offered the disclaimer in question, what was the actual position of our country with respect to the native authorities, as distinguished from the rival powers of the civilized world? Though against the latter the claim of England was conclusive and complete, yet, in regard to the former, it amounted to nothing more than the barren right of feudal superiority.

Considering that, in the days of Cook, the Sandwich Islands were just about as populous, in proportion to extent, as Wales or Scotland, they could not, on any principles of law or of reason, have been appropriated, as unoccupied territory, for the purposes of colonization, more particularly as the aborigines lived, at least as exclusively as either the Scotch or the Welsh, on what they extracted from the soil by the sweat of their brows. But the rights of discovery, whatever they were, were clearly abandoned with respect to the natives by Vancouver's acceptance of Kamehameha's cession of the sovereignty of Hawaii,—an acceptance which the British Government of the day never disavowed; while the new title, for which the old one was thus bartered, was itself inconsistent, as was also its subsequent confirmation on the part of Liho Liho, with any thing like direct interference in the internal polity of the group.

If England had taken the offers of the conqueror and his son, according to their well understood significations, she could have assumed only the protectorate of the archipelago,—an office which, at least according to French experience and perhaps in the very nature of things, would have embroiled her, to say nothing of the jealousy of foreign rivals, with the very savages whom she professed to protect. If she had actually established the indirect dominion in question, she would, in all probability, have soon been justified by some violation or other of her rights in grasping the immediate sovereignty; but, as she had not chosen to establish anything of the kind, she stood on the same footing as France, or America, or Holland, or Denmark, with respect to the natives, in any attempt at annexing the islands to her colonial empire. Such annexation, unless it rested on the plainest justice and the strongest necessity, could not, on the whole, be advantageous to the mistress of so many widely scattered dependencies, held, for the most part, in cheap and willing subjection by their faith in her moderation and integrity. It might, indeed, promote the welfare of the great mass of the people; while, even to the dominant caste, it could be rendered palatable by a comparatively trifling amount of annuities, which, in most cases, would be limited by Nature herself to the lives of the first recipients. It is only on this disinterested ground and in this honourable way, that England can ever think of possessing the Hawaiian archipelago, however tempting may be its agricultural, or commercial, or political, attractions.

England, however, has duties to discharge towards her children, who have settled, or may hereafter settle, in the group, over and above the obvious obligation of watching over the interests of her shipping. Her cheapest and least offensive, and perhaps also her most efficient, mode of doing all that she ought to do in the premises, is to be particularly careful and cautious in the selection of her resident representative. The British consul, if he be unexceptionable in manner and temper, in judgment and knowledge,—if, in a word, he know how to unite the gentle in tone with the firm in action,—cannot fail to be in himself a host against all the caprices and intrigues that are likely to challenge his interposition. Such a man, simply by doing nothing to lower the dignity of his country, would, in general, be treated as if he had her resistless power at his back; while, in order to keep up the national *prestige*, the visits of ships of war, hitherto "few and far between," might easily be so regulated as always to hang over the heads of all whom it might concern,—surely as patriotic, if not so profitable, an occupation for Her Majesty's squadron as the freighting of silver from San Blas, or Callao.

The functions of the British Consul, which have not always been judiciously discharged by Mr. Charlton, are the more difficult and delicate, inasmuch as the native authorities, as already shown to exist under the written constitution, are known to be a good deal under the irresponsible influence of American advisers. Soon after their arrival from Boston, the missionaries notoriously became, so far at least as new legislation was concerned, the real rulers of the group. For many years, they attempted, hopelessly enough, to shroud their political supremacy under a very transparent veil of special pleading, partly because most of their innovations were offensive to nearly all the foreign residents, and partly because their whole proceedings not only set at defiance their special instructions against meddling with affairs of state, but also evaded the fundamental rule of their craft, that Christianity ought, in order of time, to take precedence of civilization. At length, however, the Rev. Mr. Richards happily modified this system of indirect domination, by resigning his position as a missionary, and standing forth as the avowed counsellor of the Hawaiian government.

The example of Mr. Richards was imitated, immediately after my departure, by Dr. Judd, who undertook the offices of treasurer and recorder, the latter department having been subsequently resigned in favour of an American lawyer, of the name of Ricord. Of the upright intentions and disinterested motives of Dr. Judd and Mr. Richards, I am able, from my own personal knowledge, to speak in high terms. Still, the fact that all the three are Americans must excite the jealousy and suspicion of British subjects in general, and must exercise all the prudence and caution of the British Consul in particular.

Mr. Ricord's office, I apprehend, is likely to be a peculiarly fertile source of misunderstanding. Under the native code, all causes between foreigners were tried by foreigners, who necessarily acted in the double capacity of judges and jurors, making their own law in each case for the facts, according to their own notions of right and wrong. Things went on pretty well, excepting that, when the parties were of different nations, each was ready to impute to the other's countrymen a disposition to evince their patriotism at his expense; but now that Mr. Ricord, as president of the court, will have all the law to himself, he will, of course, be suspected, however innocent he may be, of throwing his weight, as often as only one party is an American, into the scale of his compatriot. The extent and intensity of this cause of discord will be better appreciated by the reader, when I come to speak of the social and mercantile factions of Honolulu.

RELIGION.

The ancient superstition was as unmeaning as it was bloodthirsty. Whatever was its origin, it had practically degenerated into a mere instrument of the oppressive policy of the privileged class. The absurd and arbitrary taboos, which were venerated as the oracles of the gods, had, in effect, no other general end in view than that of schooling the bodies and souls of the people into an unfaltering course of passive obedience; while their particular object, in most cases, was to entrap obnoxious individuals as victims for the altar, by watching their minutest violations or evasions of impracticable prohibitions. In all probability, however, the pretended organs of the Hawaiian Molochs, at least down to the days of the discovery, were the dupes of their own imposture.

But, subsequently to the discovery, the foundations of the system were gradually shaken. Whites were seen defying the taboos with impunity; the natives, who went abroad, and were known to do at Rome as Rome did, returned, notwithstanding their impiety, rigged out in such a style as to have passed, in unsophisticated times, for divinities themselves; and many of all grades, even while they remained at home, began to find out that, so long as the priests could be kept out of the secret, the gods took no interest whatever in what they said, or in what they did. Under these circumstances, idolatry had no longer anything but custom to support it; but then this single prop rested on the shoulders of an Atlas. Kamehameha resolved to die in the faith in which he had lived, disdaining to desert in his old age the mythology that had crowned his youth with victory. For this feeling, whether it was gratitude or prudence, he was doubtless peculiarly indebted to a remarkable incident, which he could not fail to consider as a conclusive proof of Divine protection. While he was still struggling for the mastery of Hawaii, the enemy were advancing against him through the fiery domain of Pele, whom more enlightened tribes might have been excused for worshipping; when, amid the shocks of an earthquake and the eruptions of the volcano, one whole division, mustering about four hundred souls, died in marching order, having been instantaneously suffocated by a current of vapour, which left the other divisions unscathed. This catastrophe was, of course, followed by a defeat in the field; and Pele became, in the opinion alike of friends and foes, the tutelary goddess of Kamehameha.

But the old conqueror and his idols perished together. In the very beginning of his reign, namely, in the year

1819, Liho Liho, with the sanction of the priesthood, and to the great joy of the laity, abolished the faith of his ancestors in the manner already mentioned under a former head, king and people leaping in a day from the most abject superstition into a kind of passive atheism. In abjuring their own idolatry as false and useless, the Hawaiians neither adopted nor rejected any other worship as a substitute. In the widest possible sense of the words,—a sense beyond that of the revolutionists of France,—they attempted to live without a religion.

Thus were these solitary isles, to compare small things with great, swept and garnished for the reception of Christianity pretty nearly as the kingdoms of antiquity had been eighteen centuries before. In profound peace, they obeyed one and the same master, while they had weighed their hereditary superstition in the balance and found it wanting.

Nor war or battle's sound
Was heard the world around

The oracles are dumb.

And sullen Moloch, fled,
Hath left in shadows dread
His burning idol all of blackest hue.

Meanwhile, even before Liho Liho had actually disowned the gods of his fathers, the teachers of a better faith were wending their way towards the Sandwich Islands, expecting, of course, to fight the same battle with prejudice and jealousy, as their brethren had fought in Tahiti for nearly twenty years. On their arrival, however, they found that, under Providence, the mere contact of an imperfect civilization had already decided the preliminary contest in their favour, while it had undoubtedly also facilitated the remainder of their task, by leading the aborigines, according to the general principles of human nature, to consider Christianity as an element in the envied superiority of the strangers.

As a curious contrast with all this, the missionaries had brought with them from Boston positive orders never to countenance the maxim, that civilization ought to precede Christianity. But the force of circumstances was more than a match for theories. Besides gladly availing themselves of all that the maxim in question had already done for them, the missionaries were themselves constrained to adopt it as the principle of their own practice. It was not Christianity but civilization to make uninstructed women wear something more seemly than the scanty *pau*; it was not Christianity but civilization to make unconverted men rest on the first day of the week; it was, in a word, not Christianity but civilization to enforce either moral or religious observances by motives that could not possibly have any reference to the graces of faith, hope, and charity.

In fact, unless Christianity, as such, were to assume a meaning unknown to Protestantism, the reverse of the maxim in question would involve the most untenable absurdities. Supposing, for instance, the missionaries to have arrived while the indigenous idolatry was still flourishing, would they have silently tolerated the immolation of human victims, till they had successfully inculcated the love of man as springing from gratitude to God; till they had imbued the ruling powers, to say nothing of the five points of Calvinism, with a practical belief in the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel? The impracticable theory of the new teachers was probably founded on the notion—a notion not peculiar to the American board for foreign missions—that the trading apostles of civilization, as such, were likely to do more harm than good to the cause of Christianity.

Admitting, for the sake of argument, this to be true of the traders themselves, still the trade might be innocent and useful; and, in fact, commerce might safely be assumed, particularly by Britons and Americans, to be the modern instrument of Providence for the moral and religious amelioration of mankind. But missionaries may bring their dogma to an easy test. Let them plant themselves as mere preachers of Divine truth, where nobody else can find secular motives for either preceding or following them, and then candidly enable the world to judge of the tree by its fruits.

But the missionaries, on their arrival, experienced something more than negative encouragement. They were met, in fact, by ready-made evidence of a disposition in high places to regard the religion of the foreigners with favour. Kalaimoku and Boki, decidedly the most influential men in the group, after the death of Kamehameha, had accepted baptism at the hands of the chaplain of a French ship of war; and, as the initiatory rite in question constituted their sole and entire knowledge of Catholicism, the example of their docility was not likely to be neutralized by any bigoted opposition on their parts.

Under all these favourable circumstances, the missionaries encountered comparatively few difficulties, too few perhaps for the genuine success of pure and simple

Christianity. Having begun by securing the support of the chiefs, in imitation rather of the fraternity that takes its name from Jesus than of Jesus himself, they permitted, if they did not encourage, the employment of secular means for the conversion of the people; and this system, according to the acknowledgment of the partisans of the mission, produced an incredible amount of hypocrisy among the immediate dependants of the government, making, even in this young country,

> The symbols of atoning grace
> An office-key, a picklock to a place.

In spite of all the reasonable grounds of suspicion, the credulous missionaries eagerly represented this hypocrisy as true religion, shutting their eyes, of course, to the singular inconsistency, on the part of citizens of their republic, in establishing a palpable connexion between Church and State. Nor were the chiefs, generally speaking, really more sincere and devout than the followers whom they dragooned into conformity, inasmuch as they entertained a hope, and realized it, too, that Christianity, with a new code of taboos, might revive that spiritual censorship of actions, and words, and thoughts, which the abolition of idolatry had destroyed.

Considering the state of society in most of the Polynesian groups, missionaries perhaps cannot avoid addressing themselves in the first place rather to the chiefs than to the people; but, if they do employ the influence of the dominant class as a means of general improvement, they ought carefully to distinguish, in this respect, between mere civilization and pure Christianity. If the Hawaiian missionaries had not precluded themselves from adopting this course, by proclaiming that Christianity, as distinguished from civilization, was to be the exclusive object of their earlier efforts, their proceedings might have been more easily reconciled with their professions. But, as matters stand, they appear to have fallen into the snare of making the end justify the means; and perhaps the trite proverb, that extremes meet, has never been more forcibly illustrated than in the Popish predilections of these revilers of Popery.

But this system of aristocratic coercion, besides failing to teach Christianity, prejudiced the mass of the people against the truth, by aiming blow after blow, as we have already seen, at nearly all their social and domestic relations; while, as if to aggravate negative injuries by positive oppression, it compelled the poor creatures to devote time, which would otherwise have been their own, to the erection of spacious and lofty churches, as the shrines of a faith whose yoke was easy, and whose burden was light. As one might have expected, the Gospel was anything but glad tidings to the worried and overworked serfs; the missionaries were regarded as the inventors of a servitude such as the islands had never known before; and, even during our visit, some of our party, who wore black, found themselves objects of suspicion and fear, till they disclaimed all connexion with "mikaneries."

In addition to these special grounds of hostility to the truth, there still lurked in many breasts a yearning after the ancient idolatry. This feeling, whether it was love or fear, was peculiarly powerful in the central region of Hawaii, where Pele had established her usurpation amid the most awful displays of omnipotent energy, amid terrors which assailed every sense at once through the varied manifestations of the mightiest of all subterranean fires. Liho Liho and Kaahumanu would have been less ready to abolish paganism, if, in order to do so, they had been obliged to place themselves within Pele's territorial jurisdiction; and perhaps few even of the converts would have had the courage to imitate Kapiolani, a female chief of amiable and pious disposition, who, in 1825, bearded the goddess in her den by descending alone into the crater, and there singing the praises of Jehovah, for the first time since the creation, within the greatest of his works.

In process of time, the disaffected of both classes found an ally against the common enemy in a church which did not persecute the people, inasmuch as it had not the support of the chiefs, and which, to a certain extent, conciliated the partisans of heathenism, inasmuch as it exhibited, at least to a savage's faculties of discrimination, many points in common with the exploded superstition. On the occasion of going to London in 1823, Liho Liho had in his suite a Frenchman of the name of Reves, who acted as a kind of secretary to the king and Boki, who, as already mentioned, had been baptized along with his brother, Kalaimoku, into the Catholic faith, before the arrival of the missionaries. When leaving England for France, after his royal patron's death, Reves, according to the most probable version of the story, was requested, or perhaps only authorized, by Boki to send some priests of the Church of Rome to the Sandwich Islands.

Accordingly, in 1827, three reverend fathers, two of them French and one of them English, arrived at Honolulu, at the very time that Kaahumanu and Boki were engaged in a struggle for possessing the supreme power during the minority of Kauikeaouli, or Kamehameha III. As Kaahumanu had by this time espoused the side of the Protestant missionaries, so Boki, as a matter of course, gladly redeemed his pledge to support the Catholic cause, securing thereby the sympathy and assistance of all the disaffected. For two years, the parties appeared to be pretty equally balanced. The priests had crowded congregations; and the missionaries, besides forming a "committee to inquire into the plans and operations of the Jesuits," thundered their anathemas against papists and popery from the pulpit.

In 1829, however, Boki, who had not half the firmness and talent of his deceased brother, was persuaded, by the importunities of Kaahumanu, to join in an order, that the foreigners alone should be allowed to attend the Catholic chapel. But the two dusky potentates soon experienced the truth of Napoleon's aphorism, that earthly dominion ends where the dominion of religion begins. For the first time in the annals of the archipelago, the commands of the chiefs were set at defiance; for the Catholic converts still continued, at first secretly, but at last openly, to avail themselves of public ministrations of their priests. Kaahumanu, that most imperious of queens, was, of course, equally astonished and incensed at the disobedience of her born vassals; but she prudently nursed her wrath to keep it warm, till Boki, good, easy, simple man, took himself out of the way, by starting with two vessels, to plunder, or conquer, or colonize, the New Hebrides.

Within a month after Boki had thus deprived the new faith of its only protection, Kaahumanu, after issuing a second order, which met the same contempt as the first, made the police carry the Catholics from their devotions to the proper tribunal; and, as the culprits still persisted in their contumacy, they were beaten with rods. Finding this external discipline ineffectual, her Majesty, by way of testing a more searching mode of conversion, kept one of the recusants, a female, in her train without food for seven days; but here again Napoleon's aphorism was made good, for the woman, as the only alternative short of famishing her to death, was dismissed as incurable.

During the remainder of the year 1830, this extraordinary contest continued to rage; but, though conscience, often without having a creed to sustain it, generally vanquished power as to the grand point in dispute, yet the queen, by adopting punishments more profitable than starving and scourging, managed to screw out of her victims a great deal of useful labour in the making of mats, the building of walls, the opening of roads, &c., &c.

Meanwhile, as Boki was, on good grounds, given up for lost, Kaahumanu ventured to take a step, which, in her rival's presence, even she might have deemed too bold. From persecuting the flock, she resolved to smite the shepherds also; and accordingly, on the 2nd of April, 1831, the reverend fathers were peremptorily ordered to leave the islands. Messrs. Bachelot and Short—for M. Armand had previously taken his departure—professed a willingness to obey; but, having been privately encouraged to remain by some chiefs who dreaded the rampant austerity of the victorious cabrinists, they contrived, with an occasional sacrifice of candour, to spin out the remaining nine months of the year on the pretext that no ship would give them a passage.

In December, therefore, Kaahumanu resolved to send away the two priests in a vessel belonging to the government; and the Waverley, an old brig of about one hundred and forty tons, was equipped for this work of purification, with a yellow flag at the fore. In addition to the petty insult of this practical joke—a joke which clearly did not originate with the Queen—the festival of Christmas, as if to impart a peculiar zest to the triumph of puritanism over popery, had been selected for the embarkation; and, accordingly, in spite of their entreaties for a day's respite, Messrs. Bachelot and Short were interrupted in their devotions by the police, and conducted on board of the Waverley, while, partly to check any disturbance and partly to make a holiday of the occasion, all the troops in Honolulu were mustered with veritable muskets and bayonets.

The brig forthwith made sail under a salute from the fort, of which the sincerity was not to be doubted; and, after a voyage of about five weeks, she left her passengers on the beach at San Pedro in California, a secluded and uninhabited spot which has been already mentioned, with two bottles of water and a few biscuits, thence to find their way, as they best could, to the nearest professors of their own creed.

In the year 1832, the Queen died, and was succeeded by Kinau, one of Liho Liho's dowagers, and now wife of Kekuanaoa, under the title of Kaahumanu II. In perfect keeping with her assumed name, the new regent pursued the persecuting policy of her predecessor. But, as all the common-place plans had failed, she improved on the original practice under the light of experience; and, accordingly, two or three old people, who had been convicted of Popery, were doomed to remove with their bare hands the accumulated filth of a certain part of the fort, which had long been devoted to the private convenience of the soldiers and prisoners. This unique discipline might make hypocrites, but could not make Protestants; and, if its victims were really pagans at heart, they most probably drew odious comparisons between the degradation of this calvinistic purgatory and the dignity of being sacrificed to the gods.

Down to 1836, the Rev. Mr. Bingham and his associates had everything their own way. Towards the close of that year, however, an Irish priest of the name of Walsh arrived from Valparaiso, who, on the intervention of the captain of a French sloop of war, as also of Lord Edward Russell, of the Acteon, was allowed to remain, under the promise of not acting in his professional capacity. Within a few months, moreover, the plot thickened in consequence of the return of Messrs. Bachelot and Short, from California. After having enjoyed snug quarters in the mission of San Gabriel for about five years, the two gentlemen in question had been again cast adrift by the revolution of 1836, and, hearing of the visits of friendly men-of-war, determined once more to try their fortune at the Sandwich Islands, in the hope of being now received with more favour.

In April, 1837, they reached Honolulu, and, immediately on landing, reported themselves to the authorities. They were instantly ordered to re-embark on board of the vessel that had brought them. This they refused to do; and, at last, after a month of pretty stormy negociation, they were rowed out to the Clementine by the police, and pushed up the brig's side, on deck, in defiance of the captain's remonstrances, while two of the guns of the fort were all ready, with the slow matches burning, to prevent or punish any actual resistance. In this emergency, Mr. Dudoit, after hauling down the English ensign, abandoned the vessel with his ship's company, leaving the two priests and an infirm creature of an old servant, who would not desert them in the hour of trial.

In this floating prison, which Mr. Walsh alone was permitted to visit, the three victims of intolerance were broiled under the sun of a tropical summer from the 20th of May to the 8th of July. On the day last mentioned, the Sulphur, Captain Belcher, and, two days afterwards, the Venus, Captain du Petit Thomas, anchored off Honolulu; and thus Messrs. Bachelot and Short had the opportunity of simultaneously appealing to the officers of their respective nations. After an interview with the king, which was obtained with difficulty, and at which the Rev. Mr. Bingham had the bad taste to appear as interpreter, the two captains succeeded in releasing the priests from confinement, on condition of their leaving the islands by the first favourable opportunity.

In pursuance of this arrangement, Mr. Short sailed for Valparaiso on the 30th of October. But, before

Mr. Bachelot could take his departure, M. Maigret, another priest of the same nation, arrived in the Europa from Tahiti; and, as he was absolutely forbidden to land, he found himself in the same predicament as that from which M. Bachelot had been so lately rescued. In this state of affairs, the two priests purchased the Honolulu, a vessel of about forty tons; and M. Maigret, without being allowed to place his foot on shore, was shifted, like a bale of goods, from the Europa into his own little craft.

Meanwhile, M. Bachelot, whose health had suffered from persecution and mortification, begged for a brief respite, in order to regain sufficient strength for a long and comfortless voyage; but, as orthodox mercy could lend no ear to the cry of a papist, the invalid was compelled to embark, borne down as he was at once by sickness and by sorrow. When the vessel reached the Island of Ascension, poor Bachelot had been for several days a corpse; and there were his remains deposited; while a wooden tomb, in addition to the cross, as an emblem of his faith, recorded merely his name.

The persecution now raged more fiercely than ever, while new varieties of torture were invented. A party of sixty-seven Catholics having been brought before the governor, they all recanted but thirteen; and these recusants also were induced to see the error of their ways, and to exchange the *Pule Pulani* for the *Pule Mr. Bingham*, by being suspended in pairs by the wrists across the top of a wall seven feet high, with their ancles in irons.

On another occasion, two women, respectively of thirty and fifty years of age, were similarly treated, excepting that they were not tied together; and after the miserable wretches had been hanging about eighteen hours, all night in the rain and all the forenoon in the sun, some of the foreign residents applied in their behalf to Mr. Bingham, who refused, however, to interfere, alleging that the sufferers must have been condemned for some offence against the laws. Of course, they were, as the judge very clearly explained to the aforesaid party of sixty-seven. They were not, he told them, to be punished or reproved for repeating Catholic prayers or believing Catholic doctrines, but because, in so believing and so repeating, they had disobeyed the orders of the king. The casuist must have borrowed this notion from Jonathan Oldbuck, when proving to Hector M'Intyre that, in Scotland, debtors were imprisoned, not for leaving their debts unpaid, but for slighting his majesty's command to pay them.

But another party was now to appear on the stage, while some of the original performers were glad to withdraw behind the scenes. As the revolution of the "three glorious days" had been the means of placing the Church of Rome and the Protestant sects on one and the same footing with respect to the state, Louis Philippe, in order to appease and conciliate his Holiness and the national priesthood, undertook to discharge the duties of "Most Christian King" beyond the limits of France, still to be the champion of the faith against all the world but the French Chambers. In consequence of this engagement, his majesty had taken the Romish Bishop of the Pacific Ocean under his direct and immediate protection.

Accordingly, on the 9th of July, 1839, the Artemise, Captain La Place, arrived at Woahoo for the ostensible purpose of obtaining redress for the persecution and expulsion of Messrs. Maigret and Bachelot; but the real object of the visit was to coerce the native government into an unlimited and unqualified toleration of Catholicism. Strictly speaking, France had no right to interfere by force in the matter. With regard to the internal policy of the Hawaiian government, this was abundantly clear, notwithstanding Captain La Place's curious assertion, that, amongst civilized nations, there was "not one" which did "not permit in its territory the free toleration of all religions."

Again, as to the special case of Messrs. Bachelot and Maigret, these gentlemen were attempting to violate or evade a law, which, whether politic or impolitic, the chiefs were competent to make, namely, the law against propagating Catholicism among the natives. They were expelled, not as Papists or as priests—for Mr. Walsh, who was allowed to remain, was as much of a priest and a Papist as either of them—but as apostles of Popery; for, though M. Maigret had not, like his associate, actually tried to proselytize the people, yet he possessed, in common with M. Bachelot, a title which arrogated a kind of territorial jurisdiction, which involved the work of propagandism as part of his official duty. Still the two priests had been treated with great harshness; and, if France had not made their sufferings a cloak for her ulterior views, she might justifiably have extorted some satisfaction for any excessive infliction of injury or insult. France was, in fact, making her piety the instrument of her ambition. All her demands, including her paltry exaction of twenty thousand dollars, were intended to bring about such a crisis as would appear to justify the seizure of the islands.

But Captain La Place had not been commissioned to argue the point. He had been sent to tell the Hawaiians, as a thing not to be disputed, that "to persecute the Catholic religion," which was no more the established creed of the grand nation than Calvanism itself, "was to offer an insult to France and to her sovereign;" and he had been authorized, *à la Joinville*, to enforce this doubtful axiom by the equally doubtful boast, that there was "not in the world a power capable of preventing" France from punishing her enemies. But, with the batteries and bayonets of the Artemise at his back, the captain carried all before him. He got Catholicism placed on the same footing as Protestantism throughout the group; and then, landing with about a hundred and fifty men under arms, he attended a military mass, military enough, in all conscience, celebrated in the palace by the Rev. Mr. Walsh.

The French, of course, were not slow to reap the fruits of their victory. During our visit there were three priests in Honolulu, besides two or three more in other parts of the archipelago; and the Bishop of Nilopolis was shortly expected on a tour of visitation. In addition to being engaged in building a large cathedral, the reverend fathers kept two schools, which were attended by about nine hundred young people of both sexes, natives and half-breeds; and many of the pupils had made great progress in various branches of education, while a few of them spoke French with considerable fluency. The new faith was daily extending its influence among the natives through the untiring zeal of its teachers; but, though it was no longer exposed to legal persecution, yet it was still subjected to the rude anathemas, spoken and written, of the Protestant missionaries. We had a good deal of intercourse with the priests, visiting their schools and occasionally attending their chapel, and were, on the whole, strongly prepossessed in their favour; and, however much their presence is to be regretted, even on the single ground that it has produced a schism, as it were, in language as well as in sentiment, in civilization as well as in Christianity, I sincerely trust that French Catholicism may henceforward encounter no other antagonist than truth, tempered by courtesy.

For the deplorable details of the last few pages, some of the Protestant missionaries were, beyond all doubt, chiefly responsible. It was they who, by disingenuously confounding things that they knew to be different, taught the chiefs to misapply the law against the ancient idolatry to the prejudice of Catholicism; it was they who inspired the government with a vague and mysterious dread of papal power and pretensions: in a word, it was they, who, by their suggestions, introduced secular authority as an instrument of conversion, and, by their connivance, sanctioned its merciless abuse. To put the charge into a shape which embodies its spirit without leaving room for evasion, the persecution would never have been begun, if all the missionaries had zealously united to prevent it; and the persecution would never have been continued, if all the missionaries had zealously united to check it. Even if the motive of the individuals in question had been a pure and simple abhorrence of the religious corruptions of the Church of Rome, their conduct would be indefensible. But there is strong reason for suspecting that their real motives were, in a great measure, secular. They were doubtless imbued with the political prejudices of their country against Catholicism; and they could not fail to dread a religious rivalry which might tend to break the ties that connected themselves with the state. In short, they were most probably actuated rather by a spirit of republicanism and the aspirations of ambition, than by the disinterested love of the genuine truths of the gospel.

But the missionaries are nearly as responsible for the schism which has succeeded the persecution, as for the persecution itself. It is chiefly their inflexible austerity, as brought to bear on the natives through the terrors of the law, that has filled the Catholic ranks; it is their unrelenting code of manners and morals, as enforced by pecuniary penalties, that has driven the people to embrace a new faith, in the hope of being delivered from the yoke of the old. If the cabrinists had had a single eye to the Bible, without straining it, on the one hand, into fanaticism, or tainting it, on the other, with worldliness, the Catholics would never have provoked such a degree of hostility as could in any way have justified the intervention of France, with all its attendant evils.

After all that I have said, I have much pleasure in acknowledging that, in their own proper sphere, the missionaries have done a great deal of good. Their mistaken conduct is the more deeply to be regretted, inasmuch as the success which has crowned their purely professional labours shows how much more their zeal and patience might have effected under a better system. Worldliness and fanaticism, besides leading to the misapplication of their time and talent, have, we are bound to believe, deprived them of much of that aid, without which all human efforts are unavailing; for God, though he often employs bad men as his unconscious tools, has never, since the world was made, prospered the schemes of his professing servants for usurping, as the reward of earthly policy, the glory due to himself alone.

So far as Catholic rivalry is concerned, let them simply do their own duty. Let them teach what they believe to be the truth, without either exaggerating or diminishing its worldly incidents and results. They have, it is said, been fond of pointing to California and the Sandwich Islands, as practical illustrations respectively of Popery and Protestantism. Now, the difference between the Spanish race and the English, affecting, as it does, nearly all the relations of life—social, and commercial, and political—has had more to do in the matter than any thing else; while, even with reference to religion alone, the cases are not at all parallel: for the civilization of California began with Catholicism before trade was known, and that of the Sandwich Islands, ere Calvinism was introduced, had taken root under the fostering influence of commerce.

EDUCATION.

It is chiefly through education, as such, that the missionaries have made progress in the work of conversion; and here again has their theory been at fault, that Christianity ought to be taught independently of civilization. In fact, the *palapala*, or learning, was confessedly more attractive and influential in the earlier days of the mission, than the *pule*, or religion; nor could there be a stronger proof of this than the circumstance, that the chiefs, after permitting the *pule* to be communicated to the people, still wished to monopolize the *palapala* for themselves.

In the elementary schools which are established throughout the group, under a general law, about eighteen thousand children are said to be instructed in reading and writing by native teachers. The specified number I suspect to be an exaggeration, inasmuch as, out of a population of eighty-eight thousand, the young of both sexes, under eighteen, according to the computations under a former head, can hardly be estimated at more than twenty-two thousand in all; so that, to say nothing of actual attendance, whether regular or occasional, there cannot well be so many as eighteen thousand names on the books, more particularly as, at least, a thousand children are trained in other institutions.

Already have these humble seminaries become a subject of contention between Protestantism and Catholicism; for, wherever Catholics and Protestants are mingled together, one party or other is sure to make a grievance of the religion of the teacher. Hitherto, the Catholics have, in practice, had the better ground for complaining, while the government has plausibly enough alleged in its defence the difficulty of finding sufficiently well qualified members of the more recently established persuasion.

This inequality between the two denominations, though it was clearly unavoidable for a time, was construed into a violation of Captain La Place's treaty; and about four or five months after my departure, the Embuscade, Captain Mallet, visited Honolulu, to remedy or avenge this additional "persecution of the Catholic religion," this supplementary "insult to France and her sovereign." Captain Mallet got an explanation, which silenced him, if it did not satisfy him, and departed in high dudgeon, without exchanging salutes, to report the circumstances to his superiors. If the grievance in question did not violate Captain La Place's treaty, then Captain Mallet was, of his own accord, meddling with a point of purely internal policy; and, if the grievance in question did violate Captain La Place's treaty, then had France placed herself in a position inconsistent with the independence of the group. In either case, England and America ought to take care that the French guarantee of native sovereignty is neither evaded nor nullified by the treaty aforesaid, or by any similar treaty whatever.

In Mowee, two superior schools, one for a hundred boys, and the other for as many girls, are conducted under the exclusive control of the Protestant missionaries. Besides reading and writing, the pupils are instructed in singing, drawing, painting, engraving, mathematics, geography, history, &c.; and recently the useful has been added to the elegant, by the introduction of such arts as spinning, knitting, weaving, &c. As it is the native tongue that is taught in these institutions, the mission, as a matter of course, comprises an establishment, or perhaps more than one establishment, for printing; and, so far as Honolulu was concerned, we visited, with much interest, an office with four presses and twenty hands, in which, with the exception of an American superintendent, all the workmen, compositors as well as pressmen, were natives.

In Honolulu there are two schools, in which English is taught. The larger of the two institutions is a free school for all children, but is attended principally by half-breeds, the progeny of native mothers by fathers of various races—English, French, Spanish, Chinese, &c. It is supported, in a great measure, by the voluntary contributions of the foreign residents, Hungtai, the leading Chinaman, being one of its main pillars. Again, the smaller of the two institutions has not, as to its general object, its parallel in the world. It is a seminary for training, apart from all the rest of mankind, the future rulers of the archipelago, an exclusive nursery of kings and queens, governors and counsellors, an improved edition, in miniature, of the Happy Valley of Rasselas.

The High School, as it is called, we visited at the request of Governor Kekuanaoa, the personage most extensively interested in the establishment. The pupils we found to be twelve in number, six boys and six girls, while a full third of the stock belonged to our good friend who accompanied us, namely, Moses, future governor of Kauai, Lot, future governor of Mowee, Liho Liho, heir presumptive to the throne, and Victoria, destined to contract some grand alliance. Though the school had been established only about two years, and most of the pupils were, at the time of its establishment, entirely ignorant of our language, yet many of the children now read English with a correct accent, and spoke it with considerable fluency, thereby increasing our regret that the missionaries had clung so long and so obstinately to the Hawaiian. In writing, arithmetic, drawing, geography, &c., some progress had been made. In their geography, however, the young ones were disposed to be sceptical, unanimously declaring, that the man who made the map had committed a great mistake in representing their islands as so very small in comparison with the rest of the world.

Even to maturer minds among the natives the map of the world must, at first, have been a source of astonishment, for, seeing around them only small specks in the ocean, and knowing of nothing else from tradition, the aborigines would naturally consider the earth as a boundless expanse of water studded with isles, as a kind of counterpart of the starry sky. Be this as it may, the remark of the children was far more rational than Liho Liho's logic, when he was told by some of the earlier missionaries that the earth went round. "Don't tell me that," said his majesty, "so long as I see Lanai," pointing from Lahaina to that island, "lying on the same side of me every morning." But much of the absurdity of the king's notions of cosmography might be explained by the fact, that, in this respect as in every other, the solitary despot naturally regarded himself as the centre of every movement, thinking that the earth, if it really went round at all, could only go round him.

To return to the pupils: their behaviour was, on the whole, very becoming, though some of the young ladies did occasionally raise the skirts of their frocks in order to scratch their ankles or perhaps the calves of their legs. The teachers were Mr. and Mrs. Cook, members, I believe, of the missionary body; and, after what I have said as to the appearance and proficiency of those under their charge, I need hardly add, that we left them with the most favourable impressions as to their moral and intellectual qualifications. This was, perhaps, the most interesting hour that we spent in Honolulu.

PRODUCTIONS AND MANUFACTURES.

Having incidentally mentioned various productions of the group under former heads, I shall here confine myself to such articles as appear to bear on the subject of extraneous commerce, beginning with a few preliminary observations as to the state of agriculture and the nature of the soil.

In the days of barbarism, the earth was cultivated by means of sticks, or bones, or stones, of any thing, in short, that could scratch the surface or dig a hole; while, in bringing home the crops, the serfs, male and female, acted as cattle, and calabashes and gourds served all the purposes of waggons. Now, however, spades, and hoes, and ploughs, and, in fact, all the means and appliances in ordinary use among white agriculturists, have got a footing among the aborigines, and are speedily becoming popular as well with the ignorant as the intelligent, as well with the indolent as the industrious. It is quite level to the most savage capacity, that a gentleman farmer enjoys a much pleasanter time of it than a beast of burden.

In the valleys, the soil consists of vegetable mould, which, besides its intrinsic productiveness, is constantly fertilized and refreshed, not only by its own share of the rains, that deluge the mountainous region, but also by the cascades, that rush down from the hills. With the exception of the valleys, nearly all the arable surface of the group needs, in a greater or less degree, the aid of irrigation, inasmuch as the ground, containing, as it does, large proportions of such thirsty ingredients as sand and ashes, rapidly absorbs even the heaviest showers. But, as I have already mentioned, far more than the half of the whole area is incapable of any and every kind of cultivation, being either peaks in which nature herself has never "moored" a tree, or precipices which nourish, or have nourished, the primeval forest in their clefts, or slopes of volcanic refuse which deny, in the season of drought, even their coarse pasture to the wandering cattle.

But the good soil, to be far within the mark, may be estimated as one sixth part of the entire surface, or, in round numbers, as 1,000 square miles, or 640,000 acres; and, in order to give at least a vague idea of the possible value of this breadth of land in tropical agriculture, I may mention, that Messrs. Ladd and Co. of Honolulu have produced an average of a ton and a half of sugar per acre,—a rate at which 1,000 square miles would yield nearly 1,000,000 tons, or at least four times the total supply of the United Kingdom. The extent of cultivation in question is, I apprehend, fully equal to the extent of cultivation, whether actual or probable, in Jamaica.

But the arable land, whatever may be its quantity, is available, almost without deduction, for mercantile enterprise,—always, of course, assuming that the objections of Church and State can be removed. The scantiness of the population, which does not average fifteen souls to the square mile, must manifestly leave, under any circumstances, most of the soil free for the operations of the capitalist, while the facility with which food can be produced must as manifestly require a very small share of the cultivator's time for the growing of the necessaries of life. These remarks will derive additional force from a more particular consideration of the chief article of subsistence. I quote from "The Hawaiian Spectator:"—

"In regard to cheapness of food for the natives, it is proper to state, that forty feet square of land, planted with *kalo*, affords subsistence for one person for a year. A tract of land one mile square, in fields, will occupy and feed a hundred and fifty-three persons; the same extent in vineyards will occupy and feed two hundred and eighty-nine persons; while the same quantity of land in *kalo* will feed 15,151, and probably not more than one-twenty-fifth of that number would be required in its cultivation. The above estimate of the number of persons that can be supported from one square mile of land cultivated in *kalo*, is made by allowing paths three feet wide between each patch of forty feet square."

According to this estimate—which, so far as the *kalo* is concerned, appears to contain no flaw,—six square miles might maintain the whole population in health and vigour; but, supposing every person, without distinction of sex or age, to require half an acre, there would still remain, even on that liberal and extravagant supposition, about 600,000 acres for objects not immediately connected with the maintenance of the natives.

Among the more important productions of the islands, sugar deserves to occupy the first place, if it were only that his majesty, Kamehameha III., has turned his attention to the manufacture of the article. The yellow cane, which is indigenous, is alone cultivated. Though its juice is acknowledged to be of excellent quality, yet, hitherto, the sugar has been of an inferior description, through the want of skill and experience. There is little doubt, however, that, in time, art will do justice to nature, when once the business has got into the hands of capitalists. The growers are already numerous, if not wealthy, as the following extract from a letter which I received from Messrs. Ladd and Co. sufficiently shows.

"The quantity of land under cultivation by natives and others in the vicinity of our mill is so great, that latterly we have abandoned its culture, and allow our works to be employed in manufacturing sugar for cultivators, returning to them one half of the products. We regret to say that our works are entirely inadequate to the wants of the planters, and much cane will unavoidably be lost the present and coming season."

But the grand difficulty in the way is the want of a market, more particularly as the group is so effectually cut off, both physically and politically, from the rest of the world. Still, the difficulty does not amount to a ground of despair. Considering that the article is retailed at five cents, or two pence halfpenny, a pound, about 90,000 natives might surely consume, at least with the help of foreign residents and foreign visitors, something like a shipload among them in a year, while, with a little management and negotiation, the islands might supply with sugar nearly all the coasts of both continents above their own latitude, California, the Oregon, the Russian settlements both in Asia and America, and ultimately Japan. If the archipelago could once secure this foreign trade, it could hardly ever be dialodged from it by any rival, so long as it enjoyed the nautical advantages of being the great house of call both in the length and in the breadth of the Pacific Ocean.

Silk appears to have fewer obstacles to surmount than sugar. The mulberry yields six crops in the year; and females, who can reel half a pound a day, are contented, in addition to their food, with six cents and a quarter, or a fraction more than three pence, paid in goods at an advance of cent. per cent. on the prime cost. Under these advantageous circumstances, an article of superior quality can be sold for a dollar and a half per pound, so that it can command, freight and duty notwithstanding, a remunerating price either in England or in America.

Silk, however, cannot be produced so extensively as sugar, inasmuch as the mulberry thrives only in such places, few and far between, as are completely sheltered from the trade-winds. The principal establishment, which is in Kauai, is under the management of Mr. Titcombe, an American of industry and enterprise. He is expected to succeed in his speculation, though his countrymen, who were the original projectors, failed in it, partly because they had everything that was peculiar to the soil and climate to learn, and partly because some of them had good reason for placing very little confidence in the others. If the business in general should prosper, it might be worth while to import skilful and experienced labourers from China, at least for the purpose of superintending the more delicate processes.

Tobacco, cotton, coffee, arrow-root, indigo, rice, and ginger thrive luxuriantly throughout the group. Tobacco was at one time prohibited; and, in order to prevent exportation as well as consumption, the "denounced" weed was torn up by the roots, as a public enemy. The absurd system has, I believe, been abrogated; and, at all events, tobacco grows in the face of day, without caring for Church or State. Coffee, an innocent enough beverage in most countries, also fell under the ban of the earlier missionaries,—probably as being a boon companion of tobacco, but more probably because, in furnishing an article of export, it tended to inundate the islands with the accursed thing in the shape of commercial civilization. Whatever was the cause, the coffee shared the same fate as the tobacco, being first destroyed by fanaticism, and then replaced by common sense. As I have already mentioned, it is, in my opinion, equal to Mocha; and, when grown in sufficient abundance, it may, I doubt not, be exported with advantage to almost any part of the world.

Indigo, though it thrives well, is yet not likely to be extensively cultivated, by reason of the breadth of land which it requires,—at least, so long as other crops, less precarious and more profitable, can advantageously occupy the soil. Cotton has only of late become an object of attention to foreign residents; the article, as prepared by the natives, was of course not fit to be sent to market. Of arrow-root the same may be said. Intrinsically, it is of fine quality; but so negligent are the manufacturers in washing and drying the article, that a small parcel lately sent to England by the Hudson's Bay Company did not cover cost and charges. Ginger grows spontaneously in lavish abundance throughout the group; but as yet it has not attracted any notice. Rice is but little cultivated, chiefly because the most favourable situations for the purpose, which, on account of the scarcity of water, are not numerous, are already occupied by that grand staff of life, the *kalo*.

The kukui oil is an article of rising importance. It is extracted from the nuts of the *kukui*, or light-tree, which are so unctuous, that, when strung on a twig, they serve the natives as candles, each nut igniting the one below it before it is itself consumed. Taking the hint, one of the foreign residents has lately erected a mill for breaking and pressing them so as to separate the juice from the husks. The oil, though inferior to linseed, is yet so much cheaper, that it finds a market at Lima to the annual amount of upwards of a thousand barrels; and a little of it has also been sent with a profit to the United States. The attention of many of the residents is now directed to the article; and, as the trees are very plentiful, and may be seen in groves of miles in length, the manufacture may be increased to almost any extent.

Among the valuable productions of the islands must also be reckoned salt, pearl-shells, and sandal-wood. Salt is gathered, in a crystallized form, from the surface of a small lake about four miles to the west of Honolulu, situated within an old crater about a mile from the sea. This lake is very shallow, hardly coming above a man's knees, excepting that a hole in the middle, long supposed to be bottomless, has been recently ascertained to be thirty or forty fathoms deep. By this hole, it is generally imagined to be connected with the ocean, though doctors differ as to whether or not it is affected by the tides. This uncertainty as to the tidal influence conclusively shows that the subterranean passage, if it exist at all, is far from being free and open, while a similar inference may be drawn from the fact that the rains of the brief winter of this leeward coast freshen the lake to the extent of making the salt entirely disappear. In the dry season, the more that is taken away, the more still seems to be left; and, in the course of one year, as much as 30,000 barrels have been procured from the spot.

Pearl-shells are numerous; and they may be said to cost nothing, inasmuch as they are caught for the sake of the oysters that they contain. These fish are found not only in the sea, but also in a small lake, near to that just described, though there they are so inferior in size and quality as not to be disturbed by man. Sandal-wood, as we have elsewhere shown, has been nearly exhausted, excepting that, in the forests of Hawaii, a few trees may still be found. Young plants, however, are said to be springing up throughout the group, though, meanwhile, the Chinese, it is to be hoped, may put an end to the demand for the article by discarding the gods that are its principal consumers. If commerce alone achieved the good work in the Sandwich Islands, commerce and Christianity together may be expected to make some impression on China.

But the group contains timber of intrinsic and permanent value. Good materials for ship-building exist, which, though not easily accessible in the present state of the communications, may ultimately be worth looking after, if they really be, as people say, proof against the attacks of worms and insects. Woods well adapted for cabinet-work are also various and abundant, such as koa, ko, kamanu, ebony, &c. With the exception of the ebony, which is of inferior quality, most of these woods, of which there are fifteen or twenty kinds, possess a beautiful grain, and are nearly as hard as mahogany. In appearance some of them resemble mahogany, others maple, others elm, and so on. We had many opportunities of seeing these woods, as most of the furniture in Honolulu is made from them. The prickly pear, also, may, like the mulberry, become indirectly useful, as the means of introducing the cochineal insect. The climate may be considered as peculiarly propitious to any attempt of the kind, while the tree, besides being already common, is propagated with wonderful facility; and, as the attention of some of the residents has been drawn to the subject, cochineal may soon have to be enumerated among the productions of the Sandwich Islands.

On the uplands of Mowee, which present a kind of temperate zone within the tropics, wheat and potatoes grow with great luxuriance. The potatoes are of uncommon size; and the wheat is said to be cut down, harvest after harvest, from the same grounds, just like so much hay. To say nothing of domestic consumption, or of the supply of shipping, these articles, particularly the wheat, might find a ready and profitable sale in foreign countries. The price of flour, as we have seen, is very high in California; and it is still higher on all the Russian coasts of the Pacific, more especially in Kamschatka, and the sea of Ochotsk, while, so far as the rivalry of the Oregon is concerned, the Sandwich Islands, from their central position, will always have the advantage in lowness of freight and opportunities of transport.

In closing this part of my subject, I need merely enumerate the skins of wild goats, and the hides and tallow, and beef of the herds, that wander at will among the mountains, as productions that have an important bearing on the commerce of the group.

To pass from productions to manufactures, the most showy specimens of native art are the military banners of the chiefs. The *kahile*, as the banner is called, consists of a pole elaborately inlaid with ivory, tortoiseshell, and human bone, at the upper end of which are fixed plumes of feathers, similar to those that are used at funerals in England, excepting that the colours, instead of being black, are the brightest possible green, yellow, red, &c. These *kahiles*, as I have elsewhere stated, are more or less splendid according to the rank of the owners. The great banner of the Kamehamehas, which, now that they no longer go to war, is displayed only in the funeral processions of the members of the royal family, is thirty or forty feet high, and requires several men to support it.

An humbler but more useful article of native manufacture, is rope for rigging the double canoes, or for any other purpose to which rope can be applied. Some of it is made from the cocoa-nut, some of reeds, and some of grass; but all is strong and well laid. But the principal manufacture of the group is the *kapa*, or cloth. It is made of the inner bark of the wouty tree (*morus papyrifera*), which, after being reduced to a pulp, is beaten into such a degree of thickness as may be desired, while the face of the fabric is susceptible of infinite variety, according as the face of the mallet is smooth, or grooved, or checked, or marked, with diamonds or any other figures whatever. In itself, the article is of a light colour, while, by bleaching, it may be rendered perfectly white. But to the simplicity of nature, the aborigines of both sexes generally prefer a gayer hue, and for this purpose they stain the cloth with a number of indigenous dyes, comprising all the possible shades of brown, yellow, green, and red, several colours being frequently contrasted in a kind of mosaic on one and the same piece or web.

Of all the native manufactures, perhaps this alone enters into general commerce. It is used for the sheathing of ships, for which purpose it is, in the North Pacific, preferred to felt; it has certainly the recommendation of cheapness, as five or six sheets, of twelve feet square, may be had for a dollar. In this article, the king is the principal dealer; for, in the shape of taxes, his majesty is glutted with cloth, and is glad to part with it at a reasonable rate.

TRADE.

Under the preceding head, I have been the more minute in detailing the internal resources of the country, sensible, as I am, of the expediency of finding some balance against the heavy imports. At present, the merchants have little but specie to remit in return for foreign commodities; and, in consequence of this, the exchange is, as a matter of course, so much against the islands, that the dollar, which in London seldom brings more than 4*s.* 1½*d.* sterling, varies in Honolulu from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 4*s.* 10*d.* of the same standard. Thus are the trader's nominal receipts reduced, by a single blow, from 8 to 15 per cent.; and, taking his selling price to be the double of the prime cost, his nominal profits are diminished from 16 to 30 per cent. In other words, an apparent addition of 100 per cent. turns out to be a real addition never exceeding 84, and sometimes does not exceed 70. If, however, remittances could be made in native productions, the merchant would have at least a choice as to his mode of operation; and, if articles of export should prove to be more advantageous in the premises than dollars, or bills of exchange, the specie would, in the same proportion, permanently lose part of its local value.

But, after all, it is not to their internal resources that these islands, as a whole, must look for prosperity. Their position alone has, in a great measure, made their fortune;—a position which is equally admirable, whether viewed in connexion with the length or with the breadth of the surrounding ocean.

For all practical purposes, the Sandwich Islanders are on the direct route from Cape Horn to all the coasts of the Northern Pacific. With respect to Kamschatka and the Sea of Ochotsk, this is evident at a glance; with respect to Japan, when its ports shall be opened, vessels will find their advantage, even without regard to refuge or refreshment, in deviating to the right of their straight course, in order to make the north-east trades above the equator as fair a wind as possible; and, with respect to California and the north-west coast, the apparently inconvenient deviation to the left is rendered not only expedient, but almost necessary, by the prevailing breezes which have just been mentioned. On this last point, Cook's accidental discovery of the archipelago, while he was making his way to New Albion, was tolerably conclusive. In addition to finding the islands, he marked out the best track for his successors; just as the Portuguese, on their second voyage to India, were driven to Brazil by a necessity to which modern navigators voluntarily yield; thus, by the by, stumbling on the new world by chance within eight years after its premeditated discovery, and showing that a few more seasons of disappointment and delay would have prevented the human mind from winning one of its proudest trophies, in the sagaciously-planned and resolutely-executed enterprise of Columbus.

But the group as naturally connects the east and the west, as the south and the north. Lying in the very latitude of San Blas and Macao, with an open sea in either direction, it crosses the shortest road from Mexico to China; while, considering its great distance to the westward of the new continent, but more particularly of its southern division, it may, without involving any inadequate sacrifice, be regarded as a stepping-stone from the whole of the American coast to the Celestial Empire. With respect, in fact, to the remoter points of departure, the deviation is far less than it seems, inasmuch as the westerly winds, which prevail within a few degrees of each side of the tropics, and thereby embarrass any direct passage to the westward above or below the limits of the trades, bring California and all to the north of it into the track of Mexico, and place Chili pretty nearly in the situation of Peru.

Again, with reference to each of the last two paragraphs, the islands lie but little out of the way of the returning voyagers. Situated, as they are, within little more than a day's sail of the westerly winds that sweep the Northern Pacific, they are just as accessible to China and Japan, as China and Japan are to them; while any visitor, to whom the winds in question may still be requisite for the prosecution of his easterly course, may again escape from the influence of the trades without having lost a week. In effect, the group is a kind of station-house, where two railroads cross one another, each with parallel lines for opposite trains.

The position of the archipelago, as just described, is the more valuable on this account, that it neither is nor ever can be shared by any rival. If one makes no account of the comparative vicinity of mere islets, which are worthless alike for refuge and refreshment, the Sandwich Islands form perhaps the most secluded spot on earth, being at least twice as far from the nearest land as the lonely rock of St. Helena.

But it is not merely for the purposes of refuge and refreshment that the position in question promises to be available. Already have the Sandwich Islands begun to be a common centre of traffic for some of the countries, which they serve to link together. Even now, their exports comprise a larger proportion of foreign commodities than of native productions, such as hides and sea-otters, from California, silver from Mexico, teas and manufactures from China. Though the system of entrepôts, which, in a great measure, nursed Holland and Belgium into wealth and populousness, has gone by in Europe, yet it seems to be well fitted to regulate, for many years to come, the intercourse between the ports of the Pacific Ocean, inasmuch as many of them must long be unable to consume whole cargoes, in unbroken bulk, of articles of the growth or manufacture of any single country. In this respect, the tendencies of nature have, to some extent, been strengthened by the capricious administration of the impolitic laws of Mexico. In that republic, the duties, which are always high in the terms of the tariff, are collected, according to whim or necessity, with greater or less strictness, each port, as well as each week, having its own peculiar mode of reducing the theory to practice; so that, when a vessel finds the authorities in a troublesome or extortionate humour, she runs for it to Honolulu, there disposing of her cargo at better prices, or at least depositing it for better times. As an instance of this, the "Joseph Peabody" that entered the harbour along with us, was indeed from Mazatlan, as I then mentioned, but had actually brought most of her goods by that circuitous route from China.

When the ports of Japan are opened, and the two oceans are connected by means of a navigable canal, so as to place the group in the direct route between Europe and the United States, on one hand, and the whole of Eastern Asia, on the other, then will the trade in question expand in amount and variety, till it has rendered Woahoo the emporium of at least the Pacific Ocean, for the products, natural and artificial, of every corner of the globe. Then will Honolulu be one of the marts of the world, one of those exchanges to which Nature herself grants in perpetuity a more than royal charter.

If these anticipations,—and even now they are not dreams,—be ever realized, the internal resources of the islands will find the readiest and amplest development in the increase of domestic consumption and the demands of foreign commerce. In some direction or other, every native production will follow its appropriate outlet; and, in a word, the Sandwich Islands will become the West Indies of all the less favoured climes from California to Japan. As I have already remarked of one or two articles in particular, the greater part of the exports will most probably meet their best market in the Russian settlements. In them, the necessaries, as well as the luxuries, of life are pearls of inestimable value; and, if expediency could justify aggression, the czar might more excusably have seized this archipelago than ever any one else appropriated a foot of land that did not belong to him. Even now, France, and America, and England, might be more willing to let the Sandwich Islands fall into the hands of Russia than to see them continue liable to be seized, on some pretext or other, by any one of themselves.

In all this mighty work, whether it be wholly or partly accomplished, our own race will furnish the principal actors. The commerce of this ocean will be ruled and conducted by England, aided and rivalled only by her own republican offspring of America; and the merchants of these two nations, the most enterprising merchants and the most powerful nations that the world has ever seen, must decide, with a sway greater than that of princes, the destinies of this sea of seas, with its boundless shores and its countless isles. In this respect, the past and the present, as they must strike the most superficial observer, are sufficient guarantees for the future.

But the position of the Sandwich Islands, which I have hitherto considered in its bearings on international intercourse, is not less commanding with respect to fisheries than to commerce. In the upper half of the Pacific there are three principal whaling-grounds, one on the Equator, another near Japan, and the third towards the Russian settlements, while, generally speaking, the same vessels pass, according to the season, from one scene of operations to another. Now, this archipelago, as the hastiest glance at the map must show, could not have been better placed, if it had been exclusively intended by Providence to be a common centre for the whaling-grounds in question; and if, on the intermediate ocean, there be specks superior in mere situation, certainly not one of Nature's other caravanseras, within the assigned limits, has been either so conveniently fitted or so bountifully supplied.

In consequence of these unrivalled advantages, the ports of the group, particularly Honolulu, in a far higher proportion than all the other ports put together, have long been visited by all the whalers of the North Pacific for refuge and refreshment, while they have gradually come to be frequented for ordinary repairs, and also for stores and equipments of every description. It is chiefly with reference to the supply of these civilized wants, that foreign merchants and foreign mechanics have established themselves in the group; thus forming such a nucleus of local enterprise as is likely to effect a material change, equally beneficial to all parties, in the system of prosecuting the fisheries.

As has already begun to be the case with the adjacent coasts, so has it been with the adjacent waters; in the one instance, as well as in the other, the Sandwich Islands, from being the tavern of the traders, promise to become the entrepôt of the trade. Even now several small whalers are owned in Honolulu; and there can be little doubt that, from year to year, the port in question, like Sydney in the South Pacific, will engross a larger share of the business, storing the oil to be freighted to its ultimate destination. With such an example before them, the whalers in general will be led to separate the two naturally distinct departments of the work, the fishing and the carrying—a division of labour which will be profitable in more ways than one.

At present, the vessel loses at least ten or twelve months in going and coming; and thus a year's interest on the heavy expense of her special outfit is almost literally thrown into the sea. At present, the oil, instead of being sent, fresh and fresh, to market, lies, on an average, half the time of the cruise in the hold; and thus are two capitals hazarded to earn the returns of one, while, in order to aggravate the evil, the dead stock is stowed away in the most costly warehouse in the world. At present, the officers and crew are selected with almost exclusive reference to their skill and boldness in pursuing and capturing the whale; and thus, during a period of perhaps three years, of which at least a half is not spent in fishing, the owners are obliged to leave their property at the mercy of men, who, to say nothing of the general absence of the higher qualities of a mariner, have undertaken the management rather of the ship's boats than of the ship herself. Surely, the remedying of these defects would be worth a month or so of warehouse-rent and the charges of transhipment.

To conclude this chapter with a brief view of the actual state of trade, there arrived in Honolulu alone, from 1836 to 1839 inclusive, 369 vessels. Of these the whalers amounted to 255, all but five being either American or British. As many of the whalers, particularly when they require nothing but such refreshment as the islands themselves yield, call at other ports, perhaps the annual number of this class of arrivals cannot be estimated at less than a hundred. During the same period, the imports of Honolulu—equivalent, I take it, to the imports of the group—averaged, one year with another, nearly 340,000 dollars at prime cost; and what is to my mind far more worthy of notice than their mere value, they had been brought from the United States, England, Prussia, Chili, Mexico, California, North-west Coast, Tahiti, with other southern islands, China and Manilla. Again, during the same period, the exports averaged, one year with another, about 78,000 dollars of local value, consisting of sandal wood, hides, goat-skins, salt, tobacco, sugar, molasses, kukui oil, sperm oil, the produce of a vessel fitted out from Woahoo, arrow-root, and sundries. All these articles, as may be seen from the qualified description of the sperm oil, were native productions.

But of exports, properly so called, the true amount differed considerably from the foregoing statement. Under the head of sundries was included little or nothing but supplies of meat and vegetables for the shipping; and, as the head in question amounted, as nearly as possible, to a half of the whole, the exports, in the technical meaning of the word, would be not 78,000 but 39,000 dollars. The exports proper, however, were rapidly increasing. In 1840 down to the middle of August, as compared with the whole of the preceding year, hides, at two dollars each, had risen from 6,000 to 18,500 dollars; goat-skins, at twenty-five cents each, had risen from 1,000 to 10,000 dollars; sugar had risen from 6,000 dollars, at six cents a pound, to 18,000 dollars, at five cents; molasses had risen from 3,000 dollars, at twenty-five cents a gallon, to 7,300 dollars, at twenty-three cents; and arrow-root had risen from nothing, in 1839, the average of the preceding three years having been less than 300 dollars, to 1,700 dollars in the part aforesaid of 1840. To add one particular more to this statement of arrivals, and imports and exports, there were owned in Honolulu, in 1840, ten vessels by foreign residents, seven by American citizens, and three by British subjects; and, besides these more considerable craft, which averaged 130 tons, there were five small schooners owned by natives.

Of the imports a considerable proportion, as I have elsewhere stated, is again exported—a feature, by the by, in the trade, which is a more characteristic omen of the future than any amount of internal demand.

Of such imports as are actually consumed in the islands, a considerable share, of course, goes, directly or indirectly, to pay for the native articles of export.

Perhaps about the same amount is absorbed by means of the expenditure of resident foreigners; the missionaries, numbering about forty families in the group, are said, whether they be ministers, or schoolmasters, or surgeons, or secular agents, to receive six hundred dollars a year each, of which every cent must find its way to the shop, to supply either their own wants or the wants of those natives with whom they deal; and all others, of extraneous origin, mustering about six hundred souls in Honolulu and elsewhere, cannot be estimated, as many of them are wealthy, to contribute, either through themselves or their dependants, less than fifty dollars a year each to the coffers of the merchants. Of the latter class, too, there are many individuals, who, in addition to their regular outlay, circulate large sums of money through the instrumentality of native women, who are sure faithfully to squander all that they earn; and, to give a single instance, a young Chinaman, who committed suicide during our visit, was ascertained to have kept up his harem, during the last year of his life, at a cost of five thousand dollars.

Again, the whaling trade accounts, in various ways, for nearly the half of all the local consumption. The vessels themselves cannot spend less than one thousand dollars each on equipments, repairing, and provisions; each crew must add about a fourth to this amount in dissipation of every possible description; and the natives who have served abroad, chiefly in the fisheries, must, in one way or other, get rid of savings nearly equivalent to the sums wasted by all the actual crews. Over and above all this, is to be reckoned part of the consumption among the natives. So far as the common people are concerned, the greater part of their expenditure has already been included under the foregoing heads; but the king and chiefs, viewed partly as individuals, and partly as the government, cannot derive from sources, independent of any thing that has been stated, less than thirty thousand dollars a year, converting the whole into imports, either for their own gratification, or for the maintenance of the public establishments.

CHAPTER XIII.

SANDWICH ISLANDS, &c.

Troubles with sailors—Visit to Nuannau—Kamehameha's great victory—Wells in Honolulu—Subterranean brook—Idolatrous temple—Cannibalism—Suicide of a Chinese—Chinese and Japanese—Power of false religion to resist truth—Chinese residents—Death of heir apparent—Governor Kekuanaoa's activity—Sitting on hams a mark of respect—Royal mausoleum—Distribution of Kamehameha's bones—Causes of scarcity of children of chiefs—Bickerings of all sorts among foreign residents—More trouble with sailors—Voyage to Mowee—Arrival at Lahaina—Rekeke's hotel—Mr. Baldwin's chapel—Rev. Mr. Richards—King, Haalilio, and John Young—Royal mausoleum—Kekauluohi, the premier—Excellent quarters, with maids of honour as bed-makers—Visit from Messrs. Richards and Baldwin—Queen Kaluma—Visit to the premier along with Mr. Richards—Jack of clubs—Native dance—Swimming of natives, and aversion of foreign residents to bathing—Lahaina, its population and situation—High school—Arrangements for sending a deputation to England, France, and the United States—Haalilio's character and death—King and suite dining on board—Kaluma again, the silent eloquence of her female attendants—Policy of government in managing the aristocracy—Paying farewell visits—Accompanied on board by King and suite—Voyage to Sitka, change of temperature—Mount Edgecumbe—Retrospect of journey, the English race having been dominant every where—Common origin and common destiny of English and Russians.

The very day after our own arrival, the Vancouver, one of the Hudson's Bay Company's vessels, touched at Honolulu, on her way to the Columbia; and, after remaining about a month, she resumed her voyage in the middle of March, carrying with her nearly the whole of my immediate party, Mr. M'Loughlin and Mr. Rowand for their respective posts, and Mr. Hopkins for England.

Mr. Hopkins's departure I felt as a serious loss with respect to the keeping of my journal, more particularly as my own eyes were by no means strong; and, in consequence of this, my subsequent notes were generally rougher and scantier than I could have wished.

When the Vancouver was ready for starting, a scene occurred on board of her which forcibly illustrated, at least in the case of long and distant voyages, the impolicy of the laws for regulating nautical discipline. The boatswain, whose conduct had previously been good, had got intoxicated immediately on entering the port, and, after being absent for some time without leave, had been brought on board by the police; but, refusing to do his duty, he was again sent ashore, and confined in the fort. When the vessel was ready for sea, he was brought out to her in irons, under the immediate charge of the British Consul. While he was yet in the boat, he attempted to strike down Mr. Charlton with his manacles; and, when he reached the deck, he threatened, to say nothing of his disgusting obscenity, that, if carried away, he would excite a mutiny. His violence, which, in fact, amounted to temporary insanity, elicited a murmur of applause from the crew; and, as it was out of the question to admit such a fellow among such comrades without the power of inflicting adequate punishment, he was remanded to the fort, to be dealt with as the Consul might deem necessary or expedient. As might have been expected, this example, however inevitable, of yielding to the demands of one man, led to subsequent acts of insubordination on the part of the others. In the present state of the law, the master, particularly with all the chances of misrepresentation against him, is never safe in proceeding summarily against an offender. The men act accordingly, unless they know that they are within easy reach of a ship of war or of a court of justice; and thus the very statute, which is intended to prevent mutiny, not unfrequently encourages it. All these defects of the law are aggravated by the notorious fact, that British seamen are the most unmanageable in the world.

After the departure of the Vancouver, I accompanied my friend, Mr. Pelly, to his rural retreat in the valley of Nuannau. The change of temperature, within a distance of four miles of gentle ascent, was very remarkable, so that, at our journey's end, we found a change from light grass-clothing to warm pea-jackets highly acceptable. Mr. Pelly's residence was a snug little cottage, surrounded by a great variety of tropical plants, particularly by beds of pineapples and miniature plantations of coffee. In fact, the gardens of the residents generally contain rich displays of almost every flower and shrub under the sun—orange, lemon, citron, lime, pomegranate, fig, olive, gooseberry, strawberry, squash, melon, grape, guava, tomata, batata or love-apple, yams, sweet potatoes, with many other fruits, and all sorts of esculent vegetables. To notice one or two of the rarer specimens, a very large variety of melon produces a most gorgeous flower, far more beautiful and elaborate than even the passiflora in Europe, and the papia causes so rapid a decomposition in meats, that the toughest beef, or the most venerable of old cocks, if steeped in an infusion of the fruit or the stem of the plant, becomes in a few hours perfectly tender. In addition to all that I have just enumerated may be mentioned the prickly-pear, the oriental lilac, the date-palm, the camphor-tree—in short, nearly all the plants of all the groups of Polynesia; and in order, if possible, to extend the catalogue, Mr. Hopkins left in the hands of one of the most persevering horticulturists some seeds of the cherry and apple, which he had brought from England.

At the head of the valley, distant but a few miles from the house, a *pali*, of one thousand one hundred feet in height, overhangs the windward side of the island. I had intended to ride to this precipice in the course of the afternoon, but was prevented by the heavy rain; our time, however, was spent very agreeably in receiving visits from many of the neighbouring natives. Next morning, though the rain continued to fall as heavily as ever, and the clouds and mist were driving down the gorge before the trade-wind, I was trotting away, at dawn, in the very teeth of the storm.

The scenery of Nuannau is strikingly picturesque and romantic. On looking downwards, the placid ocean breaking on the coral reefs that gird the island, the white houses of the town glancing in the sun, the ships lying at anchor in the harbour, while canoes and boats are flitting, as if in play, among them, form together a view, which, in addition to its physical beauty, overwhelms one, who looks back to the past, with a flood of moral associations. In the opposite direction, you discover a rugged glen with blackened and broken mountains on either side, which are partially covered with low trees, while from crag to crag there leaps and babbles many a stream, as if glad and eager to drop its fatness, through its dependent aqueducts, on the parched plain below. Nor is the view in this direction destitute, any more than the view in the other, of historical interest. It was up this very pass that Kamehameha, after gaining, as already mentioned, his last and greatest battle, chased with "his red pursuing spear" the forces of Woahoo and his own recreant followers who had joined them, till he drove them headlong, to the number of three hundred, "death in their front, destruction in their rear," down the almost perpendicular wall that terminates the valley.

On arriving at the *pali*, I saw, as it were, at my feet, a champagne country, prettily dotted with villages, groves, and plantations, while in the distance there lay, screened, however, by a curtain of vapours, the same ocean which I had so lately left behind me. Though the wind, as it entered the gorge, blew in such gusts as almost prevented me from standing, yet I resolved to attempt the descent, which was known to be practicable for those who had not Kamehameha to hurry them. I accordingly scrambled down,—having, of course, dismounted,—for some distance; but, as the path was slippery from the wet, I was fain to retrace my steps before reaching the bottom. In all weathers, however, the natives, when they are coming to market with pigs, vegetables, &c., are in the habit of safely ascending and descending the precipice with their loads.

While I was drenched on this excursion, the good folks of Honolulu were as dry and dusty as usual, the showers having merely peeped out of the valley to tantalize them. For domestic use, in spite of the prevailing droughts, Honolulu is plentifully supplied with water.

Wells, varying in depth from thirty to eighty feet, cost very little in digging by reason of the peculiar formation of the soil. This consists of a layer of mould, from two to six feet in thickness, then of a similar layer of black sand, and lastly of a deep bed of coral. When first worked, the coral is found to be quite soft, and is cut with the same ease as stiff clay; but, when exposed to the air, it becomes like rock, thus forming walls of better masonry than a workman could lay down. Under ground, in fact, fresh water appears to be remarkably abundant. A few years ago, in the operation of digging for a well, a crowbar, when pushed into the bed of coral, suddenly disappeared; the opening was enlarged, and found to communicate with a subterranean brook of pure and cool water, flowing with a swift current in the direction of the sea. This brook is said to be about fifty feet wide, and from two to six fathoms in depth; but, beyond these particulars, nobody has had curiosity enough to inquire into the source or the mouth of this mysterious stream.

Before I say anything of my voyage to Mowee, to which the regular course of my journal has now brought me, I shall offer a few desultory remarks on Honolulu and its neighbourhood, such as did not fall under any of the heads of my last two chapters.

On the slope of an extinct volcano, which is about four miles from the town, are the ruins of one of the temples of the ancient idolatry. An area of about two hundred feet by about fifty is surrounded by a wall of eight or ten feet in height and six or eight in thickness, built with extreme neatness of loose blocks of stone, lava, and coral. In this enclosure are the remains of three or four small squares for the altars, within which the bones of victims are said to be still plentiful. The longer sides of this temple look to the north and south, all the altars standing, or having stood, near the western end. In addition to the human sacrifices, these temples, according to general testimony, were the scene of cannibalism, which, as well as the preparatory murder, is believed to have been a religious rite. Whether the devouring of men was always of a sacred character, one may be allowed to doubt; but that it sometimes was so, we must infer with certainty from the fact that, when the assembled chiefs were consulting how they could best honour the mortal remains of Kamehameha, one of them propounded his opinion to the effect, that they should "eat him raw." Taking this proposal, by the by, as a sample of the manners of 1819, civilization has undeniably made rapid strides in this archipelago. The merit of the change is quite large enough to satisfy the just pride of both merchants and missionaries.

During our stay, we had a specimen of the working of a different system of paganism in the suicide already mentioned of a young Chinaman. This practical atheist had hanged himself, to make assurance doubly sure, with a rope of an inch and a half in thickness. The malady is a national one, — an instance of its obstinacy having occurred in our own service on the north-west coast. A Chinese steward on board of one of our vessels, getting sick of life, jumped overboard while the ship was under full sail. As he was too expert a swimmer to sink on any terms, he held down his head, as if he hoped to get waterlogged; but, before he could drown, he was picked up by one of the boats. On reaching the deck, he merely grinned, saying, "Make muchee cold," and forthwith proceeded to lay the cloth for dinner. But where there is a will, there is a way; and the fellow was subsequently fortunate enough to drown himself in the Columbia River.

But to return to Honolulu. The unhappy youth, having inherited a considerable property from a brother who had died in Mowee of the same distemper, had at once rushed into an extravagant course of life, carrying the passion of his race for gambling to a characteristic extent, and maintaining, in addition to a lawful wife, a whole nest of houris at a ruinous expense. It was this last circumstance that led to his death. The police, having got evidence of his amours, threatened to bring him up before the court; and, in order to avoid the exposure, he destroyed himself. No sooner was his corpse laid out on the floor, than his bereaved favourites, howling their lamentations over him in dismal strains, endeavoured to shampoo him back into life; but he was too far gone for that, and was buried the same afternoon in the Protestant ground, while a dense crowd followed him to the grave with a hired band of music, which had all day formed a curious accompaniment to the wailing of the women with the cheerful notes of the pipe, and cornet, and drum.

This scapegrace was in partnership with Hungtai, already mentioned; and the old gentleman, whether it was that he was proud of his countryman's stoicism, or that he was glad to have got rid of so unserviceable an associate, had no sooner seen the body committed to the earth, than he returned home with a smiling countenance, and whiffed off all recollection of his friend in a pipe of opium. Among those by whom suicide is regarded as one of the ordinary outlets from this world, sympathy of any sort is not to be expected; for how can a man, who does not value his own life, value another's? and how can a man, who does not deplore the death of a neighbour, deplore any of his lesser misfortunes? To return to the subject of the deceased spendthrift. His example seemed to be contagious in his harem, for, within a few days, his favourite mistress followed him, by drinking a decoction of some pieces of old copper.

Of the Chinese, there are altogether about forty in this archipelago, as they are, in fact, scattered, wherever they can earn a livelihood, over a hundred degrees of longitude, from Woahoo to Sincapore. As distinguished from their Tartar masters, the people of China are not the bigoted enemies of foreign intercourse that they are supposed to be; they are, on the contrary, ready to go abroad either as residents or as wanderers, combining the laborious habits of the Irish with the peddling disposition of the Jews. In this respect, they are remarkably different from the Japanese, who, even when they find themselves from home, with hardly the hope of returning, can think of nothing but their native land.

This was eminently the case with the two little bands that were driven, as elsewhere stated, to the shores of this group. Notwithstanding all the kindness that they experienced, particularly from the missionaries, they pined for their own islands, the young as well as the old, the single as well as the married. One of their remarks, by the by, forcibly shows how beneficial the previous abolition of the idolatry of the group must have been to the teachers of Christianity. When pressed on the subject of religion, the poor exiles replied, with equal pathos and firmness: "The gods of America may be good for Americans, but the gods of our country are good for us." Though, in their case, the desire of revisiting the place of their birth may have rendered them less willing to abjure the faith of their fathers, yet a similar feeling cannot, to the same extent, affect the Chinese residents; and yet every one of them says, every day of his life, if not in words, at least in effect, that his own creed is the best for him.

Most of the Chinese residents have originally come to the islands under engagements of some kind or other, gradually establishing themselves in business as opportunities occur—two industrious fellows, in particular, of the name of Sam and Mow, having recently opened shop as bakers, with a poetical advertisement worthy of "Hunt's Matchless," or "Warren's Blacking." Generally speaking, they are found to be a great acquisition in the factories and the stores, and, moreover, make very excellent servants. They are satisfied with moderate wages; and, living, as they do, principally on rice and vegetables, are maintained at little cost; and, what is better than all, they are honest, patient, and cleanly. Those who are employed as shopmen, keep their accounts with a wonderful degree of exactness, making all their calculations by means of an abacus. Nearly all their valuable qualities are confirmed and illustrated by the following instance.

Some years back, my informant had sent two Chinese from Honolulu to Mowee, in charge of a cargo to be sold by retail. On closing the transaction, at the end of several months, they handed to their employer an accurate account of every cent that had passed through their hands; and, though the amount of sales exceeded forty-five thousand dollars, yet the expenses of both the men had averaged something less than half a dollar a day between them. Their good conduct, of course, did not go unrewarded. One of them remained in the islands, with every prospect of doing well, while the other was sent back, a rich man, to his own country, where, doubtless, his wealth would operate as a premium on emigration.

Another death, of a person of greater consequence than the young spendthrift, occurred also during our visit. A vessel, with her colours half-mast high, arrived from Mowee; and soon afterwards the great flag of the fort was displayed in the same ominous manner, betokening, for the information of the lieges, the death of some member of the royal family; and Rumour, with her thousand tongues, forthwith ran about, whispering that the heir apparent, just as his elder brother had been before him, had been summarily put out of the way of the more favourite line of the late Kinau, daughter of Kamehameha and wife of Kekuanaoa. However this might be, the national ensign drooped for three days, young Liho Liho again became heir-presumptive to the throne, and Kekuanaoa himself walked about as if nothing particular had happened.

The old governor, by the by, is always on the move, and that, too, to some purpose, for he is really as intelligent as he is active. From morning to night he pays visits, or boards the ships, or attends his hall of justice, always accompanied, as I have elsewhere hinted, by his body-guard of amazons. In the proceedings of his court, one peculiarity struck me as indicative of the consistency with which the customs even of savages must have been observed. In the presence of Excellency, all the natives used to evince their respect, not by standing on their feet but by squatting on their hams—a practice which may be easily and satisfactorily explained. As the chiefs were almost uniformly taller than the people, it was the most natural thing in the world for servility, on the one hand, or for pride, on the other, to establish a sitting posture as the proper attitude of an inferior; and, in fact, so rigorous was the etiquette on the subject of corporeal eminence, that, while Kamehameha was in the cabin of any ship, his very chiefs, even the second ruler in his kingdom, did not dare to tread any part of the deck that could possibly be over his royal head.

Speaking of Kinau, I had the honour of entering the royal mausoleum on the occasion of my visiting the high school, which is not inappropriately situated within the same enclosure. The last home of the great of these islands is a small edifice of stone, already containing five coffins, those of Liho Liho and Kamehamalu, brought from England with their contents, and three others, equally rich and elaborate, manufactured on the spot. The coffin of Kinau, or Kaahumanu II., was elevated on a frame and screened by silk curtains; and Kekuanaoa drew back the elegant hangings which veiled the remains of his wife and one of his children, with all the coolness of a professional showman. The bodies, besides being enbalmed, are enclosed in lead, which again is carefully soldered; but, notwithstanding these precautions, the lid of Liho Liho's coffin has been warped by the gases escaping from within. The remains of the founder of the family are not be seen in this building. Though his body was not eaten raw, according to the suggestion of one of his admirers, yet it was boiled till the flesh fell from the bones; and then the bones were distributed among the chiefs, with a due regard to the mutual jealousies of the aristocracy, the skull going to one, a rib to another, and perhaps the tip of a finger to a third.

Of all the chiefs of the first rank, Kekuanaoa alone has a tolerable number of children. Women so enormous in size as most of the female grandees are cannot possibly be prolific; and even when they become mothers, they take nearly as little care of their offspring, without the excuse of poverty to palliate their want of affection, as the humblest females on the islands. As an instance of this, Kamehameha and Keopuolani, both as healthy as horses, had thirteen children, of whom only three, Liho Liho and the present king, with his late wife, survived their father. The women of the Sandwich Islands can bear children, if they will; and the children will live, if they can. During my visit, there was living on Woahoo a woman of twelve years of age, who had already presented to an English husband three thriving pledges of connubial love.

Before concluding this record of our proceedings at Honolulu, I cannot but acknowledge the kindness and courtesy that we experienced from all the foreign residents of respectability, missionaries as well as merchants, during the whole of our sojourn. Our pleasure, however, was sadly marred by an undisguised want of cordiality among those who were so hospitable to ourselves.

The merchants and the missionaries are, generally speaking, on barely decent terms with each other. The missionaries live in a part of the town by themselves, a Goshen in the midst of Egypt, seldom associating with the laymen, and never visiting them; while the merchants have not yet forgotten certain clerical proceedings directed against their amusements. In justice, however, I ought to state, that the feud had begun before the parties ever met. In 1820, all the foreign residents, with the single exception of John Young, endeavoured to persuade the chiefs to prevent the missionaries from landing; and the missionaries, if the truth were known, had doubtless been imbued with much uncharitable prejudice against the mercantile pioneers of civilization, by their exclusive views of religion. Unfortunately, the relation of pastor and flock was perverted to the widening of the breach; for some of the more violent among the reverend brethren sometimes so far forgot themselves as to rail against individual whites from the pulpit, in terms not to be misunderstood. Partly in consequence of this indiscretion, and partly from a preference of English to Hawaiian, nearly all the Protestant residents attend the Seaman's Chapel, which is distinct from the other churches, and has a minister of its own. During our stay, however, the missionaries did officiate there, inasmuch as Mr. Diell, the late chaplain, was dead, and Mr. Demon, his successor, had not yet arrived.

Again, between the government and the merchants there is generally some ground of difference or other, over and above the general fact, that the authorities are always more or less identified with the missionaries.

The government has not only to maintain its own cause against every white who may imagine his interests to be injured or his dignity to be insulted by any legislative, or executive, or judicial measures; but it is worried to interfere in every squabble that takes place between sections or individuals of the mercantile community, being sure to be abused at least by one party for its interposition, or perhaps by both for its neutrality.

Then, again, among the merchants themselves, there is no imaginable limitation of the sources of discord. The Americans and the British pit themselves against each other as desperately, as if the dignity and power of their respective countries could be enhanced or diminished by the rancour of a few traders in the middle of the North Pacific, while the French and the Mexicans, and all the second-rate factions, throw their weight sometimes into the scale of one of the first-rates, and sometimes into that of the other. For some years back, moreover, religion has been nearly as formidable a wedge in society as politics; but, in the controversy between Catholicism and Calvinism, the French and Mexicans are the principals on the side of the former, while, through hatred of the latter, or, rather, of its organs, individual Britons and Americans have espoused the same cause in the character of auxiliaries.

In many cases, however, politics and religion are merely a cloak thrown over more sordid and unworthy motives. Rivalry in trade often lurks at the root of the evil; and, in a small community, this jealousy in business, instead of being frowned down and borne away, as is the case in larger societies, by public opinion, is caught up and imitated by the interested individual's partisans and retainers, thus ripening into the badge of a clique or coterie. The social result of the whole is this, that the one half of all the strangers in this strange land are not on speaking terms with the other, while every now and then there springs up some unforeseen trouble, to make the friends of to-day the enemies of to-morrow, or the enemies of to-day the friends of to-morrow, either as principals or as auxiliaries.

In this universal war of partisanship, a house is not unfrequently divided against itself, for the wives do not always choose to veer about with the husbands in all the little matters of familiar intercourse. Mr. A. and Mr. B., from having been on doubtful terms, are now great allies, though Mrs. A. and Mrs. B. still adhere to the old system of non-intercourse. Mr. C. is the sworn friend of Mr. D., but won't speak to Mrs. D., while Mrs. A.'s mother visits Mrs. D., but won't notice Mr. D. In this manner the whole place is cut up into such minute subdivisions, that a visitor is perfectly at a loss how to act, being almost afraid to mention where he has been or whither he is going. How inferior, in this single respect, is Honolulu to California in general, and to Santa Barbara in particular.

This belligerent spirit often leads to serious litigation, forcing into court cases, which, in a different state of feeling, would be settled amicably by the parties themselves. During my short stay, I was, I believe, useful in adjusting some of these differences. In an action, which involved claims to the amount of about fifteen thousand dollars, I had the honour to be foreman of the jury; and I subsequently had the high satisfaction of terminating, as arbitrator, a dispute of nearly equal importance, which, for a whole year, had been a grand bone of contention between the claimants and their respective parties.

Though all these divisions of the whites are indirectly a safeguard to the government, yet, when they assume the form of litigation, they seldom fail to place it in a very unpleasant predicament, for, while one party may be forcing a question on the consideration of the local authorities, the other party perhaps denies their jurisdiction, and swaggers and threatens away about appealing to his own country for redress.

My prayer is, that the residents of all classes and denominations may strive to heal all their petty divisions, remembering that not only to their own real interests, but also to that great cause of civilization and Christianity which Providence has committed to their charge, "Union is strength—discord, ruin."

To resume my journal. I returned to town immediately after visiting the *pali*, intending to take my departure for Mowee on the following day. The Cowlitz, however, proved to be as hard to move as the Vancouver. Many of the sailors, with the second mate to countenance them, were so intoxicated as to be unfit to proceed to sea; four fellows were confined in the fort for various offences, and one had absconded. Such conduct is unfortunately too common on the part not only of the men, but also of some of the officers, of foreign ships in general. Being the grand source of disturbance in the otherwise quiet town of Honolulu, it sets a bad example to the natives, and lowers the whites in their estimation, besides giving rise to such profligacy as tends powerfully to neutralize the labours of the missionaries.

Meanwhile, I occupied my time by conferring with Kekuanaoa and Dr. Judd on affairs of state, more particularly on the subject of taxation. The doctor, as I have already mentioned, was to be appointed treasurer, and would probably have to act as chancellor of the exchequer. The crew of the Cowlitz having been at length mustered and sobered, we left Honolulu, accompanied by Mr. Charlton and Mr. Pelly, on Thursday, the 17th of March, under a salute from the fort, an honour never before paid to any but vessels of war. During our voyage, which occupied three days, the weather was close, damp, and disagreeable, without anything to vary the monotony, excepting the squeamishness of some of our passengers. We did, however, see a few whales, both sperm and right, besides many young sharks; but, young as the sharks were, none of them were such greenhorns as to take the bait, though they followed the ship for several hours at a time.

The channel between Molokoi, on the left, and Lanai, on the right, through which we had to pass, is narrow, being at some points only seven or eight miles in width, with a current of three knots. It requires all the attention of navigators; but, on the present occasion, our captain was much distracted and annoyed by some amateurs of our party, who, cloaking a great deal of nervousness under an appearance of public spirit, remained on deck, in order to give him their valuable advice.

On the evening of the 19th, we came in sight of the roadstead of Lahaina; but, as both wind and tide were against us, we could not fetch the anchorage that night. Next morning, however, we were all snug by six o'clock, and found ourselves in company with nine American whalers, and our old friend Captain Cooper, who had just arrived from Acapulco in his cranky schooner, but brought no news.

As soon as convenient after breakfast, we went ashore. The first house that we entered was that of Rekeke, commandant of the king's body-guard, who had, in imitation probably of the majors and colonels and generals of the United States, opened his mansion as a tavern, for the accommodation of the public; but here we could not stop, for, besides hosts of flies and vermin, we found several whaling skippers and mates carousing in a style which did not exactly suit our fancy.

On proceeding from Rekeke's to the "Bethel," I was glad to see that most of the whaling folks had preferred the church to the hotel, for there were present in the chapel twelve or fourteen officers and about twenty sailors. The preacher was gesticulating with considerable vehemence, while beneath him sat the Rev. Mr. Richards, who, with that ardent zeal and primitive simplicity which characterize him, did not disdain to act as clerk to his former colleague, to be "a door-keeper," as it were, in the House of God. If the reverend orator had got hold of Rekeko's guests at their orgies, instead of the decent men that had come voluntarily to a place of worship, he could not have pelted away more unmercifully at his hearers, setting them down as the greatest sinners under the sun; and then, with a hit at smooth-tongued preachers, triumphantly adding, that his system was to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. He was doubtless zealous, and meant well; but his exhibition seemed to me to be peculiarly worthy of record, as furnishing a clue to much of the dislike entertained by the traders towards the missionaries.

At the conclusion of the service, I was introduced to the Rev. Mr. Richards, and found him to be as shrewd and intelligent as he was pious and humble.

From the chapel we went to the palace, which, like some other residences of royalty, is badly situated, occupying a low spot among stagnant patches of the *kalo*. The sentries on duty, who were neatly dressed in white uniforms, saluted us as we passed; in point of stature and carriage, they would have borne a comparison any day with our finest grenadiers.

At the entrance, we were met by the king, accompanied by Haalilio, his secretary, and Keoni Ana, chamberlain of the establishment and governor of the island, all three wearing the Windsor uniform, and appearing to be much about the same age, probably under thirty; Kaui Keaouli is very dark; he is, however, good-humoured and well formed, and speaks very tolerable English. Haalilio, who is since dead, had a countenance of considerable intelligence, and, to my personal knowledge, did not belie his looks in that respect. *Keoni Ana*, according to the principles of enunciation as developed under a former head, is the Hawaiian disguise for John Young, the present bearer of the appellation being son and namesake of the common sailor, whom Kamehameha elevated, as a monument of the immeasurable superiority of the rudest civilization over every form of savage life, to be governor of his native island, and viceroy of all his chiefs. If inferior to his father in mental qualities, Keoni Ana possesses a good face and handsome figure. The three companions welcomed us with a cordial shake of the hand, and expressed their gratification at seeing us; they were fluent in their elocution, and easy and graceful in their manners.

His majesty offered us everything which he deemed conducive to our comfort, horses, servants, boats, &c.; and, after joining in a glass of wine, we were conducted by him to visit a kind of rival of the grand mausoleum in Honolulu, the tomb of his mother, who was one of the very earliest converts to Christianity, his first wife, who was also his sister, and his three children, all deposited in handsomely-mounted coffins of native manufacture. The conversation turned on fifty different topics, in which the king was likely to take an interest, such as railroads, swimming, dancing, riding, &c., and the whole of us speedily became excellent friends. At parting, his majesty engaged to bring his two comrades and other principal authorities to dine on Tuesday on board of the Cowlitz.

We now adjourned to a half-finished and ill-furnished stone house in the fort, to pay our respects to the premier, who, in power and rank, is next to the king. Kekauluohi, more popularly known as the "Big-mouthed Queen," for she is one of Liho Liho's dowagers, possesses at least two of the ingredients of "fat, fair, and forty;" and, as she was too unwieldy to move from her couch without a good deal of trouble, she received us gracefully in a recumbent posture, and made herself very agreeable. Her female attendants, who were all of the class of chiefs, surpassed other maids of honour as much in affability as in bulk; for, as we all sat promiscuously on the thick matting which covered the greater part of the room, each lady, with perfect nonchalance, proceeded to shampoo the gentleman who sat next her. As a mere matter of form, for it could not be anything else, I asked the huge premier to dine on board of our vessel with his majesty.

After eating, or trying to eat, a wretched dinner at Rekeke's hotel, we strolled about the town, which, unlike Honolulu, presented scene after scene of drunkenness and debauchery, with several ladies among the actors.

At night, we had excellent quarters prepared for us; and three of the premier's maids of honour, of whom the smallest must have weighed upwards of twenty stone, came in the evening, with a plebeian retinue of their own sex, to perform the ceremony of making our beds. Our residence, the property of Kekauluohi, was a house of two stories, built of stone, and well furnished, with a gallery or verandah in front. The upper floor was divided by means of partitions, screens, and curtains, into three apartments, a dining-hall and two bedrooms, the latter being provided with piles of mats and other conveniences for repose, covered with musquito nets. After the labours of the three ladies of quality, we might be supposed to have passed a pleasant night. But the sheets of *kapa*, though cool and agreeable, crackled and rustled at our every movement; and this fretting noise, combined with the unremitting attentions of myriads of vermin, disturbed, in no small degree, the night's repose. A refreshing bath in the morning, however, served to remove the effects of a restless night; while, on my return from the beach, I was glad to find that we were no longer to depend on Rekeke's tender mercies.

An excellent breakfast had been prepared for us by order of our royal hostess, who, for our future comfort, had farther sent us a cook, and half-a-dozen other attendants, with all requisite supplies.

This morning I received an early visit from the Rev. Mr. Richards, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Baldwin, whose performances we had heard at "Bethel." The former, by referring to a letter which he had received from Dr. Judd, at once placed us on a confidential footing. He complained loudly of the overbearing conduct of the British and French consuls, adding, that letters on the subject had been written to Queen Victoria, but had not been answered; and, at his request, I undertook to become the bearer of farther despatches.

In the course of the forenoon, I repeated my visits to the premier and the king, by both of whom I was most graciously received. With his majesty Kamehameha III., I found several of his officers of state assembled, Haalilio and Keoni Ana, already described; Kewini, governor of the fort; and Rekeke, commander of the forces. On this occasion, I had the honour of being introduced to the young and pretty queen, who, from the effects of her late confinement, and still more, perhaps, through grief for her premature bereavement, was still lying on her couch of matting. Kaluma, as I have elsewhere mentioned, is daughter of Captain Jack, who, in his capacity of admiral of the fleet, accompanied the late king and queen to England. Like

Keoni Ana, *Kaluma* is the Hawaiian disguise for part of our vernacular, being formed of *ka*, *the*, evidently, by the by, one and the same word, and *luma*, *rum* ; and this somewhat undignified name for a queen may, perhaps, be regarded, on the principle of association of ideas, as a proof of her having been the old tar's favourite child. The royal couple appeared to be devotedly fond of each other; and, though her majesty has no ostensible share in the government, she must exercise, I apprehend, a good deal of irresponsible influence.

I was invited by the king to attend a social entertainment in the evening; but, learning that his majesty had, during the day, been enjoying himself with some of Rekoke's whaling friends, I excused myself, when the hour came, on the score of indisposition.

At night, I again visited the premier by special appointment, accompanied by Mr. Richards. We entered the fort after dark by the postern gate, where the sentries, evidently expecting us, permitted us to pass without challenge; and we were then conducted into the house by a fellow resembling, in office and demeanour, the mutes of an oriental harem. We found Kekauluohi in a large antechamber, at the door of which were stationed two sentries, while, in an adjoining room, were several large women, most probably our ladies of the bedchamber being of the number. The enormous queen, to whom poor Kanaina, her husband, is a mere spare rib, received us, as before, in a recumbent posture, and forthwith began to discuss, without reserve and with considerable acuteness, the affairs of the government. At the close of our interview, which lasted from eight o'clock till midnight, we parted, the best friends imaginable; and the premier, having first got me to plead guilty of matrimony, made many inquiries about my wife and young folks, promising that, if I would bring them to the Sandwich Islands, she would have a house erected for us better than either she or the king possessed.

Huge as the premier is, she is decidedly surpassed in weight by one of the ornaments of her court, the wife of our old friend Kealiiahonui; and, whatever Shakespeare or anybody else may say to the contrary, true nobility in this archipelago is rather of the body than of the mind. Kealiiahonui himself weighs about twenty-five stone, while his stupendous consort scores off nine pounds and a half more in her *pau*. To make the acquaintance of so great a personage, who is familiarly known as the "Jack of Clubs," was, of course, a thing much to be coveted; but, on calling at her residence, what was my distress to find that she and some other aristocratic dames had started off in two double canoes, with twenty or thirty followers, for the island of Molokoi, there to enjoy a little pleasant relaxation from the dry toils of public life. To compensate me for my disappointment, I was introduced to twelve or fourteen interesting girls, maids of honour, or perhaps of all work, who had been left at home as too young to participate in the present convivialities.

On the afternoon of Monday, we went to see a native dance, which was to be got up with more than ordinary care and ceromony. The ball-room was in a long building, the walls of which were formed of thick mats; and the centre of the apartment was appropriated to the performers, while all round were placed seats for the accommodation of spectators, a very conspicuous place being reserved for my party. The musicians, almost all old men, were seated on their heels to the number of eighteen, beating time to their song on large double calabashes, which were attached to their left wrists; the music was wild, but by no means destitute of melody, while the words, as we were informed, referred to the conquests of Kamehameha, to the nuptials of the present king and queen, and to the birth and death of the boy of whom they had just been so suddenly deprived. The performers, having each to attend both to the vocal and the instrumental departments, were soon perspiring at every pore; still, they did their double work admirably, and kept excellent time.

Then followed a dance of a truly indigenous description between three lads and as many girls; and next came a *pas seul*, executed by a youth, whose elegance, activity, and pantomime, surpassed anything of the kind that I ever witnessed at our own theatres. This fellow's dress was light and tasteful, consisting of a tiara of feathers and flowers, of necklace, bracelets, and anklets of shells, of the perpetual *malo*, and of leggings, adorned with various devices in shark's teeth, which made a rattling sound in unison with his motions.

In spite of all the good premier's endeavours to make our quarters comfortable, I passed another restless night in her house, having been well nigh eaten up alive by fleas and other vermin; and I anxiously watched the approach of daylight, that I might be able to bathe my countless wounds in the sea. A stranger can scarcely form an idea of the luxury of a bath in these warm regions, where both air and water are of nearly equal temperature; and yet, curiously enough, foreigners, who have resided any time, seldom or never bathe, appearing to entertain even an aversion to the sea through a dread of catching cold, and so on; and thus neglecting, through groundless fears, a practice which is the best antidote to the enervating influences of a tropical climate. As to the natives, they may almost be said to be born swimmers; for they actually take the water before they leave the breast. At Lahaina, in particular, I was highly amused with the early development of this innate talent. Through the town, there runs, or rather creeps, a sluggish streamlet, into which urchins, that were hardly able to stand, used to crawl on all fours; but, no sooner did they gain the congenial element, than they struck out like young fish, diving, and ducking, and performing a variety of feats with confidence and ease.

After breakfast, I took a ride round Lahaina, where there is a population of about 5,000 souls, a little more perhaps than half the population of Honolulu. Though the place has nothing of a harbour, excepting an open roadstead lying on the outside of the reef, yet it is a good deal frequented by those who desire refreshment alone, in consequence of provisions being cheaper here than in the commercial metropolis. The situation of the town is by no means agreeable, being low and flat, while the neighbourhood is beset by marshes and stagnant pools, which send forth a very offensive perfume. Still the locality is considered healthy. I was glad, however, to learn from the king that he intended to drain the marshes and pools, and to remove his own residence from its present dull, low, damp situation, to a more airy and conspicuous position, overlooking the roadstead. The houses at Lahaina are neither so well built nor so comfortably furnished as those of Honolulu; and both men and women seem to have been more contaminated here by their intercourse with whites, many of both sexes speaking our vulgar tongue, in its grossest and most offensive terms, with great fluency. The people of Lahaina are, moreover, evidently addicted to liquor, whereas, at Honolulu, I did not, during the whole of my stay, observe a single instance of intoxication among the natives.

In the course of my ride, I visited the high school, a substantial building, well situated on the face of a hill above the town. At this establishment, which I have already mentioned as being entirely under the management of the missionaries, there are about a hundred youths, varying in age from eight to twenty years; and a large printing-office, attached to the seminary, is constantly employed in publishing periodicals and books, partly written by natives, besides engravings and lithographs made by the pupils. The boys are comfortably lodged, two in a room, are well fed on their favourite *poi*, with a small seasoning of fish and meat, and are clothed,—quite sufficiently in so warm a climate,—in a shirt and the *malo*. The youngsters contribute in a small degree to their own maintenance, by devoting about two hours a day to agricultural and other labour; but their condition, contentment, and conduct evidently show that, so far from being overworked, they are kindly and liberally treated.

Hitherto, as I have elsewhere mentioned, no other language than their own is spoken or studied; English, however, is intended in due time to be introduced, now that the intercourse with Great Britain and the United States has become so extensive. Such of the young men as may evince a religious turn of mind are to be sent forth as missionaries; if moral, but not religious, they are to be employed as schoolmasters; and if neither religious nor moral, they are taught trades, and allowed to go free whenever they are so inclined. The teachers appeared to be steady, intelligent, and respectable persons, and to be well qualified for their arduous and important tasks.

The hour for the entertainment of royalty now approached, but his majesty proved to be indisposed. The big-mouthed queen of course did not come, any more than the mountain came to Mahomet; but still our table mustered Haalilio, Keoni Ana, Kewini, Mr. Richards, Mr. Charlton, Mr. Pelly, and my own immediate party. After dinner, which was a highly creditable affair, we all returned on shore; and at nightfall Mr. Richards and myself again repaired, by special appointment, to the premier, to have another conference of three or four hours on politics; while Mr. Charlton, partly from curiosity, and partly from a suspicion of treason, was rendered quite restless and unhappy by being excluded from our confidence.

Next morning, I called on Mr. Richards, to peruse some papers preparing for England, which were to be put under my charge. At noon, the papers in question were submitted to the king and premier, who then decided that, agreeably to a suggestion of mine, Mr. Richards should proceed to England as envoy, being for this purpose associated with the governor and deputy-governor of the Hudson's Bay Company and myself; and that we should have authority to make arrangements on behalf of the Hawaiian government, not merely with England, but also with France and the United States. Haalilio, according to a subsequent arrangement, accompanied Mr. Richards. This native chief attracted much attention in London, on account of his gentlemanly bearing and amiable disposition. But, in his case, as in that of Liho Liho and Kamehamalu, an ungenial climate soon did its work. Though he made his escape from England without having sensibly impaired his constitution, yet in the winter of 1843-4 this enlightened son of a barbarous race died on his homeward voyage, a few days after leaving New York, the commercial metropolis of the country which had been mainly instrumental in rendering him what he was. He had caught cold, as there was reason to believe, while visiting me at Lachine in the previous autumn; and within a few days before his embarkation, I felt grieved at seeing him with his doom written on his manly countenance.

I spent the greater part of the afternoon in company with the king. His majesty and suite dined with us on board of the Cowlitz, where we had a very convivial party of about twelve. In the evening, I visited Kaluma, for whom I felt a lively concern; she is said to possess strong affections and many amiable qualities, while the suspicion with respect to her infants, more particularly as it is cherished by herself as well as by the world, could not fail to render her an object of interest and commiseration. She was attended by several female chiefs of high blood, among whom was the wife of the gigantic Paki. Of these women there are but few who speak English; nor, indeed, are tongues essential to render those agreeable, who are such perfect mistresses of the language of the eyes. Even among themselves, I have watched the native belles, I might almost say by the hour, while they were carrying on an animated conversation in dumb show; and, whether it was that the teachers were apt, or the task easy, or the pupil docile, I found that even a perfect stranger might be made to understand and practise the art after a single lesson.

From all that I have observed, I cannot help thinking that a good deal of profound policy is displayed by the executive in the management of the chiefs. Kamehameha, as is well known, kept his grandees as much as possible under his own inspection, more particularly if they were supposed to be disaffected; and Kekauluohi and Kekuanaoa, the parties most deeply interested in the succession of Kinau's line, have contrived to improve on the great conqueror's plan by means of a division of labour, the latter holding fast the husbands, and the former monopolizing the wives.

After dark, the king, the premier, Mr. Richards, and myself, met at the premier's, and on this occasion the papers already mentioned were delivered to me. About eleven o'clock the king accompanied me to my quarters, where we spent the evening in great sociability and cordiality; and, after we had got among the small hours, I returned with his majesty to the palace, where we found Haalilio engaged in study, with a large volume before him.

The forenoon of Thursday, the 24th of March, I employed in paying farewell visits. The premier was waiting my arrival, showily dressed for the occasion, and surrounded by all the peeresses of her court. She thanked me kindly for the interest that I had taken in the affairs of her country, expressed an earnest wish to see me back among them, and desired her warmest regards to my wife, presenting to her, through me, a very handsome feather mantle, such as is worn only by royalty itself. Queen Kaluma, whom I next visited, likewise charged me with presents and good wishes for all the members of my family, obviously remembering her own bereavements when she spoke of my children.

At noon, the king, the secretary, Keoni Ana, Mr. Richards, and others, accompanied me to the ship; and, on our almost immediately getting under way, I shook hands with my very kind friends of the Sandwich Islands, exchanged salutes with the fort, and returned the three hearty cheers which the king and his party gave us from the boats.

The change of temperature, as we proceeded to the northward, was very rapid, being observable at least to our sensations, not only from day to day, but almost from hour to hour. First of all, flies, musquitoes, and insects, began to disappear; then we found great coats, while we were on deck, any thing but a burden; and, lastly, we reinforced our beds with a large increase of blankets. On the fourth day after leaving Mowee, our recollections of the temperate zone were still more vividly refreshed by a storm of snow and sleet. This sudden transition from a sunny sky and a balmy atmosphere to cold, damp, and searching winds, seriously affected the health of all on board, especially of the poor Sandwich islanders. Nor did the lower animals suffer less than the human beings. The cattle fell off from day to day, till they were mere skin and bone; and the goats remained close by the galley fire from morning to night, turning themselves round and round, as if roasting, in order to do equal justice to all parts of their bodies.

On the morning of the twenty-second day from Lahaina, we were roused from our lethargy by the cheerful cry of "Land!" and again came in sight of the rugged coast at the entrance of Norfolk Sound, with Mount Edgecumbe on the north, and Point Woodhouse on the south of the opening. Mount Edgecumbe, so named by Captain Cook, is an excellent landmark for making the harbour of Sitka, rising from the water in the form of an almost perfect cone, and wearing a "diadem of snow" nearly all the year round. Though at present it exhibits no traces of internal fires, yet it has been an active volcano during the residence of some of the present inhabitants of New Archangel; and many indications in the neighbouring country, such as earthquakes, hot springs, and occasional eruptions of smoke and ashes, tend to prove that the subterranean energy is not yet wholly extinct.

A heavy squall of snow, which came on while we were entering the sound, rendered it impossible to see a quarter of a mile from the vessel, so that we were obliged to haul our wind and stand off for the night. Next morning, Saturday, the 16th of April, we entered the sound, firing two guns, at the early hour of five, as a signal for a pilot. We soon received an answer in the shape of an old fellow, who, after doing honour to the indispensable dram, took charge of the Cowlitz. The channel appeared to be very intricate, winding among low islands covered with pines, which at present were almost buried in snow; and it was not till we were close upon it, that the establishment of New Archangel suddenly burst on our view, with some ten or twelve vessels lying at anchor under its batteries.

Before plunging into that colossal empire, whose length is to occupy an almost uninterrupted flight, for journey I cannot call it, of about five months, let me indulge in a brief retrospect of such portion of my wanderings as I have happily accomplished. I have threaded my way round nearly half the globe, traversing about two hundred and twenty degrees of longitude, and upwards of a hundred of latitude; and in this circuitous course I have spent more than a year, fully three-fourths on the land, and barely one-fourth on the ocean.

Notwithstanding all this, I have uniformly felt more at home, with the exception of my first sojourn at Sitka, than I should have felt in Calais. To say nothing of having always found kindred society, I have every where seen our race, under a great variety of circumstances, either actually or virtually invested with the attributes of sovereignty. I have seen the English citizens of a young republic, which has already doubled its original territory, without any visible or conceivable obstacle in the way of its indefinite extension; I have seen the English colonists of a conquered province, while the descendants of the first possessors, however inferior in wealth and influence, have every reason to rejoice in the defeat of their fathers; I have seen the English posts, that stud the wilderness from the Canadian lakes to the Pacific Ocean; I have seen English adventurers, with that innate power which makes every individual, whether Briton or American, a real representative of his country, monopolizing the trade, and influencing the destinies of Spanish California; and, lastly, I have seen the English merchants and English missionaries of a barbarian archipelago, which promises, under their care and guidance, to become the centre of the traffic of the east and the west, of the new world and the old. In seeing all this, I have seen less than the half of the grandeur of the English race.

How insignificant in comparison are all the other nations of the earth, one nation alone excepted! With the paltry reservation of the Swedish Peninsula, Russia and Great Britain literally gird the globe where either continent has the greatest breadth,—a fact which, when taken in connexion with their early annals, can scarcely fail to be regarded as the work of a special Providence. Hardly was the Western Empire trodden under foot by the tribes that were commissioned for the task, from the Rhine to the Amoor, when He, who systematically vindicates His own glory by the employment of the feeblest instruments, found in the unknown wilds of Scandinavia the germ of a northern hive, of wider range and loftier aim. At once, as if by a miracle, a scanty and obscure people burst on the west and the east, as the dominant race of the times; one swarm of Normans was finding its way through France to England; while another was establishing its supremacy over the Sclavonians of the Borysthenes, the two being to meet in opposite directions at the end of a thousand years.

It is in this view of the matter that I have in these pages preferred the epithet *English*, as comprising both

British and *American*, to the more sonorous form of *Anglo-Saxon*. The latter not only excludes the true objects of Divine preference, but also, in excluding the Normans, it loses sight of the co-operation of Russia as the appointed auxiliary of England in promoting, perhaps by different means, the grand cause of commerce and civilization, of truth and peace. Reflecting on the common origin and common destiny of Russians and Englishmen, I ought to feel that I am still to be among friends and kinsmen. Even the very difference of language, while practically it makes me a stranger, serves to confirm my deductions.

In addition to the permanent conquests already mentioned, the Normans, as a mere episode in their history, rivalled Grecian and Italian fame on the soil of Italy and Greece; and yet, though uniformly victorious in all the climes of Europe, they were never numerous enough to engraft their own speech on that of those whom they subdued. This unparalleled and incredible success cannot be otherwise explained than by believing that the Normans were everywhere strengthened by the Almighty to accomplish the universal purposes of His omniscience.

CHAPTER XIV.

SITKA.

Landing—Difference of day of week—Bishop of Sitka—Departure for Taco and Stikine—Tragical end of Mr. John M^{c}Loughlin—Critical position of establishment and consequent proceedings—Abundance of pine and cypress—Voyage back to Sitka—Arrival on Easter Sunday—Peculiar customs of this festival—Divine service—Officers of Russian American Company—Mechanics and labourers—Married women—Hospital—Bishop's farewell sermon—Strictness of clergy in general and also of laity—Ecclesiastical zeal of Russian Government, united with spirit of toleration—Medicinal springs, favourable influence on vegetation as well as health—Perseverance of natives in bathing—Water impregnated with sulphur—Capital mistake of a recent visitor—Redoubt—Miserable weather at Sitka—List of shipping—Sailing of Constantine with M. Rotscheff and family—Sailing of Ochotsk—Tchuktchi of Siberia—Fair of Ostrovnoye—Tchuktchi chief's notion of perfect happiness—Behring's Straits—Climate, British Isles and Kamschatka—Indian fight—Immediate stop to the issue of liquor among Indians—The evil in question the inevitable result of competition—Political relation between Indians and Russians—Yassack, its origin and progress—Kaluscian funeral—Wedding at Sitka—Bridesmen and bridesmaids—Embarkation on board the Alexander and departure from New Archangel.

After receiving a hearty welcome from Governor Etholine, we proceeded to the house assigned for our use, which was so near the sea, that it might literally have been described, at high tide, as "surf-beaten." As we passed through the village, we appeared to be objects of much curiosity to the inhabitants, especially to the fair sex; and out of every door and window there peeped forth faces of all possible degrees of unwashed dinginess, to take a survey of the strangers.

The day of our arrival, which was Saturday with us, was, of course, Sunday at Sitka. Consequently, no progress was made in the discharging of our vessel; and next morning both the officers and men, whether through scruples of conscience, or a spirit of patriotism, or the love of a holiday, strongly remonstrated against turning an English sabbath into a Russian Monday. This, however, was too much; so that, after assuring them, on the faith of the proverb, that at Rome they ought to do as the Romans did, I sent them to work, though very much against their own inclination.

On the Friday after our landing, the Bishop of Sitka returned from Kodiak, distant about six hundred miles, after a run of five days. His outward voyage, however, had occupied precisely four weeks, this unusual detention having led to a good deal of privation, more particularly as the vessel was crowded with passengers; the daily allowance of water had been gradually reduced to one pint for each person; and, on anchoring at Kodiak, the whole of the remaining stock consisted of a single bottle. This prelate's diocese is perhaps the most extensive in existence, comprising, as it does, not only the whole of Russian America, but also the Sea of Ochotsk, Kamschatka, and the Aleutian archipelagoes. He looks as if intended by Nature for the bishopric of two worlds, being a man of herculean frame; and the specimen of his travels, which I have just mentioned, shows that he is likely to need all his constitution for an episcopal visitation.

Finding that the vessel, in which I was to proceed to Ochotsk, would not sail till two or three weeks later than I had been led to expect, I was anxious to employ the intermediate month as usefully as possible; and as

Governor Etholine kindly afforded me the use of the Russian steamer to tow the Cowlitz, on her way to the Columbia, through the more intricate and dangerous portion of the inland navigation, I determined to embrace the opportunity, which this arrangement gave me, of visiting our establishments of Tako and Stikine.

Leaving New Archangel on the day after that of the bishop's arrival, we passed through Peril Straits into Chatham Sound, and, without having halted in the night, anchored at Tako next evening about seven. After shipping furs and getting a supply of fuel, we again started at noon of the following day. By daybreak on Monday the 25th of April, we were in Wrangell's Straits; and towards evening, as we approached Stikine, my apprehensions were awakened by observing the two national flags, the Russian and the English, hoisted half-mast high, while, on landing about seven, my worst fears were realized by hearing of the tragical end of Mr. John M'Loughlin, Jun., the gentleman recently in charge.

On the night of the 20th, a dispute had arisen in the fort, while some of the men, as I was grieved to hear, were in a state of intoxication; and several shots were fired, by one of which Mr. M'Loughlin fell. My arrival with two vessels at this critical juncture was most opportune, for otherwise the fort might probably have fallen a sacrifice to the savages, who were assembled round it to the number of about two thousand, justly thinking that the place could make but a feeble resistance, deprived, as it was, of its head and garrisoned by men in a state of complete insubordination; and, if the fort had fallen, not only would the whites, twenty-two in number, have been destroyed, but the stock of ammunition and stores would have made the captors dangerous to the other establishments on the coast. In fact, it was to the treacherous ferocity of the neighbouring tribes, that the recent catastrophe was indirectly to be imputed, inasmuch as the disposition in question rendered necessary such a strictness of discipline as would, in a great measure, account for Mr. McLoughlin's premature death.

From the depositions of the men, I ascertained beyond a doubt that a Canadian of the name of Urbain Heroux had discharged the fatal shot. How to bring the fellow to justice was the question. In my opinion, the jurisdiction of Canada, as established by 43 Geo. 3, ch. 138, and 1 and 2 Geo. 4, ch. 66, did not extend to Russian America; and, on the other hand, I knew that the Russians had no court of criminal jurisdiction in America; while, at the same time, I was by no means certain that, even if they had such a tribunal, they would take any cognisance of a crime that did not concern them. Under these circumstances, I determined to take Heroux with me to Sitka, a step which, besides being, at all events, a lesser evil than letting him go free, appeared to offer the only chance of making the man atone in some degree for his offence.

Having so far settled this matter, I demanded from four of the neighbouring chiefs, with whom I had an interview, some explanation with respect to their designs on the establishment: and they, while repudiating any imputation of the kind for themselves, admitted that an attack on the fort had been recommended by some rash youths, but had been opposed by the wiser and older heads. I congratulated them on not having committed any overt act of hostility, assuring them that, in that case, they would have been most severely punished both by the Russians and by ourselves. The chiefs replied that, in future, they would so conduct themselves, as to merit our entire approbation, and would be security against any attacks on the part of any of the neighbouring tribes. I farther took this opportunity of preparing the natives for a measure which the Hudson's Bay Company was most anxious to introduce in this quarter, and which it had already introduced elsewhere with the happiest results, namely, the discontinuance of the use of spirituous liquor in the trade.

I placed the establishment under the charge of Mr. Dodd, chief mate of the Cowlitz, a young man in whom I had much confidence, giving him, as assistant, one Blenkinsop, who, though merely a common sailor, was of regular habits, and possessed a good education.

On the north-west coat, dense forests of pine reach the water's edge, both on the continent and on the islands, whence might be drawn masts and spars of the finest timber and largest dimensions; and such wood is peculiarly abundant about Stikine, where there is also a species of cypress, which, from its durability and lightness, is almost unequalled for boat-building. Little or no attention has hitherto been bestowed on the subject of turning this natural wealth to useful account; but I now gave orders that a number of logs and spars, both of cypress and pine, should be prepared for shipment, so as to be always in readiness to be conveyed by any of our vessels, as opportunities might occur, to our depôt at Vancouver.

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Every arrangement having been completed, we weighed anchor at dawn, on Thursday, the 28th; and, after both vessels had exchanged salutes with the fort, the steamer towed the Cowlitz out from the anchorage; and, on casting her off, we returned straightway to Sitka, without touching again at Tako. We anchored the first night at Point Fanshaw, in Prince Frederick's Sound, and the second in Peril Straits, deriving their name from their dangerous shoals and also from the circumstance that a great many Aleutian hunters and their families were here poisoned by eating muscles.

During our voyage, a good deal of snow fell, and the weather was altogether very disagreeable, with a heavy sea. But, notwithstanding this, the steamer, when she had the wind in her favour, performed six or seven knots an hour — very fair work, considering that, like the river-boats of the United States, she had her cabin and a great part of her machinery on deck. She was commanded by a very active and intelligent man, Captain Lindenburg, with an American engineer of the name of Moore, an excellent pilot, who acted also as first mate, a purser, or supercargo, and a crew, including the assistant engineer and the stokers, of twenty-two, making, in all, the number of twenty-six men.

Having now taken farewell of the new style for some months, I shall hereafter adopt the Russian calendar, while the English reader can, of course, rectify any date merely by adding twelve days. We reached Sitka about nine in the morning, on Sunday, the 18th of April, being, according to the reckoning of the Cowlitz, Saturday, the 30th. All the people were decked out in their best clothes; and many of them, even at that early hour, were quite tipsy. In short, it was Easter Sunday, a festival celebrated with extraordinary solemnity in the Greek church, wherever its celebration is not absolutely impossible. A striking instance of this, and of a somewhat affecting character, occurs in the account of my friend Baron Wrangell's northern voyages. I quote the very words of the translation, premising that the worshippers were out of sight of land, beset by fissures in the ice, impassable hummocks, and open water, with the additional discomforts of wearied dogs and broken sledges.

"The 10th was Easter-day, kept as a festival throughout the whole Christian world, but especially so in Russia. We joined in the prayers of our far distant friends by the prescribed service, which was read by M. Bereshnoi, and the hymns were sung by our Cossacks and sledge-drivers. A block of ice was carved to represent an altar, and the only wax-light we possessed was burnt in front of it. The day was one of rest and refreshment to all: our festive fare was frugal enough; we had reserved for it a few rein-deer's tongues and a little brandy; a much greater treat was a small fire, kept up during great part of the day."

From midnight till four in the morning, a grand service had been performed by the bishop and his priests, at the conclusion of which the revels had begun in good earnest. On reaching Governor Etholine's residence, I was ushered into the banqueting-room, where a large party was just rising from the remains of a substantial breakfast. There were present the bishop and priests, the Lutheran clergyman, the naval officers, the secretaries, accountants, store-keepers, clerks, masters and

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mates of vessels, to the number of about seventy, while on the outside of the circle there were ranged about fifty boys belonging to the naval school. Every person was arrayed either in uniform, or at least in his Sunday's best; and, altogether, such a display was hardly to have been expected on the north-west coast of America. The only drawback to the hilarity which a hearty meal was sure to inspire after a fast of six weeks, was the absence of Madame Etholine, who had been confined to her bed for several days. At the usual hour of one o'clock, about fifty of the guests again assembled to dinner, which went off with great eclat; and the rest of the day was passed with the assistance of coffee, smoking, chatting, and billiards, while the good folks of the village, in the very best of humours, made quite a business of dancing, singing, and carousing.

From morning to night, we had to run a gauntlet of kisses. When two persons met, one said, "Christ has risen," while the other replied, "Yes, surely he has risen;" and then came the salutations, some of them certainly pleasant enough, but many of them, even when the performers were of the fair sex, perhaps too highly flavoured for perfect comfort. In plain truth, most of the dames of the village had been more liberal of some other liquids than of clean water.

Another custom of the Greek Church at this season reminded me of a similar practice in some parts of Scotland. People carry about with them a number of eggs boiled into stones, either dyed, or gilded, or painted, for the purpose of presenting them to their friends, and the party who receives one of them as a gift either makes an immediate return in kind, or gives the donor a trifling acknowledgment on some other occasion. I had the honour of bagging, in spite of my heterodoxy, many of these little memorials of a Russian Easter.

During the whole week, a third custom prevailed, in the shape of the incessant ringing of all the bells in the church. From morning to night, from night to morning, there was nothing but one perpetual peal of discord; for, whether by chance or by management, every rope had its own motion and every clapper its own tune. From this custom there was no escape. The eggs were harmless, and the kisses, if disagreeable, might be washed off; but these confounded bells would be heard, even if we should lie awake for the purpose of listening. The sweetest sound that had previously greeted our ears was that of the sabbath-bell of Honolulu; but here we had so much of a good thing, that I was positively sick of it. The evil, however, might have been worse, for luckily the Lutheran chapel made no noise, the bell being an appendage exclusively of the National Church; and I was sincerely thankful that toleration had stopped at the critical point.

On Tuesday, which, as well as Monday, was a close holiday, I attended divine service, which, in consequence of the illness of the bishop, was celebrated by a young monk, with the assistance of three priests. Beyond the richness of the vestments and the splendour of the ritual, I could take little or no concern in what I did not understand; while the absence of seats rendered a detention of three hours as fatiguing as it was uninteresting.

On Wednesday, to my great relief, business once more resumed its sway, and the establishment, barring,

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of course, the saturnalia of the bells, relapsed into its old routine of active regularity.

In the service of the Russian American Company, the officers are divided into two classes. The Captain of the port, the secretaries, three public and two private, two masters in the navy, the commercial agent, two doctors, and the Lutheran clergyman, form, at present, the first class, and constantly dine, by general invitation, with the governor; while the civilian masters of vessels, the accountants, the head engineer, and about twenty clerks and storekeepers, form the second class, and dine together in a club. The salaries of these officers, independently of such pay as they may have, according to their rank in the Imperial navy, range between three thousand and twelve thousand roubles a year, the rouble being, as nearly as possible, equal to the franc; while they are, moreover, provided with firewood and candles, with a room for each, and a servant and a kitchen between two. Generally speaking, the officers are extravagant, those of five thousand roubles and upwards spending nearly the whole, and the others getting into debt, as a kind of mortgage on their future promotion.

For the amount of business done, the men, as well as the officers, appear to be unnecessarily numerous, amounting this season to nearly five hundred, who, with their families, make about one thousand two hundred souls as the population of the establishment. The servants are kept in good order, and appear to be quiet and tractable. They work from five in the morning till seven in the evening, with an interval of about an hour for dinner; as breakfast is seldom eaten among Russians, no time is allowed for that meal. Among the servants are some excellent tradesmen, such as engineers, armourers, tin-smiths, cabinet-makers, jewellers, watchmakers, tailors, cobblers, builders, &c., receiving generally about three hundred and fifty roubles a year; they have come originally on engagements of seven years; but most of them, by drinking or by indulging in other extravagance, contrive to be so regularly in debt as to become fixtures for life.

On going the round of the tradesmen, the workshop of the engineer gratified me most, not merely because Moore was a man of superior ingenuity, but because he had trained five or six creoles and half-breeds to discharge all the mechanical duties of his business nearly as well as himself. As a proof of the efficiency of this department, the whole of the machinery of a tug of seven-horse power was cast and manufactured here, as well as of two pleasure-boats of two-horse power each, one belonging to the Governor and the other to Moore. The tug is usefully employed in towing vessels to and from the anchorage; and something of the same kind is much wanted in the Columbia, to save the valuable time that is now lost; I mean, of course, above the bar, in the difficult navigation of that stream.

Many of the servants have Russian wives; but most of the females of the establishments are Aleutian and Indian half-breeds. These native women, naturally no beauties, are begrimed with dirt, while many of them, like their lords and masters, are addicted to drunkenness, which, in their case, leads, as a matter of course, to other vices. The majority of the people look sallow and unhealthy, rather, I conceive, through their intemperate habits, than through the effects of the climate. Cases of the prevailing diseases of the coast are here frequent, while scurvy is encouraged by the absence of cleanliness and the dampness of the atmosphere, and not by the nature of the food, which is always fresh and generally nutritious.

Of all the dirty and wretched places that I have ever seen, Sitka is pre-eminently the most wretched and most dirty. The common houses are nothing but wooden hovels, huddled together, without order or design, in nasty alleys, the hotbeds of such odours as are themselves sufficient, independently of any other cause, to breed all sorts of fevers. In a word, while the inhabitants do all that they can to poison the atmosphere, the place itself appears to have been planned for the express purpose of checking ventilation. But Governor Etholine, whose whole management does him infinite credit, sees the evil, and is introducing many improvements which, when completed, will materially promote the comfort and welfare of the lower classes.

Prevention is not only better than cure, but cheaper also. At present, the expense of the hospital must be very heavy, while a great part of it is doubtless occasioned by such circumstances as money is quite competent to remove. In its wards, and, in short, in all the requisite appointments, the institution in question would do no disgrace to England. The cases consist chiefly of typhus and continued fevers, pulmonary complaints, syphilis, affections of the eye, and hæmoptysis, this last complaint, nobody knows why, being very common on this coast.

On Sunday next, the first after Easter, the Bishop of Sitka, who, as already mentioned, had just returned from Kodiak, preached a farewell sermon on the eve of departing, on a visitation of two years, for the Asiatic half of his diocese. In addition to four assistants in holy orders, he was attended by a number of youthful acolytes, all as proud as possible of their embroidered robes of silk and velvet; the congregation was large and well dressed, while, so far as I could judge from the earnestness of the preacher, and the attention of the hearers, the sermon was more than ordinarily impressive. On taking leave of this worthy prelate, I cannot refrain from rendering a small tribute of praise to his character and qualifications; and, as he is still in the prime of life, I trust that his widely-scattered flock may long enjoy the benefit of those powers of mind and body, which combine to fit him for his important and arduous charge. His appearance, to which I have already alluded, impresses a stranger with something of awe, while, on farther intercourse, the gentleness which characterises his every word and deed, insensibly moulds reverence into love; and, at the same time, his talents and attainments are such as to be worthy of his exalted station. With all this, the bishop is sufficiently a man of the world to disdain anything like cant. His conversation, on the contrary, teems with amusement and instruction; and his company is much prized by all who have the honour of his acquaintance.

The conduct of the clergy in general of the Greek church appeared to me to deserve great commendation, both as to the performance of their duty and the observance of their vows. With respect to Lent in particular, not only the priesthood but also the laity ex-

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hibited the greatest strictness, not shamming on beef, like the Californians, but really fasting according to rule. On Easter Sunday I was peculiarly struck by the contrast between the haggard and emaciated looks of the reverend guests and their zeal in making amends for their past abstinence on Governor Etholine's hospitable fare. As to the laymen, the termination of the forty days is by them hailed with undisguised ecstasy, everything being previously prepared to atone for lost time. On the last evening of the long fast, sumptuous repasts feast the nostrils at every fire; and no sooner does time toll the knell of the enemy, than the good folks rush like wolves to the rescue, always eating to repletion, and sometimes gorging themselves into apoplexy. In fact, on the occasion which has just past, a young lieutenant in the establishment had well nigh paid his life as the price of his indiscretion.

The presence of a bishop and a complete body of ecclesiastics in this secluded corner of the empire,—at a distance of nearly two hundred degrees of longitude from the capital,—is merely in accordance with the long-tried policy, which has amalgamated so many uncongenial tribes into a compact people, by means of one law, one language, one faith,—a policy which England, perhaps, through the freedom of her institutions, has too much neglected. Through this policy, Russia, though apparently the most unwieldy state on earth, is yet more decidedly one and indivisible than any other dominion in existence, as is more than proved by the fact, that a single one of the three principles of cohesion, which cement her parts into a whole, vests in her an almost direct sway over the foreign professors of her creed.

As the only Christian power within the limits of the Eastern church, Russia succeeded, in the middle of the fifteenth century, to the religious supremacy of the dethroned emperors of Constantinople; and, within twenty years after the fall of the imperial city, she openly assumed her new position by changing the title of her sovereign from Grand Duke to the Czar, or the Cesar. Since then, she has been the watchful guardian of her venerable faith, whether existing in Europe or in Asia. It was in this character that she first interfered in the internal affairs of Poland, where the Catholics were oppressing the Greeks; and more recently, to say nothing of Wallachia and Moldavia, she has become the virtual sovereign of the Christians of Turkey, simultaneously acquiring, at the very least, in the same proportion, an influence throughout the more easterly provinces of Austria.

But, in the person of the Lutheran clergyman, New Archangel shows that a spirit of toleration is combined with this zeal for the established religion. Though the Eastern church, as such, had never been addicted to persecution, in the worst sense of the term, yet Peter the Great was the first sovereign of Russia who treated other denominations with justice and liberality—doing so, by the by, at the very time at which William the Third was introducing the same equity and humanity into England. In consequence of Peter's amelioration of ecclesiastical system, all sects now enjoy liberty of conscience in Russia, two cases perhaps excepted. The Roman Catholics, partly because they are chiefly Poles, and partly because they are suspected of clinging to

Papal influence, are regarded with suspicion, but nothing more; and the Roskolniaks, a most fanatical tribe of schismatics from the national church, are sometimes driven about unceremoniously enough as disturbers of the public peace. Such are the only exceptions; and even in them there is vastly more of political caution than of sectarian intolerance.

Next day, being Monday the 26th, I started in the small steamer to visit some hot springs, which are used chiefly as baths, about twenty miles to the north of New Archangel, and arrived at my destination about three in the afternoon. The establishment in the neighbourhood consisted of three snug cottages, being kept in order by an old fellow of a Russian and his daughter, both of whom, whether from choice or by way of example, took a plunge every day for half an hour at a time. The damsel's rosy cheeks seemed to speak volumes in favour of the waters, though, perhaps, they were merely the result of being cooked every forenoon in a temperature of upwards of 130° of Fahrenheit. This establishment is employed as an hospital for invalids from Sitka, and is found to be efficacious in rheumatism, fevers, syphilis, and cutaneous disorders, the process being to bathe in the first three of these four cases, and to drink in the last.

The buildings are pleasantly situated on the sloping face of a bank, at a distance of about a hundred yards from the sea. In the front, lies a pretty little bay, completely sheltered by an archipelago of islands, and in the rear is a barrier of rugged mountains, while, in the immediate vicinity, there springs up a luxuriant verdure, in consequence of the genial warmth diffused by the waters, which send up a column of vapour to mark the spot from a considerable distance.

At the time of my visit, this green oasis presented a variety of shrubs in full blossom, though the surrounding wilderness, all as dead as cold could make it, still wore its mantle of snow. Here, moreover, are to be found plants that grow nowhere else in the neighbourhood, as also many rare birds — even the humming-bird; some attractive through the gaiety of their plumage, and others agreeable from the melody of their notes. Altogether, this is, indeed, a spot on which the senses may rest with pleasure, when weary of the savage monotony of the rocks and forests of the coast. The means of living are also abundant, the water being alive with fish and fowl, and the land teeming with deer and game.

In the neighbourhood, there are four distinct springs, all taking their rise from fissures in the granite rock, with which these islands abound. At its source, the principal spring possesses a temperature of 54° of Reaumur, or 153½° of Fahrenheit, being hot enough, as we found by experiment, to cook an egg in eight minutes. From this spring, the two baths, one for the natives and the other for the whites, are fed; while, by flowing about fifty yards through several small channels, the waters are reduced to an average temperature of 130° of Fahrenheit, or 43½° of Reaumur.

As this natural "medicine" is held in high estimation by the surrounding tribes, the native bath enjoys no sinecure of it. When the country is sufficiently peaceable for moving about in safety, the savages think no-

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thing of coming two or three hundred miles to benefit by the healing waters; while they do their best to take their travelling expenses out of them, by lying in soak for hours at a time, with nothing but their heads visible, eating, drinking, and, I may add, sleeping in the bath. I can certainly vouch to the extent of four hours for two women, one of them with an ulcer on her hip, and the other with an affection of the spine. When reduced to a state of lassitude by the parboiling, particularly after taking a meal in the cauldron, the patients munch a little snow, when such a luxury is attainable, by way of dessert.

There appear to be several substances held in solution by the water. The main ingredient, however, is sulphur, which is easily detected by the taste, as well as by the smell; while the stones in the channels are also encrusted with it. In fact, the island of Sitka is principally of volcanic origin; and, in proof of the former activity of internal fires, to which I have already alluded, eighty-four different volcanoes have been in operation, in the country under the jurisdiction of the Russian American Company, within the recollection of many of the inhabitants of New Archangel.

I remained only one night, having bathed twice, or rather once; for, on the second occasion, whether the temperature was higher, or my skin had been rendered more sensitive by the first operation, I was glad to scramble out immediately, as red as a lobster, or, to humour the locality in the way of a simile, as red as the rosy cheeks aforesaid of the lady of the ascendant. This tutelary nymph, by the by, led a recent visitor into a capital mistake. In her capacity of handmaid, she had frequent occasion to enter the room where he was sitting; and invariably, on coming into the presence, she bowed down to the ground at every step, crossing herself reverentially all the while. Whether she meant to exorcise him, or to worship him, or, in default of a cap, to set her rosy cheeks at him, he could not tell; but, by means of signs, he kept entreating her not to trouble herself on his account. In spite of my maturer years, the pretty maiden behaved towards me in the same extraordinary way; and, what was far more mysterious, she still continued, when I slipped away to try her, to rehearse her obeisances before the empty chair.

While I was speculating on her proceedings, I happened to cast my eye on the grim visage of an image, which occupied a niche in a dark corner of the room immediately behind the position which I had just left. The bubble was now burst; and my young predecessor was, of course, mortified to find, on my return to headquarters, that the Naïad's conspicuous attentions had been directed over his head to a musty old saint.

On my way back, I stopped at what is called the redoubt, lying at about equal distances from the baths and New Archangel. The situation of this spot is curiously romantic. With little or no land in sight, but lofty mountains, a lake empties itself by a picturesque cascade into a channel of about fifty yards in width, which again flows between perpendicular walls of nearly eight hundred feet in height, into a deep indentation of the sea. Though, as a military position, it may hereafter be valuable, yet, at present, it is applied only to commercial purposes. Mills of various kinds avail themselves of the fall, while the salmon, as they leap upwards, are caught in weirs to the number of eighty or one hundred thousand every season. The buildings stand on the dry part of the ledge of rocks, down which the lake rushes into the channel beneath, being kept in good order by an old soldier, with some twenty men under his command. At this place, from which escape must, of course, be peculiarly difficult, I found Urbain Heroux, whom I had brought from Stikine, moving about as a prisoner at large, as the Russians are said never to put any person in irons before conviction. Here, however, the fellow, I apprehend, was as secure as fetters and manacles could have rendered him.

We reached New Archangel just in time to avoid some boisterous weather, in which the small steamer could not possibly have put to sea. In all my expérience, I have never seen anything so miserable as the almost constant damp, fog, and rain of the last three weeks; and yet, after all, the climate of Petersburg is said to have been proved, by actual observation, to be more humid than that of Sitka.

On reaching New Archangel, I found more than usual activity reigning throughout the establishment, as several vessels were simultaneously taking in cargo and making preparations for their respective voyages. The bustle, in fact, was sufficient to have done credit to a third-rate seaport in the civilized world. I subjoin a list of the shipping.

1. Helen	ship	350 tons
2. Alexander	barque	300 „
3. Bichal	brig	200 „
4. Constantine	„	200 „
5. Ochotsk	„	150 „

6. Promysle	schooner	80	tons.
7. Quah-pak	"	80	"
8. Chichakoff	brig	150	"
9. Morischold	schooner	80	"
10. Polypheme	brig	150	"
11. Sitka	"	300	"
12. Nicholas	steamer	60	horse-power.
13. Moore, tug	"	7	"

One is at first surprised that the transport of so limited a business requires so many vessels; but, as the posts are widely scattered and the seasons of open water in these northern latitudes are short, the apparent extravagance is, in a great measure, inevitable. The Alexander, which is to be our ship, is fitted more like a man of war than a merchant vessel, the whole 'tween decks, fore and aft, being laid out in accommodations for the crew, and the cabin being arranged and furnished in the handsomest style. She was built two years ago at Abo, in Finland, and cost about £5,000; and, with the care that is here taken of shipping, she is expected to last about twenty-five years.

On the 1st of May, the Constantine sailed with supplies for Atcha, in the Aleutian archipelago, and Chamchoo, one of the Kurile islands, thence to proceed with the returns of those places to Ochotsk. She had about sixty persons on board, including passengers, of whom some were bound for Ochotsk and others for Europe. Among the latter was Mr. Rotscheff, already mentioned, with his family, who was recently in charge of Bodega, in California, with a salary of five thousand roubles a year—an income on which, besides furnishing his house and entertaining visitors, he had to maintain a wife, himself, and three children.

Mr. Rotscheff is a very good-looking man, in the prime of life, and is the author of several works of the lighter order, both in verse and prose. He had been doing very well in Petersburg as a translator of foreign pieces for one of the principal theatres, when he was so fortunate, or so unfortunate, as to make a conquest of a daughter of Prince Gargaren, without the approbation of her family. His wife, who accompanied him to the far East, is intellectual and accomplished, speaking several languages, conversant with many branches of science, and divinely musical. This poor lady, "reared in the halls of princes," and accustomed, in early life, to all the luxuries of society, meets her present difficulties and privations with a degree of firmness which does her infinite honour. There she sate, with all the fortitude and cheerfulness imaginable, cooped-up with her husband and seven children, four of them not her own, in a small cabin, with the prospect before her of a dangerous voyage to Ochotsk, and an equally dangerous ride of seven thousand miles to St. Petersburg. I sincerely trust that for all these hardships she may be rewarded by a reconciliation with her friends, who, notwithstanding their high blood and high titles, have no reason to be ashamed of this fallen member of their stock.

The Constantine was commanded by M. Kashiooaroff, a lieutenant of the second class in the Imperial navy, with a crew of two mates and eighteen seamen. By the regulations of the Russian American Company, every nautical officer has an allowance for the table, a captain receiving fifty roubles a month, and a mate twenty-five. This system might, I think, be introduced, with very great advantage, into the commercial marine generally. At present, a skipper is hospitable at his owner's cost, giving dinners, balls, &c., very much on the principle of the man,

> Who, out of his great bounty,
> Built a bridge at the expense of the county.

But, if the host had to supply everything himself out of a limited sum, he would waste less of the ship's time in convivial entertainments.

On the 4th of the month, the Ochotsk sailed for Oonalashka and some other neighbouring stations. She had the good bishop as a passenger for her first mentioned destination, whence the Bichal was to convey him to Kamschatka. She was also carrying Lieutenant Zagoiskin to Norton Sound, who was thence to explore the interior as far as Bristol Bay, on the one side, and on the other, to examine the Quihpok, a large river falling into Behring's Straits.

The object of this expedition was to occupy the country, by posts, in order to protect the trade from the Tchuktchi of Siberia, who cross the straits every summer to traffic with the American Indians, carrying their furs, ivory, &c., to the fair of Ostrovnoye, and there receiving in exchange various articles, but more particularly tobacco, as the means of prosecuting the next season's trip. The fair in question is held on the Lesser Aniuy, which falls, through the Greater Aniuy, into the Kolyma; and it is described, in a very lively manner, in the Journal of Captain Cochrane, who had attended it, with the view, in which, however, he failed, of penetrating to Behring's Straits, through the country of the Tchuktchi.

These mercantile savages are certainly very clever fellows, being equal, if not superior, to the Russian dealers, according to the gallant traveller just named. They are first-rate judges of tobacco; and, what is almost incredible, they can weigh a pood of it in their hands, without artificial aid, accurately enough to detect any attempt whatever at imposition. In their eyes, tobacco is peculiarly valuable, as the grand instrument at once of pleasure and business; and, in Baron Wrangell's travels, one chief is mentioned, who declared that the emperor, in return for some information that he had given, could not possibly make him so happy with anything else as with a sack of the precious weed, and an iron kettle.

At some points, Behring's Straits are only forty-five miles in width, with a chain of islands, like so many stepping-stones, extending from shore to shore, the longest traverse not being more than seven miles; so that the navigation is practicable even for small canoes. In the general appearance of the two coasts, there is a marked difference, the western side being low, flat, and sterile, while the eastern is well wooded, and in every respect better adapted than the other for the sustenance both of man and beast. Moreover, the soil and climate improve rapidly on the American shore as one descends; and at Cook's Inlet, potatoes may be raised with ease, though they hardly ripen in any part of Kamschatka, which extends nearly ten degrees farther to the south. As, in addition to the advantages of cultivation, deer, fish, game, and hay are abundant, the company contemplates the forming of a settlement here for the reception of its old servants. In the neighbourhood, on an island near Kodiak, there is plenty of good coal, used

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both for the hearth and the forge, though it is objectionable for the latter purpose, as producing too great a quantity of ashes.

In point of climate in general, there is nearly the same difference between the western shore of America and the eastern shore of Asia, as there is between the western shore of Europe and the eastern shore of America. In both cases, the same cause exists to produce the same effect. In the temperate latitudes, the prevailing wind is from the west, being a kind of counter-current to the easterly trades of the tropics; and, with reference to this physical fact, the leeward coast of either continent must be colder, at least in winter, than the windward one, inasmuch as the former receives its atmosphere across an enormous zone of frozen soil, and the latter across a considerable breadth of open water. But, in addition to this common ground of superiority, a great part of Russian America possesses an advantage peculiar to itself in being sheltered from the northerly gales. Reckoning upwards from Mount St. Elias, or even from Cross Sound, the more southerly half of the coast, comprising, of course, Cook's Inlet already mentioned, runs pretty nearly east and west, screened towards the interior, within a very short distance from the sea, by a wall of mountains.

To place in the most striking light the contrast in point of climate between the opposite shores of each continent, Kamschatka and the British isles may be said, with sufficient accuracy for this purpose, to lie in the same latitudes, and to present the same area, and even to occupy the same position with respect to the proximity of water; and yet, while the British isles, from

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their own agricultural resources, feed at least twenty-five millions of their inhabitants, Kamschatka, with the help of extraneous supplies, can barely prevent its population of four thousand souls from starving. How different the history of man would have been, if Providence had made these two extremities of the old world exchange climates, merely by causing the tropical trades to blow from the west, and the counter-currents of the temperate zones to blow from the east; or to express the same thing, I apprehend, in other words, merely by reversing the direction of the earth's daily revolution!

Soon after my return from the baths, I witnessed an Indian scene, which surpassed in wildness any thing of the kind that I had ever seen. In the native village, which lies under the guns of the fort, two savages, the one a high chief, and the other a man of some consequence, but still inferior in rank to his companion, had quarrelled over their cups; and, in the scuffle that ensued, the former had slain the latter, by stabbing him through the lungs with his dagger. The party of the deceased, to the number of about a thousand men, immediately turned out, with horrible yells, to revenge his death, painted in the most hideous manner, and armed with all sorts of weapons, such as spears, bludgeons, dirks, and firearms; while the women, more ferocious, if possible, than the warriors themselves, were exciting the tumultuary band to actual violence by the most fiendish screams and gestures. From the battery, where we had all taken our stand to watch the proceedings, Governor Etholine endeavoured, but in vain, to appease the fury of the mob; happily, however, the approach of night prevented the immediate commencement of the civil war.

By six in the morning, I was roused from my bed by information that, with a new day before them, the friends of the deceased were determined to carry their threats of the preceding afternoon into execution. The scene, when we were all again collected on the battery, would beggar description,—several thousands of all ages, and both sexes, unaccustomed at any time to put the slightest restraint on their passions, and now maddened into demons, most of them with arms, partly by their own vindictiveness, and partly by the exhortations of their schamans, or priests. The chief's life was demanded as an atonement, but refused by his party, as being of more value than that of the person slain. At this point, the Governor and the Bishop interposed on behalf of the chief, as being a baptized member of the church; while, by way of backing the remonstrance, the guns of the battery, already pointed in the right direction, were made ready for action. This strong hint in favour of a compromise was not lost. The parties met with a loud war-whoop; for a minute or two a clashing of arms was heard; and when both sides simultaneously receded from the spot, we beheld the bodies of two slaves that had been sacrificed in lieu of the chief. The ignoble blood of the unfortunate substitutes—quantity making up for quality—was accepted as a satisfactory adjustment of the feud, and the village again resumed its wonted appearance. By the by, the combatants wore, as defensive armour, leathern jerkins and wooden cuirasses, which protected the body, down to the knees, against spears, but not against bullets.

This scene of violence, and the recent tragedy at Stikine, both events being clearly the result of drinking to intoxication, determined Governor Etholine and myself, on behalf of our respective companies, to discontinue the use of spirituous liquors in trading with the natives of this coast; and we immediately entered into an agreement to that effect, which was to come into operation at Sitka from the date of signature, and at every other post from the day on which it might become known.

The practice of selling spirits to Indians was adopted at Sitka by the Russians in the year 1832, in order to protect themselves against some American adventurers, who had introduced the liquid fire; and it was in consequence of a similar necessity that the Hudson's Bay Company was induced to countenance the pernicious system. Everywhere, in fact, competition and ruin go hand in hand in trafficking with aboriginal tribes, while an exclusive privilege gives its possessor a palpable interest in preventing intemperate habits, as the unfailing source of the savage's moral and physical deterioration.

At the more northerly posts on the continent, and generally throughout the islands, the Russians did not use spirituous liquors. Even at Sitka, they were intending gradually to withhold the means of intoxication from their own servants. Such a measure would have been impracticable, previously to the arrangement which had just been completed, inasmuch as many of the thirstier souls, when stinted in the shop, often purchased the needful from the savages at a ruinous advance, of course, on what the sellers had themselves paid. Even now an immediate abolition would be by no means advisable, as most of the best artisans, if condemned to be sober, would as soon as possible quit so dry a service, and thus involve the Company in a considerable amount of expense and inconvenience. Some reformation certainly was wanted in this respect, for, of all the drunken as well as of all the dirty places that I had visited, New Archangel was the worst. On the holidays, in particular, of which, Sundays included, there are one hundred and sixty-five in the year, men, women, and even children, were to be seen staggering about in all directions.

The treaty between Governor Etholine and myself was speedily put to the test. In order to drown all remains of former animosity in another debauch, the savages made application, as a matter of course, for a sufficient quantity of rum. Judge the astonishment of the poor creatures on learning that, without their own consent, we had been making them take the pledge of total and perpetual abstinence. They retired in sullen silence; and we had no doubt that many a grave council would be held on the north-west coast, to devise the means of removing the obnoxious restriction.

The aborigines of America, as the reader must have gathered from these details, are not subjects of Russia in the same sense as the aborigines of Siberia and the intervening islands. They do not exhibit that badge of servitude which, having been introduced by the earliest conquerors, has travelled eastward from the Gulf of Finland to Behring's Straits. A tribute in skins was exacted by Rurick and his Normans from the Sclavonians on Lakes Ilmen and Ladoga; a similar yassack formed the temptation and the reward of the Cossacks, who, with undaunted courage and unwearied patience, subdued tribe after tribe to the eastward, following every river in Siberia to its own sea; and even the same acknowledgment of vassalage is annually rendered at the fair of Ostrovnoye by the Tchuktchi, through whose territory not a single servant of the government has ever penetrated by force. Thus, curiously enough, the fur trade has been, for ten centuries, the pervading thread of Russian politics as well as of Russian commerce, from the Baltic to the Sea of Kamschatka, from the Altai Mountains to the Frozen Ocean.

While I was at New Archangel, a funeral took place among the Kaluscians, the name of the tribe inhabiting the native village. The body, arrayed in the gayest apparel of the deceased, lay in state for two or three days, which were spent by the relatives in fastings and lamentations. At the end of this period, it was placed on a funereal pile, round which the mourners ranged themselves, their faces painted black, their hair clipped short, and their heads covered with eagle's down. The pipe was next passed round two or three times; and then, at some secret signal, the fire was kindled in several places, while a discord of drumming and wailing deafened one till the pile was consumed. Lastly, the ashes were collected into an ornamented box, which was ultimately to be elevated on a scaffold, or on the top of a pole. On the side of a neighbouring hill we saw a vast number of these monuments, which presented a very curious appearance.

The Kaluscians are a numerous tribe, their language being spoken all the way to the northward, from Stikine as far as Admiralty Bay, near Mount St. Elias; thence to Prince Williams' Sound is another language; and four or five more languages divide between them the coast up to Icy Cape.

New Archangel, notwithstanding its isolated position, is a very gay place—much of the time of its inhabitants is devoted to festivity; dinners and balls run a perpetual round, and are managed in a style which, in this part of the world, may be deemed extravagant. Amongst other gaieties that took place during my visit, was a wedding between one Pauloff, mate of a vessel, and a rather good-looking Creole girl, about twenty years old, named Archemanditoffra. Attended by their friends and the principal inhabitants of the establishment, the happy couple proceeded about six in the evening to church, where a tedious service of an hour and a half was solemnized by the monk. At the close of the ceremony, which comprised fully the usual proportion of dumb show, the bridegroom led off his bride to the ball-room. I was going to say that he was followed by his guests; but the expression would have been incorrect, for the guests were not his. The sufferer, in these cases, according to the rule made and provided in Russia, is the individual who has enjoyed the honour of giving away the lady,—an honour which, however unpleasant in itself, or in its incidents, no man is expected to decline. Archemanditoffra's father for the occasion was Lieutenant Bertram, one of the Company's principal officers. On entering the ball-room, the bride and bridegroom took their station at the upper end, where Lieutenant Bertram described a variety of mystic signs on their breasts with the bridal cake, which, being thus consecrated, was sent off as fit for use. The newly-married pair sat side by side, while every gentleman, in his turn, drank to their health and happiness in a glass of champagne.

On this occasion were assembled nearly all the beauty and fashion of Sitka, the latter quality, if I may presume to offer an opinion, being perhaps more conspicuous than the former. The ladies were showily attired in clear muslin dresses, white satin shoes, silk stockings, kid gloves, fans, and all other necessary or unnecessary appendages; and these fair ones enjoyed the advantage of being at a high premium, inasmuch as the gentlemen, who amounted to about fifty, outnumbered them in the proportion of nearly two to one. The ball was opened by the bride and the highest officer present; quadrilles and waltzes followed in quick succession; and the business was kept up with great spirit till three o'clock in the morning. The band was of a superior description, some of the clerks and servants being fine performers, who exerted themselves to the utmost. The master and paymaster of the ceremonies did his duty like a prince. Tea, coffee, chocolate, and champagne, were handed about in profusion, varied, at proper intervals, with sandwiches and liqueurs; while a smoking-room, besides being a necessary of life to many, afforded a place of retreat to all such as did not wish to take part in the dancing.

On these matrimonial occasions the father of the bride, however hard his lot, gets off much more cheaply than some of the other auxiliaries in the drama. According to a law of the church, the bridesmaids and bridesmen are prohibited from marrying each other; but as, in the limited society of New Archangel, where the lottery consists of so few tickets, youths and maidens would never officiate together on such forbidding terms, the church has indulged Sitka with a special dispensation in this respect.

At length the day arrived, Sunday, the 9th, on which I was to bid adieu to the new world. Governor Etholine, being punctual in all his engagements, had, according to appointment, completed everything in time for the vessel to sail this afternoon. At eleven in the forenoon, I accompanied him on board of the Alexander, on his usual visit of inspection previously to her taking her departure; and, on this grand occasion, all the men and officers were dressed in full uniform, while the vessel and all her appurtenances were in complete order. We were formally received at the gangway, under a salute, by Captain Kadnikoff, and found on deck a monk and two assistants, waiting to bless the ship for her long voyage. When prayers had been read below, the monk returned on deck, and, after pronouncing the customary form of words, sprinkled the flag, which was lowered for the purpose, with holy water, as also the mainmast and crew, using in the ceremony a silver-handled brush of elaborate workmanship. The people having been inspected by Governor Etholine, a basin of the men's soup was brought for him to taste, which, though to my eye rather washy and transparent, he pronounced to be excellent.

The ship's company amounted in all to thirty-six, consisting of the captain, two mates, a pilot, boatswain and boatswain's-mate, gunner and gunner's-mate, and twenty-eight seamen, all man-of-war's men, and decidedly the stoutest body of fellows that I ever saw. In addition to the crew, there were four supernumerary boys, belonging to the naval school at Sitka, who had been placed on board to acquire some practical knowledge of their future profession.

A very elegant cold collation had been provided by the captain, of which about twenty of us partook, washing it down with abundance of champagne; and, when we returned to the establishment, I was much pleased again to see Madame Etholine for the first time since I started in the Cowlitz for Stikine. The farewell dinner, to which about thirty of us sat down, exceeded in sumptuousness anything that I had yet seen even at the same hospitable board. The glass, the plate, and the appointments in general, were very costly; the viands were excellent; and Governor Etholine played the part of host to perfection. After dinner, I took, for the last time, my accustomed walk with the Governor by the only path, which, owing to the swampy character of the neighbourhood, is at all practicable, winding on the beach round a small bay, till intercepted by what is called the Little River. During this walk, I took leave of several of my old friends, particularly of Kathrine, the acknowledged belle of the place, who, though the tailor's daughter, has a host of suitors of all ranks.

A dense fog, which came on after dinner, prevented our immediate departure; but, as all my baggage had been sent on board during the day, I went off to the vessel to sleep. The passengers by the Alexander were my own party and an officer of the Russian American Company, besides the clerks who had charge of the valuable cargo of furs. Next forenoon, the continuance

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of the thick weather afforded an opportunity to our friends to pay us farewell visits; and I had the pleasure of receiving in my new quarters the Governor and his confidential secretary, Mr. Teil, the two doctors, Lieutenant Villachkoffsky, and several others. The fog soon dispersing, the anchor was weighed; and with deep regret I bade adieu, probably for the last time in life, to the kind-hearted denizens of Sitka, and more especially to their courteous and hospitable chief. The unremitting attentions of all had made me regard them rather as brothers than as strangers; and I felt that I should long cherish the recollection of the many happy hours that I had enjoyed among them.

We were towed out of the harbour by the Nicholas steamer, while the Moore tug accompanied us for a short distance, with Governor Etholine and several of our other visitors on board, who, before putting about, gave us nine hearty cheers, which we returned with interest. In passing, we saluted the fort with seven guns; and, about one in the afternoon, the steamer cast us off, and, cheering us as she departed, left us to perform a voyage of eighty-two degrees of longitude and nearly twenty of latitude.

Having now fairly lost sight of New Archangel, let me once more record my thanks to Governor Etholine and his staff of highly enlightened officers for all the civility and politeness which they lavished on me even at this the busiest season of their year; and, if circumstances had permitted me to prolong my stay among them till the bustle was all over, they would doubtless, as their kindness evidently came from the heart, have surpassed themselves in hospitality and friendship; speaking, by the by, of the season, the pressure of work in spring has reference rather to Ochotsk, which is seldom accessible before the end of June, according to the old style, than to Sitka itself, which is one of the very few harbours in the empire that are open all the year round.

As the wind was free, an hour brought us abreast of Mount Edgecumbe, which, independently of a grandeur peculiarly its own, we continued to watch with considerable interest, as being the last land in our wake.

CHAPTER XV.

VOYAGE TO OCHOTSK.

Lightness and variableness of winds—Ship's discipline, &c.—Drunken priest—The Parachute, of New Bedford—Whales rapidly diminishing in number—Unknown island—Hunting of sea-otters—Danger of sinking in the small baidarka, and affecting mode of meeting death—Russian surveys of the northern shores of Asia, anticipated by England at either extremity of line—Voyages of Cook and Billings—Aleutian Archipelago probably the original channel of communication between the two continents—Behring's Straits perhaps a passage from America to Asia rather than from Asia to America—Aleutian Islands, their ethnographic characteristics—Probable course of emigrants from Aleutian Islands on landing in America—Increasing difficulty of tracing the migrations of tribes—Productions of Aleutian Islands—Russians first to plant civilization on north-west coast, statements of Shelekoff—Signs of land—Kamschatka, its corrupt government—Popular delusion with respect to despotism—Passage between Kurile Islands into Sea of Ochotsk—Dense fogs, contrivances to neutralize them—Sleeping whale—Story of Mr. Erasmus and the fogs—Kuriles apparently continuation of Kamschatka—Immediate influence of Russia from Sweden to Japan—Sea of Ochotsk—River Amoor, its physical value neutralized by politics—Collision of Russia and China on the Amoor—Sight of land, and preparations for going ashore—Impenetrable barrier of ice—Hair seals—Sleeping whale—Keel-hauled whale—Arrival at Ochotsk—Optical illusion—Record of disasters in these seas.

Throughout the voyage, the winds, as is almost constantly the case here in summer, were remarkably variable, seldom holding longer than twenty-four hours in one direction; and the weather was so calm and the swell so gentle, that, between the middle of May and the end of August, an open boat might traverse these seas in safety.

The greatest order and quiet prevailed on board, all the duties being performed with the regularity of clockwork. Our mess was small, consisting of Captain Kadnikoff, my own party, and the officer already-mentioned; while Mr. Bagenot, the supercargo, had a general invitation to join us; and on Sundays our circle was increased by the addition of the first and second mates, the ship's clerk, and the purser. Having an abundant supply of provisions and a cook, who was a master of his art, we fared sumptuously on board of the Alexander.

On the 16th of the month, being our first Sunday at sea, the people were all mustered for inspection; and Captain Kadnikoff, in full uniform, after exchanging something like "Good morning" with the men, reminded them in a few words, that, though they were in the employment of the Company, they yet also served the Emperor, the great master of all. Divine service was then performed in the 'tween decks, illuminated for the occasion by wax candles and embellished with some image or other, while the congregation, which consisted of all and sundry, kept crossing and bowing, with little or no intermission, from first to last. Though the Alexander did not carry a chaplain of her own, yet she happened to have a priest on board, who had been degraded at Sitka for drunkenness. Having been kept sober on purpose, our reverend friend went through the duty in the most impressive manner, being a man of commanding appearance, with a voice of surpassing mellowness and strength.

By noon on the following Wednesday, we had reached the longitude of Kodiak, the first of the chain of isles that connects the two continents, and the latitude of Cape Lopatka, the most southerly point of Kamschatka, having run about a hundred and eighty miles before a south-easter in the preceding twenty-four hours. To put us in still better spirits, we perceived, in the course of the afternoon, a large ship looming through the fog, within a few hundred yards of us. On our nearer approach, we distinguished the Stars and Stripes, while her stock of boats told her business as plainly as her flag indicated her nation; and, on passing close under her stern, we read her name, "Parachute, of New Bedford."

On our firing a gun, both vessels backed their main topsails for a parley. A boat was lowered by the American; and a man, whom we had no reason to consider as a skipper, scrambled up among us. According to his account, the Parachute had been out nineteen months, and had got two thousand two hundred barrels of oil, 1500 of them the produce of thirteen right whales taken last summer between latitudes 49° and 56°, and longitudes 140° and 152°. At the close of the season, she had been within thirty miles of the south-eastern corner of Kodiak, having thence proceeded by way of California, fishing, as she went, with very little success, to the equator, where she caught four sperm whales: she had again, within these few days, reached her old ground, described by our informant as the best at present known, expecting to have about two hundred competitors this year, instead of the fifty that she had had last; she had twenty-seven men on board, all engaged on lays or shares, and had lost two in the preceding summer from the stroke of a whale; finally, she had a captain of the name of Wilcox, who gloried in being a real "teetotaller."

Singularly enough, we were able to offer to the good ship Parachute more than an equivalent in kind for her bit of autobiography. In conversation with my servant, one of her mates discovered that, in travelling from Boston to Montreal, we had changed horses at his father's house at Richmond, in Vermont, thus bringing the poor fellow intelligence of his relatives later by eight or nine months than what he himself possessed. Under the circumstances, the recognition, if I may so speak, was as agreeable as it was unexpected.

Captain Kadnikoff having asked our communicative visitor whether he would drink, Jonathan promptly replied, "I guess, I don't care if I do;" but, when presented accordingly with half a tumbler of rum on deck, he appeared to have changed his mind, saying, "I guess, I don't care if I don't." Suspecting the cause of his refusal, I suggested to Captain Kadnikoff to ask him below; and our shaggy friend, after half an hour's chat, returned to the Parachute, to say nothing of a few bundles of Manillas in his pocket, with a tumbler or two of port in his stomach—pretty well for Captain Wilcox, the real "teetotaller," in his own proper person.

From Captain Kadnikoff and other persons acquainted with these waters, I have learnt that whales of huge size, some of them a hundred and twenty feet in length, are extremely numerous in the Sea of Kamschatka and about the Aleutian islands, and that they are frequently killed by the natives by means of spears and arrows shod with stone. As these whales are by far too large to be dragged to land by the savages, the plan is merely to wound the monster as seriously as possible, and then to trust to the winds to strand him in a few days. On or before the third day, he generally dies, for, however powerful to resist his persecutors at the moment of attack, the whale, when wounded, is by no means tenacious of life in proportion to his size and strength.

To return to Captain Wilcox's story. It is surprising that the Russian government allows its coasts to be scoured, in the way described, by fleets of foreign vessels. Every state is surely entitled to the fisheries of her own shores; and, moreover, with respect to the particular fishery in question, all the whales in the ocean must soon be exterminated, if those, who have no permanent interest in preserving them to control their temporary interest in destroying them, are permitted to pursue an animal, which, besides being too large to hide itself, multiplies so slowly, into its most secret haunts.

Next morning, the wind fell off to a dead calm, which continued all day, with a good deal of sea-weed, some gulls, and two whales around the ship. In consequence of the presence of the sea-weed, a cast of the lead was taken; but no bottom was found with a hundred fathoms. We were here told of an unknown island, supposed to exist about a hundred miles to the north of our position; and I give the story as I got it, not on account of the island itself, but on account of the circumstance that is said to have led to the alleged discovery.

Though the aborigines of the islands between Asia and America were found to live, according to their own expression, as the otters and seals lived, yet they were, through the influence of Russian missionaries, gradually so far weaned from this habit of promiscuous intercourse as to see it in its true light. In this improved state of public feeling, an Aleutian and his daughter, who had committed incest together about two years ago, found themselves to be outcasts among their own people; and, pushing off in a baidarka from Kodiak, they paddled steadily to the southward for four days, till they came to an island which was previously unknown. After a year's sojourn, they returned to Kodiak, and, in consequence of their report, a vessel was despatched to search, but in vain, for this *terra incognita*.

It is not uncommon for the Aleutians to make long voyages in their small baidarkas, often going fifty or sixty miles from land to hunt the sea-otter. For this purpose they keep together in fleets of perhaps a hundred baidarkas each. Proceeding in calm weather to some spot known to be a favourite haunt of the animal, they form their little vessels, end to end, in a line; and, as soon as any symptoms of the game are perceived, a single canoe approaches, while, if all is right, one of its two inmates holds up his paddle as a signal for the others to range themselves in a circle round the spot. Meanwhile, the creature must rise to breathe; and no sooner does he show his nose, than off fly the arrows of the nearest hunters. If he escapes, as is generally the case, from the first attack, another ring is formed round the place where he may be expected again to appear; and so the process is continued, till the victim is exhausted and destroyed. All these movements are executed with an incredible degree of silence, the hunters being so skilful as to prevent even the dip of the paddles from being heard by the object of their pursuit.

These distant expeditions are not unattended with danger. The baidarka, being merely a frame of bones with a covering of skins, cannot withstand the action of the water for many days together; and if it springs a leak or is otherwise injured, its tenants have nothing but certain and immediate death before them, for no other vessel can take more than its own complement on board; and, calling their comrades around their sinking craft, they send kind messages to their wives and families, and then lie down to die without a single effort at self-preservation.

During the last few days, I have occupied myself in reading Wrangell's Siberian Voyages,—a work which, interesting, as it must be, even to the general reader, is peculiarly so to myself under my present circumstances. But, with all my respect for the noble author, I must do battle with the very first sentence of his introduction:—

"The whole of the immense extent of country from the White Sea to Behring's Straits, embracing a hundred and forty-five degrees of longitude along the coast of Asia and Europe, has been discovered, surveyed, and described by Russians. All the attempts of other maritime nations to find a passage by the Polar Sea from Europe to China, or from the Pacific into the Atlantic, have been limited, in the West by the Karskoie Sea, and in the East by the meridian of the Cape North. The impediments which stopped the progress of others have been conquered by Russians, accustomed to the severity of the climate, and to the privations inseparable from it."

The third sentence, when taken in connexion with the second, clearly implies that the Russians have found that "passage by the Polar Sea from Europe to China" which "other maritime nations" have failed to find. Now, what are the facts, as recorded by my friend himself? Rather more than a hundred years ago, expeditions were simultaneously undertaken from different points on the coast at the public expense, in order to ascertain how far the route in question was practicable or otherwise. In passing from the White Sea to the Gulf of Oby, four seasons were consumed; from the Gulf of Oby to the River Yenisei, four seasons; from the Yenisei to the Lena, season after season was spent in both directions without success, Cape Taimura having not only never been doubled by water, but never even been visited by land; from the Lena to the Kolyma, six seasons were occupied; from the Kolyma to the Pacific, every effort was fruitless, though, about the middle of the seventeenth century, Simon Deshneff, a Cossack, had sailed, in a single summer, from the Kolyma through Behring's Straits as far as the Anadyr. To sum up all in one word, fourteen years were required for accomplishing the easiest three of the five grand divisions of the coast; while of the two other divisions the more easterly has never been accomplished within these hundred and ninety years and upwards, and the more westerly always has defied, and probably always will defy, every human effort.

But these achievements, however much they fall short of "a passage by the Polar Sea from Europe to China," do certainly speak volumes, as every reader of the Baron's details must admit, in favour of the skill, hardihood, and patience of the various explorers, who have uniformly done all that men could do. Still, however, the Russians, in contrasting their success with the failure of "other maritime nations," should reflect that, besides having by far the most direct interest in the result, they were immeasurably nearer to their resources,—an advantage which, as my brief summary must have shown, alone enabled them to perform what to any other people whatever would have been utterly and absolutely impossible.

In this view of the case, even if the Russians had been completely successful, there was really no room for comparison. All that could be said with respect to the result, as distinguished from the merits of the agents, would be that the Russians, issuing from their own rivers, surveyed their own shores. But even this limited honour of attending to her own work Russia must share with England; or rather, wherever distant resources were at all available, England has done nearly everything, and left Russia almost nothing to do. The Russians have been anticipated by English navigators and travellers on every foot of the northern coast of their share of America; Cook was the first, without ever being followed by a second, to penetrate as far as Cape North, on the corresponding coast of Asia; and the same illustrious voyager was the true and only discoverer of Behring's Straits, for the mariner, after whom he generously named them, passed through them without having ascertained the proximity of the two continents, or even their separation; while the Cossack Deshneff, already mentioned as having sailed from the Kolyma to the Anadyr, perhaps ascertained their separation, but certainly not their proximity.

But, at the opposite extremity of her boundless coast, Russia has been far more deeply indebted to England. When Richard Chancellor, about the middle of the sixteenth century, anchored in the White Sea, he not only discovered a considerable portion of coast for Russia, but also rescued her, by means of commerce, from that state of isolation into which religion had thrown her; and in the enterprise of this gallant sailor, the Czar, who was then exulting in the final conquest of the Tartars, had the sagacity to take nearly as much interest as in the capture of Kazan and Astracan. For the service of connecting the White Sea with the German Ocean, Russia, I admit, paid handsomely in allowing England to enjoy, for nearly a century, the monopoly of the newly opened trade; and, as a curious proof of the value of Archangel, at a much later period, to both the powers in question, I cannot refrain from quoting part of a speech of the late Lord Sydenham, delivered in 1829:—

"He, whose armies successively occupied every capital in Europe,—who made and unmade kings with a breath,—was set at nought by the lowest of his subjects. The smuggler bearded him in the streets of his capital, and set his power at defiance in his own ports and cities. The goods which he refused to admit found their way through the Frozen Ocean into the heart of France. I speak from personal knowledge when I say, that an uninterrupted line of communication was established between Archangel and Paris; and goods, even the bulky articles of sugar, coffee, and manufactures, were conveyed with as much ease and safety, though at a proportionally increased cost, as from London to Havre."

To return to my original quotation, I ought, in justice, to add, that, with the exception of the general compliment already discussed, Baron Wrangell by no means displays any undue partiality in favour of his countrymen; for, on the contrary, he admits that, in point of geography and hydrography, the voyages of Cook and Billings—the latter an English officer of Cook's training, employed in the imperial service—alone "afforded any really satisfactory result."

Had time and opportunity permitted, I should have liked much to visit the Aleutian archipelago, in which one cannot help taking an interest, as being probably the main route by which the old continent must have peopled the new. Behring's Straits, though, as already stated, they were doubtless one channel of communication, just as certainly as if their place had been occupied by solid land, were yet, in all likelihood, only of subordinate utility in the premises, when compared with the more accessible and more commodious bridge towards the south.

Looking merely at these two highways between the two worlds, and putting all others, as irrelevant to the present purpose, out of the question, there were only three roads by which the destined colonists of America, or rather their forefathers, could stumble either on Behring's Straits, or on the Aleutian archipelago. If they came up the coast along the Japanese and Kurile Islands, they would, more particularly with their maritime habits and their insular notions, if one may so speak of the geography of the globe—they would, I say, be almost certain, before sojourning many years in Kamschatka, to discover the more westerly of the adjacent isles; if again they followed the rivers that flow eastward into the Sea of Ochotsk, they would, in all probability, strike the path of the wanderers under the preceding supposition; and, even if they proceeded from the Lower Lena across the valleys of the Yana, the Indigirka, the Alasei, and the Kolyma, they would still be more likely to climb the height of land between the easterly tributaries of the last-named river and the Anadyr, than to plunge, without a single one of Nature's tracks to tempt them, into the perpetually bleak and barren country of the Tchuktchi, while, from the valley of the Anadyr, they would clearly have a stronger motive for diverging to the south, with its milder climate, than for returning to the north, which they had already shunned.

These are not such theories as look well merely on paper; for the most questionable one, and perhaps the only questionable one, of the three, namely, the last, has literally been reduced to practice in modern experience. In their progress down the valley of the Amoor, the Russians were arrested by the Chinese towards the close of the seventeenth century, so as to be prevented from reaching the Kurile islands in that direction; and, though they penetrated to the Sea of Ochotsk in a higher latitude, yet they were deterred, partly by the want of local resources, and partly by the belief that they had penetrated to the open ocean, from prosecuting their easterly course till after Kamschatka had been discovered from another quarter.

Starting from Yakutsk, on the Lower Lena, the

Cossacks passed in succession all the more easterly feeders of the Polar Sea, ascended the Greater Aniuy, an auxiliary of the Kolyma, to the height of land, descended the Anadyr to the eastern ocean, and subsequently overran Kamschatka, spending on this long and circuitous journey, as if to show that the necessities of nature had more to do in the matter than the caprices of man, the lives of two generations. In another period of nearly the same length, they grasped link after link of the intermediate chain, ferrying themselves, as it were, across the Pacific merely by making a long arm; till, at last, in 1783, they moored their fortunes to the farthest end of the line by planting a settlement on the island of Kodiak. Might not the effect, which was produced by the force of physical circumstances, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, have been produced by the same cause two or three thousand years before?

From this detail of facts—a detail entirely independent of any and every hypothesis—one may reasonably doubt whether Behring's Straits, as a channel of communication between the two continents, have not rather carried the tide of population from America to Asia, than from Asia to America. In other words, the Tchuktchi, of Siberia, are more likely to have come from the east than from the west. When human beings first reached the Kolyma, not only would the inland routes of Nature's making lead them, as already mentioned, to the waters of the Anadyr; but the inhospitable character of the coast, which, for ten degrees to the eastward of the Kolyma, does not contain one living inhabitant, would also help to force them to the same conclusion. But the American origin of the Tchuktchi appears to be susceptible of something like direct proof. Another branch of the same tribe actually occupies the opposite shores; while the fact already mentioned, that the western division regularly visit their eastern kindred without being revisited in turn, appears, in a great measure, to imply that the former are the children, and the latter the parents; that the old world has here been colonized from the new; and still more positive evidence, though less direct in its character, is furnished by Captain Cochrane, in the apparently insignificant fact that, while all the other aborigines, within his remarkably extensive experience, Kamschatdales included, were passionately fond of chess, the Tchuktchi alone ridiculed the game as a mere waste of time.

In support of these views may be cited the ethnographic characteristics of the Aleutian Islanders. According to Governor Etholine, the savages in question resemble the Japanese in various respects; while, according to the concurring testimony of all visitors, they form, in many other particulars, a connecting link between the aborigines of Siberia and those of the northwest coast. Their language—the most decisive test of a community of origin—is said to have many words in common with that of the Esquimaux. Nor is this fact repugnant to any of the foregoing opinions. In the Aleutian archipelago, the grand staple of human subsistence, even with all the aids of a comparative degree of civilization, is the blubber of the whale and the flesh of the walrus; and those primeval voyagers, who had been accustomed to such food, would, on reaching America, be more likely at first to go to the north in quest of their peculiar staff of life than to turn to the south in search of such unknown luxuries as a fertile soil or a sunny sky. In all probability, however, the islanders would reach the continent at some point of that section of the coast, where they would have to choose, not between south and north, but between east and west; and the chances, therefore, would be in favour of their spreading, even on their immediate arrival, in both directions.

Such speculations, to which, however useless in themselves, one feels himself drawn as if by a charm, are daily becoming more difficult through the gradual diffusion of civilization and Christianity among aboriginal tribes, to say nothing of their rapid depopulation. By acquiring new ideas and feelings, and adopting new habits and customs, savages are naturally led to corrupt, or even to neglect, their ancient traditions; to varnish, or peradventure to wash, their original features; in short, to overlay the past with the present.

The Aleutian Islands are now far less valuable than they once were. The human inhabitants hardly muster one to ten of their early numbers, having been thinned, and thinned, and thinned again, for here there is no mystery in the case, by hardships and oppression. They were ground down through the instrumentality of the natural wealth of their country; they experienced the same curse in their fur-seal and their sea-otter, as the Hawaiians in their sandal-wood, and the Indians of Spanish America in their mines of silver. To hunt was their task; to be drowned, or starved, or exhausted, was their reward. Even now, under better auspices and more humane management, the Aleutians are, in every respect, servants of the Russian American Company, acting as labourers at the establishments, and as hunters throughout the whole country from Behring's Straits to California, while they almost entirely feed and clothe themselves without obtaining supplies.

The lower animals of the archipelago have diminished in fully as high a proportion as its human inhabitants. Oonalashka, and Atcha, and Kodiak, produce nearly all the sea-otters that are now collected, the whole stock not exceeding one thousand in a year. The fur-seal is principally found on St. Paul and St. George, which lie a little to the north of the main line of the islands, the anual booty amounting to not more than ten thousand or twelve thousand skins. The walrus, or sea-horse, is still very abundant, while the natives turn every part of his carcase to account. Thus the teeth, besides being valuable in commerce as ivory, serve to barb spears and arrows; the flesh affords food; the oil warms the huts and cooks the victuals; the bones and skin form the materials of the baidarka. But the skin of the animal is converted to more than one useful purpose by civilized men. First, it covers the packages of furs that are sent to Kiachta, then the chests of tea that are carried to Moscow; and having, by this time, been coined, as it were, with a great variety of stamps on its travels, it again visits its native seas, cut up into a circulating medium of small change for the Company's posts.

The soil and climate of some of the more easterly islands of the Aleutian archipelagoes are sufficiently good for the production of potatoes and the maintenance of domestic cattle, while at Kodiak there are also gardens for vegetables. On this last-mentioned island, which possesses a tolerable surface of pulverized lava and vegetable mould, there exists a village of about four hundred inhabitants, the oldest settlement, as already mentioned, to the north of California. The Russians are certainly entitled to the credit of having been the first to plant civilization on the north-west coast; and, in fact, they have generally been more assiduous than any other people in attempting to improve the economical condition of aboriginal tribes. In short, they had been led, by the example of Peter the Great, to regard civilization not as an incident of anything else but as a substantive business in itself; and on this account one cannot peruse, without a peculiar interest, Shelekoff's narrative of his proceedings at Kodiak. I quote two passages:

" They were filled with astonishment on seeing the expedition with which we constructed our houses, because they, who possessed only small iron tools to cleave the wood and form planks, employed several years in building a single hut. On observing the reverberators, which were suspended in dark nights, they believed that we had stolen the sun from heaven. I pitied their extreme ignorance, and could not suffer them to continue longer under such impressions of error, without attempting to enlighten their minds as much as lay in my power: I explained to them that the reverberator was the work of men, like themselves, and added, as long as they did not live peaceably, and adopt our customs and mode of life, they would never acquire a similar degree of knowledge. I laboured to persuade them to quit their savage life, which was a perpetual scene of massacre and warfare, for a better and more happy state. I showed them the comforts and advantages of our houses, clothes, and provisions; I explained to them the method of digging, sowing, and planting gardens; and I distributed fruit and vegetables and some of our provisions amongst them, with which they were highly delighted.

"I endeavoured to give them some notion of books, offered to teach some of their children to read, and several brought them to me for that purpose. I must do these people the justice to allow that they were by no means deficient in capacity; for the children easily comprehended the instructions, and several of them, before my departure, spoke the Russian tongue so well, that they were understood without difficulty; and I left five and twenty scholars, who could read and write, and who would much rather have preferred being with the Russians than with their parents."

On Saturday, the 12th of June, we were at our nearest to Kamschatka. The preceding week had been productive of much variety in the shape of weather, every twelve hours, in fact, having had their own rule in this matter. Calms and winds of every name and of almost every degree of force were most curiously interwoven, even the strongest breezes not living long enough to raise a sea; and, though the fog was pretty constant, yet observations were got almost every day. Albatroses, boobies, and sea-parrots hovered about us, while several land-birds, that had been blown off the coast, fluttered wildly among them. One morning, the clamour and restlessness of our poultry drew our attention to a half-famished hawk; the poor chickens, though they did not know much about the matter, had good reason to dread the sharpness of the rascal's appetite at a distance of two hundred and fifty miles from the nearest resting-place.

Kamschatka, which we were now passing, was to be visited by the Alexander on her return to Sitka in the autumn; and there was, in fact, a report that the peninsula itself was to be placed under the administration of the Russian American Company on nearly the same footing as the opposite continent and the intervening islands. On many grounds, this would be a blessed change for the inhabitants. The favourite maxim of most of the public officers, great and small, in Siberia, is that "God is high, and the Emperor far off;" and of this watchword the Kamschatdales are sure, from their unfortunate place on the map, to enjoy the fullest benefit. Every functionary, moreover, dabbles in trade as well as in government, while the priests compound a similar medley of traffic and religion; and, what is worst of all, these amateur pedlars, both the reverends and the honourables, find ardent spirits the easiest thing to carry, and the readiest thing to sell.

But, as if to complete their misfortunes, the Kamschatdales alone, of all the nations and tongues in the Russian empire, are still farther exposed to be fleeced by foreigners. Certain supplies of grain, tea, sugar, manufactures, &c., are sent annually from Ochotsk, in three small vessels, so badly commanded and so badly equipped, that every two or three years one of them is sure to be lost on her outward voyage, while the whole outfit, even without such an accident, is by no means adequate to the demand. As a lesser evil than absolute famine, the port of Petropaulosk is opened to the extortion of strangers; and an American resident at the Sandwich Islands has, with the interested connivance of the authorities, been in the habit of availing himself very liberally of the privilege. All these mischiefs would, in a great measure, be remedied by the proposed transfer of the province from the Imperial Government to the Russian American Company.

It is a popular notion that, in a despotic monarchy, everything is the work of what is styled the pervading will. Though, in a small state, this doctrine may be correct, yet, in Russia, it is an impracticable delusion; for the Emperor, so far from being the actual ruler of Kamschatka, pays about five thousand roubles a year beyond the amount of the local revenue to those who plunder the subjects whom he himself certainly desires to protect. An extensive empire, that has neither free institutions to check oppression, nor a public press to expose it, must be governed, whether its name be China or Russia, rather by the local functionaries than by the central authorities, rather by interested caprice than by impartial law.

On Sunday, the 13th of June, having then been twenty-seven days out from New Archangel, we entered the Sea of Ochotsk, passing through its breastwork of the Kurile Islands, by a strait of about twenty miles in width. Though, at first sight, such a passage appears to be broad enough, more particularly as it is free from currents and rocks, yet its navigation is rendered dangerous by the almost constant fogs which are produced by the nearly direct collision between the warm flood, already mentioned, from the south, and the cold waters of the Sea of Ochotsk. These fogs are often so *dense as not* only to render observations impracticable, but even to prevent one from seeing to the distance of a hundred yards. But, if the former evil be incurable, the latter, as we had an opportunity of perceiving, is not altogether without its remedy. An Aleutian on board, with the characteristic sharpness of vision of his race, discerned land at a distance of several miles, through a mist as impervious to ordinary eyes as a solid wall; and Captain Kadnikoff, by firing a gun now and then, and catching its echo, was able to ascertain, within limits sufficiently accurate to be very useful, both the direction and the distance of the nearest shore. One of our guns, by the by, disturbed a whale, nearly as big as our ship, lounging on the surface, within twenty yards of us; he raised his head, as if to ask why we interrupted his slumbers, and remained gazing stupidly at us, till we lost sight of him in the fog.

In consequence of the thickness of the weather in this neighbourhood, vessels have occasionally been obliged, after beating about till they could beat about no longer, to return to Sitka, without breaking bulk. A few years back, an unfortunate wight, of the name of Erasmus, was sent to inspect the Company's posts on these islands, whence he was to proceed the following season to St. Petersburg to join his wife and children, who had gone thither before him. Next year, however, he was left to his fate; for Lieutenant Zagoiskin, who was to carry him to Ochotsk, could not stumble on the island, where the poor man was anxiously waiting his arrival; and again, in the ensuing summer, when found by Lieutenant Villachkoffsky, he actually did get his baggage on board, and was himself rowing off to the vessel, when, in consequence of a sudden gale, the ship was obliged to run for it, either proceeding contentedly on her voyage, as if she had not "left one breaking heart behind," or, to take a more charitable view of the case, perhaps returning to grope about in vain for Mr. Erasmus and his island.

The Kuriles appear to be principally of volcanic origin; they are, moreover, so rugged and sterile as to look, in all respects, like a continuation of Kamschatka. Nor is the climate, as indeed one may expect from the perpetual fogs, superior to the soil. Here we were in the latitude of Paris, and on the hot side of midsummer, while the high grounds were covered with snow, and even the low grounds exhibited scarcely a symptom of vegetation. The three posts, which the Russian American Company has on the group, are maintained merely to collect furs, chiefly those of marine animals.

This archipelago, of which the more south-westerly islands belong to the Japanese, completes the line on which Russia directly and immediately influences nearly all the powers of the old continent — Sweden, now extending to the Atlantic; Prussia, virtually including all the minor states of Germany; Austria, with her vassals of Rome and Naples; Turkey, grasping the Danube with one hand, and with the other overreaching the Cataracts of the Nile; Persia, bordering on the sea that washes the coast of Malabar; Central Asia, marked by the footsteps of nearly all the conquerors of Hindostan; Thibet, containing the sources of the Burrampooter and the Ganges; China, meeting Spain in the Philippines; and Portugal and England, in her own islands, and, lastly, that mysterious empire which stands aloof alike from the commerce and the warfare of the world.

The Sea of Ochotsk is completely land-locked, being, in this respect, as well as in size and general situation, not unlike Hudson's Bay. The waters are shallow, not exceeding, about fifty miles from land, an equal number of fathoms, and rarely giving, even in the centre, above four times the depth just mentioned. As the height of land nearly all round is at an inconsiderable distance, the only river of any magnitude that flows into this vast inlet is the Amoor, if indeed the Amoor can fairly be said to do so, terminating, as it does, in a bay, which, being bounded in front by the Island of Sagalin, opens by one strait into the Sea of Ochotsk, and by another into the Sea of Japan.

In almost every point of view, the Amoor is the most valuable stream in Northern Asia. Of all the large rivers of that boundless region, it is the only one that empties itself into a navigable part of the universal ocean. The Obi, the Yenisei, and the Lena carry the waters of the Altai Mountains to the Polar Sea, there to be lost to commerce as effectually as if buried in the sands of a burning desert; the Yana, the Indigirka, the Alasei, and the Kolyma, which rise in a subordinate range, waste their respective tributes on the same hopeless wilderness of ice; and the Anadyr, and the Kamschatka, though they do find their way to the Pacific, are yet of secondary volume in themselves, while the countries which they drain have little or no use for maritime outlets. The Amoor, in fact, is the only highway of nature that directly connects the central steppes of Asia with the rest of the world. But the political arrangements of man have decreed otherwise; and at this moment the Amoor is infinitely less useful, as a channel of traffic, than almost any one of all the land-locked rivers of Siberia. In one word, it belongs not to Russia, but to China.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, and in the first quarter of the seventeenth, a few handfuls of Cossacks were successfully cutting their way from the Uralian chain to the Lena, there to encounter and subdue the Tungusian hordes, which, by the most extraordinary contrast in the history of the world, were, at one and the same time, falling before the mere outposts of Russia, and trampling under foot the ancient dynasty of China. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Russians had advanced a considerable way down both sides of the Amoor, having the Pacific Ocean, as it were, already in their view, when China, having acquired a new interest to the northward through her involuntary connexion with the Tartars, turned her arms towards the same quarter. After a good deal of fighting, in which the Russians, notwithstanding their uniform inferiority in numbers, always dealt the hardest blows, the Chinese, partly by trickery and partly by being much nearer to their resources, forced their dangerous enemy by treaty to recede from the Amoor to a line of boundary terminating in the Sea of Ochotsk, on nearly the same parallel of latitude as afterwards divided Russia from England, on the eastern shore of the Pacific.

The treaty in question was made in 1689, soon after the commencement of the reign of Peter the Great; and this most ambitious of the czars was doubtless the more ready to ratify the dishonourable and disadvantageous compact, inasmuch as one of its collateral stipulations provided for the opening of a regular trade by land between the two empires.

Though, at first, the Russians were doubtless gainers by the compromise, yet they were gradually led to feel that a fair at Kiachta, or a factory in Pekin, was a poor exchange for the only direct channel of communication with the Pacific. Through the loss of the Amoor, the discovery of Kamschatka, and the consequent discoveries of the islands and continent beyond, were reduced to half their value, even without reference to anything else than the mere expense of a more circuitous and less commodious route. But it was not only as a means of transit that the Amoor would have been serviceable to the more easterly adventurers. The grain, and the sails, and the cordage, and generally all such necessaries as any part of the empire could produce—and the iron, too, from the mines of Nertshinsk—could have been found on the banks of the very stream which was to waft them to the ocean, thus not only supplying the sterile settlements to the eastward at a vastly cheaper rate, but also planting an agricultural population within reach of the sea.

But, even if neither America nor Kamschatka, nor the intervening isles, had ever been discovered or ever existed, the Amoor would have been invaluable to Russia, both on commercial and political grounds. It would have been the means of conducting a trade with China and the other countries of the East, more extensive and more advantageous than any overland commerce, furnishing not only a receptacle for vessels, but also materials for building them. Again, by its position, as already mentioned, with respect to the Sea of Japan, it might have been made the station of such a navy as would have brought Russia, even as a maritime power, into influential contact with both her opulent neighbours; and it was probably to keep her within her own proper sphere, as a military colossus, and to prevent her from encroaching on the peculiar province of her destined associate, that Providence so unexpectedly gave her the only check that she ever sustained in her career of eastern conquest. If this be certain, as every thinking man must admit, that England and Russia are to be the grand instruments of a higher power in regulating the future fortunes of the world, then this also is at least as certain, that the sea and the land are to be, generally speaking, the respective theatres of their glory.

During the first four days after entering the Sea of Ochotsk, we kept running from four to ten knots an hour, so that we were now rapidly advancing to the termination of our long and tedious voyage. Everything betokened our near approach to our port. Cables were cleared; the work of holy-stoning the decks was diligently pursued; and, in short, all sorts of appurtenances and operations that could be either useful or ornamental were put in training against the moment of our arrival. Of all the vessels of my acquaintance, recommend me to the Alexander, just as she was then commanded and manned. Her captain was thoroughly conversant with his profession, and remarkably attentive to his passengers; the officers appeared to be each more skilful and vigilant than another; and the men were fine, steady, active fellows, whose voices were never heard. The sailors in the Russian navy are quite conspicuous for their good conduct; and, as an eminent proof of this, they are rarely guilty of desertion, though they have more liberty than those in any other service, and are never watched, being considered to be upon honour.

At length, on the 17th, about nine in the morning, our Aleutian friend, who had, for several hours, been looking out from the mast-head, raised the joyful shout of "Land." In about an hour and a half, the outline of a range of hills became visible even to unpractised eyes; and though the prospect was dismal enough in the distance, I yet hailed with joy and thankfulness this first glimpse of Asia, which was, by comparison, to me the threshold of my home, after all my doubling and turning on the Pacific to the extent of fully half the circumference of the globe. As soon as we were certain that there was no mistake, all hands in the cabin proceeded, with nervous haste, to pack up clothes, books, and papers, and all kinds of odds and ends, to shave, dress, and civilize, and so forth, when we had the inexpressible mortification to find that the coast was still cased in its wintry barrier. About one in the afternoon, we entered the broken ice, forcing our way so boldly among the floating masses as to strike heavily and injure the copper; but, when we were within twenty miles of Cape Marican, we were obliged, to our great chagrin, to beat a retreat, and to await in patience the removal of the insuperable obstacle. This consummation, so devoutly to be wished, could only be effected, within any reasonable time, by a strong wind, for very little good could be expected from the ordinary process of thawing in an atmosphere which had just compelled us to mount cloaks and great coats.

What a tantalizing situation was ours! If we could not get across the continent before the close of summer, we should be doomed to spend the broken weather of the autumn at Irkutsk, or perhaps some far worse place, till snow should again render the roads passable; and we, of course, did our best to persuade ourselves that our present delay was sure to make all the difference. If we had been advancing at any pace, we should not have despaired; but to lie like a log in the water, and to feel that we might continue to do so till the temperature, that made ourselves shiver, should melt the enemy, that was "the unkindest cut of all." We became, I am afraid, very bad company to each other; and, as if to overdraw our patience entirely, we were, at this unfortunate crisis, reduced from fresh provisions to salt junk.

To gain a more genial climate, besides varying the scene, we sometimes took a run out to the south, though the greatest heat that we ever attained did not arise to 40° of Fahrenheit, and that, too, in the beginning of our English July. The cheerlessness, however, of our position was, in some measure, counterbalanced by the shortness of the night. In fact, the two twilights, each almost rivalling the day, met each other; and I actually read a newspaper—an old enough one, in all conscience—with great ease at twelve o'clock.

The sea was singularly calm, seldom rising to a dangerous height, even for open craft, in any state of the winds. On the floating ice that passed our vessel we saw great numbers of hair seals, doing their best to bask in the sun, which, when close to us, waddled into the water, and disappeared. In general, however, these creatures are so fearless, that they have been known to get on the decks of vessels lying at anchor in the roadstead of Ochotsk; and here, as well as elsewhere, they allow one to approach near enough to kill them with a club. Once we came within a hundred yards of a sleeping whale. We fired a cannon at him — not a very sportsmanlike proceeding, perhaps; but the shot, which was about a foot too high, merely aroused the monster, when he instantaneously dived. On one occasion, one of the Company's vessels is said to have struck one of these napping whales with so violent a concussion as to make every one suppose that the ship had run foul of a sandbank, while the brute, after being thus keel-hauled, was impotently lashing the water astern, apparently disabled for diving by his wound.

In our anxiety and distress, we thought of landing. But to the south of Ochotsk, where we might have found open water, the country was too rugged for travelling; besides that the one solitary settlement of Uoskoi was not likely to furnish either horses or guides; while to the north, where there was something of a practicable track — being, in fact, part of the Kamschatka Road that runs round the gulf—the ice was still more hopelessly impervious than in front of Ochotsk itself.

The arrival of Sunday, as a variety in our existence, was quite a relief. Previously to the commencement of the service, Captain Kadnikoff read a paper, exhorting the crew to cleanliness, loyalty, morality, and religion; and, after this address was delivered, our Friar Tuck, having been made sober, or kept sober, to order, discharged his duties most admirably.

On the 23rd of the month, after we had been imprisoned nearly a week, we stood in, according to daily custom, towards the anchorage. As we advanced, we were delighted to meet a much greater quantity of floating ice than usual; and, by availing ourselves of every lane of open water, we succeeded, by half past eight in the evening, in reaching our port, having gradually reduced our soundings, till for some distance our keel was ploughing up the mud from the bottom.

Ochotsk, now that we had reached it, appeared to have but little to recommend it to our favour, standing on a shingly beach so low and flat as not to be distinguishable at our distance from the adjacent waters. We saw nothing but a number of wretched buildings, which seemed to be in the sea just as much as ourselves; while, from their irregularity, they looked as if actually afloat; and even of this miserable prospect one of the characteristic fogs of this part of the world begrudged us fully the half.

As soon as we were in sight, we were boarded by a pilot, while a boat from the Russian American Company's establishment came off, bringing the latest news, both indigenous and exotic. As to local intelligence, one of the transports for Kamschatka, with her share of the annual supplies, had been wrecked; and four or five thousand loaded horses had arrived from Yakutsk, while five thousand more were expected. Then, as to more distant matters, the Queen of England, as I had previously learned in the roadstead at Honolulu, had presented the nation with a Prince of Wales; and my friend Baron Wrangell had been appointed principal director of the Russian American Company. I was sadly disappointed, however, to learn that the mail, which was to bring me letters from home, had not yet arrived.

As the hour was late, and as the anchorage was three miles from the town, we remained on board to sleep; and next morning, before daylight, Lieutenant Zavoika, the gentleman in charge of the Russian American Company's establishment, came off to our vessel, in order to convey us ashore in his own boat. We took leave of our kind friend Captain Kadnikoff with sincere regret; and, after making a present to the crew, we left behind us the good ship Alexander under a salute of seven guns, receiving, in about an hour, a similar mark of respect from the Company's post on placing our feet on the continent of Asia.

At the establishment, I had the pleasure of again meeting Madame Zavoika, a niece of Baron Wrangell, whom I had seen along with her husband, two years before, at the house of her noble relative in St. Petersburg; and we had thus an opportunity of renewing, at one end of the Russian empire, an acquaintance which we had commenced at the other.

As a point connected with our voyage, I ought here to mention, that, on the occasion of our first reaching the ice off the town, the Alexander had been seen from the shore, apparently standing on the frozen surface of the gulf; and, to verify the story, our informants had, at the same time, heard a shot, naming the very hour at which Captain Kadnikoff had fired a gun as a signal, without, however, much expectation of its being noticed at a distance of thirty miles.

Our voyage of forty-four days had been somewhat longer than the average, for of late years the runs had generally ranged between five weeks and six weeks and a half. In earlier times, people used to deem themselves fortunate if they accomplished the distance from Sitka to Ochotsk in three months. But, in those days, the mere delay was only a part of the mischief. As the fine season, in these northern latitudes, begins with May and ends with August, the vessel, in order to accomplish both divisions of her trip, was constrained to take her chance of the heavy gales of spring and autumn; while the same causes that led to the delay, namely, craziness of build, and incompleteness of equipments, and unskilfulness of mariners, rendered her less able to face the tempest. Many ships used to be lost, some of them on the very bar of Ochotsk, on which a prodigious tide, practicable only in certain states during the finest weather, becomes doubly difficult and dangerous under the influence of any seaward gale. On one or two occasions, the whole of the valuable returns of the trade were sacrificed; and, on one of the outward voyages, the first religious mission for Russian America, consisting of bishop, priest, deacons, and various subordinate retainers, perished to a man. The latest loss occurred in 1838, when a vessel, making for Norfolk Sound after the stormy weather had commenced, was supposed, as some fragments of her were found in that direction, to have been wrecked near Mount Edgecumbe.

But all these losses were nothing, when compared with the disasters that befell the original explorers of the Aleutian archipelago. The history of these hardy adventurers is an almost continuous narrative of strandings and founderings. Nor ought this to be a matter of wonder, for, by reason of the extreme scarcity and exorbitant cost of all the requisite materials, but more particularly of canvass, and cordage, and iron, the ordinary craft, besides often taking their timbers from old wrecks, were tied together with thongs of skin, and rigged out with ropes and sails of the same unmanageable texture to match.

I cannot close this record of disasters more appropriately or more mournfully than by mentioning the premature fate of the manly and generous Captain Kadnikoff. Immediately on his return from Ochotsk to Sitka, in the autumn of 1842, he was sent with his good ship to California; and, on his homeward voyage, while lying-to in a tremendous hurricane, within an inconsiderable distance of New Archangel, he and all his crew, excepting the watch on deck, were literally drowned in their beds by a heavy sea, which broke over the vessel without causing her to founder.

CHAPTER XVI.

FROM OCHOTSK TO YAKUTSK.

Ochotsk—Madame Zavoika's horticulture—Food, health, &c., of inhabitants—Ship-building establishment—Courts and lawyers—Salt—Governor Golovin—Russians, and Ostrogs, and Cossacks—Shipwrecked Japanese—Disciple of Origen—Brick tea—Mr. Atlasoff's snow-shoes—Promiscuous bathing—Bargaining for horses with Jacob—Departure from Ochotsk—Forests of pine, &c., with swamp-tea—Jacob's policy—Mr. Shiloff's caravan—Fidelity and skill of Yakuti—Cossack's zeal and boastfulness—Spirit of the forest—Jacob's care of horses—Notes of cuckoo—Fourteen fords on horseback—Lord Byron and Captain Cochrane—Industry of Yakuti, as also hospitality—Dropping in of three friends to dinner—Cossack's discipline—Caravan—Mode of feeding horses in the night—Real hell of horses—Inundations—Threatened attack on the part of a bear—Country more fertile—Mail from Yakutsk, disappointment—Plant that intoxicates and disables horses—Mistake of Cossack—Inundations—Herds of cattle and caravans—Summer by day and winter by night—Superstition of Yakuti—Height of land, with a lake feeding both seas—Perpetual snow and ice—Caravans without end—Udoma crossing—Hardly any horses of a dark colour—Danger in pastimes from runaway convicts—New ice in middle of July—Valley of the Nalivnoi—Difficulty in ascertaining names—Wet St. Nicholas Day—Yakut's mode of estimating distances—Allack Youmi—Musquitoes—Moor fowl—Delays of travelling—Rein-deer—Ooloonach ferry—Scenery now softer—Swamps bridged with corduroy—The Aldan—Horses of Yakuti well trained—Kumyss—The Amga—The Capercailzie, snipe, and plover—Orelach—Traveller's book—Tshooropsa—Porotoffskaya—Visit from son of a Yakut chief—Tshetshiguiskaya—Temooloya—Locusts—Toolgyachtach—Lena and other rivers once much higher—Arrival at Lena—Arrival at Yakutsk.

The Company's post stands near the end of a tongue of land, about three quarters of a mile in length, and one quarter of a mile in width, so little elevated above the level of the sea, that, when the southerly wind blows hard or continues long, the whole is almost sure to be inundated. The town lies about half a mile distant, situated on the left bank of the Kuchtui. It has stood on this site only for a few years, having formerly occupied a low point between the sea and the Ochota; and it appears to have been removed just in time, for the river has, since then, formed the tip of the point into an island, sending the main body of its waters through this new channel of its own cutting. Even now the town is not secure, being subject, as well as the Company's post, to inundations in southerly gales.

The population of Ochotsk is about eight hundred souls, though, forty years ago, it amounted, according to Langsdorff's estimate, to about two thousand. The diminution is ascribed, and with great appearance of truth, to the circumstance, that the town has, since then, been supplanted, as a penal colony, by the mines—a change which the neighbourhood has had no reason to regret; for the convicts, always the worst of their class, were continually escaping, to prey on the public, like so many wild beasts. Nor can the criminals themselves look back to Ochotsk with regret from any other place of punishment whatever.

A more dreary scene can scarcely be conceived. Not a tree, and hardly even a green blade, is to be seen within miles of the town; and in the midst of the disorderly collection of huts is a stagnant marsh, which, unless when frozen, must be a nursery of all sorts of malaria and pestilence. The climate is at least on a par with the soil. Summer consists of three months of damp and chilly weather, during great part of which the snow still covers the hills, and the ice chokes the harbour; and this is succeeded by nine months of dreary winter, in which the cold, unlike that of more inland spots, is as raw as it is intense.

In such a climate, spontaneous vegetation is hardly to be expected. I was equally surprised and pleased at the manner in which Madame Zavoika contrived to combat circumstances so adverse to horticultural operations. Towards the close of the winter, she had reared in hothouses a number of hardy vegetables, which, as the season advanced, she was gradually transplanting into the open air, thus producing for domestic use, besides a few flowers, a small stock of potatoes, cabbage, lettuce, and barley. In so short a summer—for dog-sleighing continues till the 1st of June—everything must, as it were, run a race to come to maturity; and, in reality, the growth of some plants is said to be so rapid under assiduous culture, and in a genial situation, that their progress, to the high gratification, of course, of the party interested, may be traced from hour to hour.

The principal food of the inhabitants is fish. The sea of Ochotsk yields as many as fourteen varieties of the salmon alone, one of them, the nerka, being the finest thing of the kind that I ever tasted. All the parts of a fish are turned to profitable account; the head is eaten raw, the belly smoked, the back salted, and the bones and offal are given to the dogs. Fish is the staple food also of cattle and poultry, as neither hay nor grain can be procured for their use in sufficient quantities.

All supplies for the table, fish alone excepted, are ruinously extravagant. Flour, brought from the Upper Lena by way of Yakutsk, costs twenty-eight roubles a pood of forty Russian or thirty-six English pounds; beef, supplied by the neighbouring Yakuti, is so dear and so scarce as to be regarded merely as a treat; and as to wines and groceries, most of them tell their own story in the fact of their being burdened with the expense of an inland carriage of more than seven thousand miles.

On such fare and in such a climate no people could be healthy. Scurvy in particular rages here every winter. This is, in fact, the scourge of all these hyperborean regions, the absence or the feebleness of the sun in December and January being apparently sufficient to generate it under the most favourable circumstances of food, shelter, and exercise. It affects even sucking infants, while the very cattle suffer equally with human beings. It often proves fatal; but, if the sufferer, whether man or beast, survive the winter, both quadrupeds and bipeds find a remedy of Nature's own providing in a wild sort of onion or garlick.

Under all these disadvantages, however, the good folks of Ochotsk look brisk, with something of a military swagger in their air. They are evidently alive to the dignity of their situation, as being denizens of the only town within the compass of two or three European kingdoms. Nor are they likely to be soon deprived of this exclusive honour, for their harbour, bad as it is, is still believed to be the best on the whole of the Sea of Ochotsk. Captain Kadnikoff, however, intends this very season to survey what is called Jan Harbour, lying some distance to the south-west of Ochotsk; and if his report of the anchorage be favourable, the Russian American Company will remove its establishment thither on account of the collateral advantages of the locality. The situation is said to be much more healthy than that of this town; the interior country is believed to be rich in sables and foxes, being well wooded and tolerably fertile; and, what is most important of all, the route to Yakutsk and back may, in a great measure, be accomplished by water.

The buildings are of wood, being most of them in a state of decay; even the principal edifices, the admiralty, the hospital, and the government-house, are scarcely habitable. As to business, the town is a mere place of transit between Yakutsk, on the one hand, and Kamschatka and Russian America, on the other, the grandest epochs in its year being the arrivals and departures of vessels and caravans. With the trade, however, of Russian America, the town, properly so called, has little or nothing to do, for the Company's own post, with a gentleman in charge, three clerks, a storekeeper, a pilot, and thirty-five labourers, is, in my opinion, far more than adequate to perform all the Company's work.

It is chiefly in regard to its connexion with Kamschatka, that Ochotsk possesses a ship-building yard. Considering how often the transports are lost, this establishment can have no sinecure of it; and there is now a vessel of about seventy tons on the stocks as a candidate for the next vacancy, if the recent disaster has not already made room for it. The pine is close in the grain and tough, and the carpenters do their duty well, so that the frequent losses must be imputed chiefly to the incompetency of the officers and crews. Whatever be the cause, the inhabitants of Kamschatka are the sufferers, being forced to submit, as I have elsewhere stated, to the exactions of foreign adventurers for absolute necessaries; and one cannot but regret that the Imperial government does not at once conclude the reported arrangement with the Russian American Company for conducting this branch of the service. Justice and humanity, however, have many vested interests to encounter. The functionaries in Kamschatka are, as a matter of course, instinctively hostile to the proposed measure; the Yakuti, who enjoy the monopoly, such as it is, of the inland transport between Yakutsk and Ochotsk, are represented as being likely to lose at least a part of their carrying trade; and, though last not least, the authorities of Ochotsk see that, in letting go their hold of Kamschatka, they will drift from their sheet-anchor.

So far as the Yakuti are concerned, their case is little better than a bugbear to serve the purposes of the other two parties, for, besides being nearly independent of extraneous aid through the instrumentality of their herds of cattle, they sacrifice vast numbers of their horses in consequence of famine and fatigue, so as greatly to diminish the clear proceeds of their earnings. The depth and thickness, however, of the official stake in the matter are certainly great, exceeding, in fact, all honest calculation. To cite an instance, the freight from Ochotsk to Kamschatka, as fixed at head-quarters, is not to be more than half a rouble a pood, while, as exacted on the spot, it amounts to fifteen roubles. Thus, in defiance of what is called the pervading will, the servant's peculation adds 2,900 per cent. to the master's claim.

Of the machinery of justice, Ochotsk has fully more than enough. For the eight hundred souls in the town, and a remarkably scanty population in the adjacent country, there are, including judges and clerks of court, no fewer than forty limbs of the law. After making due allowance for the litigious disposition of the Yakuti, the place has evidently still too much of a good thing, even if only half of all that is said as to the extortion and corruption of the harpies be correct. I shall merely mention one instance, resting on undoubted authority, with respect to judicial misconduct, premising that the bar can hardly be expected to be more punctilious than the bench.

A woman of Sitka, charged, on the clearest evidence, with having poisoned her husband, was sent to Ochotsk for trial. She was committed to prison; but the judge, struck with her charms, removed her from her cell to his own house, postponing the cognizance of the affair from time to time on one pretext after another. At last, when urged by the Russian American Company, he promised to proceed in the business, without, however, naming any day. Accordingly, one forenoon, the Company's agent was summoned to attend the woman's trial by mid-day at a place about three miles distant from the town; but, before the prosecutor could reach the court-house, the judge, true to his time, had dismissed the case for want of evidence, and remanded the lady to his own hospitable domicile. In process of time, she has become the mother of half a dozen or so of incipient judges and embryo ladies of quality.

Formerly, salt used to be manufactured near Ochotsk; but the works were soon abandoned, as the article could be procured, through the Russian American Company, from California at a much cheaper rate. By the by, when Captain Cochrane was at Petropaulosk, in Kamschatka, he found there a vessel belonging to Liho Liho, loaded with salt as a present from his Hawaiian majesty to the Emperor of Russia.

The Governor of Ochotsk, Captain Golovin of the Imperial Navy, has spent twenty years of his life in Siberia and Kamschatka, and bears a very excellent character. At the moment of my arrival, he was too busy at home to let his thoughts wander elsewhere, for his lady had just presented him with a little girl, who was ushered into the world under the same salute that greeted my landing in Asia. When this affair was made snug, Captain Golovin showed me much courtesy and attention, readily rendering me every assistance in his power. His jurisdiction extends from the Chinese frontier to the Bay of Anadyr, containing, in addition to the aboriginal population, about three thousand families of Russians. This peaceful district contains numerous *ostrogs*, or forts, garrisoned by a few Cossacks, who, by virtue of their descent from the original conquerors of Siberia, are at once the military and the police of the country. In their public capacity, these soldiers collect the yassack from the natives, being equivalent to six roubles a year for every male of twenty and upwards, while, on their own private account, they exact a much heavier tribute from the poor creatures, by dabbling in furs at their own prices.

At Ochotsk we saw the Japanese, of whom I had previously heard at the Sandwich Islands. They were maintained at the expense of the government, and were waiting an opportunity to return home. Whatever the chapter of accidents might ultimately disclose, there was then no definite prospect that the unhappy exiles would ever reach the shores of Japan, or that, even if they should get that length, they would be allowed to land. On a former occasion of the same kind, the sailors, whom the Russians were restoring to their country, were driven off by their jealous government, an example which is not very likely to encourage Russia to repeat the attempt. The Japanese in question, wretched as their lot must have been in a strange land, and under an inhospitable climate, contrived to make themselves more miserable by disagreeing with each other; and, on a recent occasion, four of them had conspired to destroy the fifth, whom the authorities were obliged to send to prison, in order to preserve his life.

In the Russian American Company's stores I observed what is known as brick tea, being made up into cakes like Cavendish tobacco. This article is brought from Kiachta. Though coarse, strong, and ill-flavoured, it is consumed in great quantities by the lower orders in Siberia, being made into a thick soup, with the addition of butter and salt.

Of the habits of the good people of Ochotsk, save of their hospitality, I know but little. On the day of our arrival there was scarcely a soul to be seen about the place, all business being at a stand in honour of the anniversary of the emperor's birth: but the proper festivities were unavoidably postponed, as the anticipated supplies had not arrived from Yakutsk. In summer, in fact, nobody goes out of the house without necessity. If the weather be fine, then the noxious vapours of the stagnant marsh are to be dreaded; and if the weather be not fine, then the rain and wind are to be avoided. In winter, again, the cold is too severe for much exposure, being of that raw, damp, disagreeable kind, which no clothes can keep out. Walking on snow-shoes, however, is a favourite pastime among the gentlemen; and one of the Company's clerks, Mr. Atlasoff,—a descendant, I believe, of the conqueror of Kamschatka,—thinks nothing at all of trudging eighty or ninety miles a day, having one winter gone from Ochotsk to Irkutsk on foot, a distance of nearly four thousand versts, or two thousand seven hundred miles, in order to visit his friends.

This performance quite beats that of a gentleman in the Hudson's Bay Company's service, who walked from Moose Factory to Red River settlement, to request my leave to marry a young lady, whose inclinations on the subject he had never taken the precaution to discover. Having obtained the required permission, he retraced his steps, and, with his authority all cut and dried for immediate use, made his formal proposal; but, to his infinite astonishment and dismay, the hard-hearted and ungrateful woman rejected his suit, while he could only console himself with the old song, "Sure she's daft to refuse the laird o' Cockpen." The snow, particularly on a long journey, proves very injurious to the eyes, almost always producing temporary, and sometimes permanent blindness; and, besides various other sufferers in this way whom I met, Captain Golovin had nearly lost his sight from that cause. Speaking of the habits of the people, I heard of a custom, which would hardly be considered delicate or correct in England. Men and women, to the number, perhaps, of thirty or forty of both sexes, frequent one and the same bath at one and the same time; and so common is the thing, that it is regarded as a matter of perfect indifference.

Two days after my arrival, I despatched letters for England by the mail, which would travel much more expeditiously than I could, as each bearer would go only a specified distance, and then be relieved by another.

On the same day, I learned from a Yakut, that the roads were exceedingly bad in consequence of the unusual height of the waters. This state of things was very much against the comfortable and speedy prosecution of our journey as far as Yakutsk, though it might be favourable to us in ascending the Lena to Irkutsk, as facilitating the tracking of boats along the banks. The news were disheartening, for the track, at its best, would be a mere apology for a highway.

I had some trouble in procuring horses and guides, the Yakuti being inclined to drive a hard bargain; but, on being marched before Governor Golovin by a party of Cossacks, they agreed to convey us to Yakutsk in eighteen days, at the rate of forty-five roubles a horse, no load being to exceed five Russian poods, or a hundred and eighty English pounds. The leader and guide, an old fellow of the name of Jacob, was said to be worth forty thousand roubles, having acquired the greater part of his wealth by lending money to his less provident countrymen at usurious interest. Notwithstanding all our precautions, our princeling,—for Jacob was a man of rank in his tribe,—had been too keen for us, inasmuch as the charge even for posthorses was only fifty roubles; while, in the case of animals that had come loaded and were returning, it hardly ever exceeded forty.

Considering that a horse costs only thirty or forty roubles, one is inclined, at first sight, rather to buy the nags than to hire them. But a little inquiry on the spot is sure to save a great deal of vexatious and expensive experience. Your cheap bargains may be unsound from the beginning; even if they are sound, they are seldom able to accomplish the whole journey; and even if they neither die nor break down, they are almost certain of being stolen. In addition to all this, guides and drivers must be separately paid; while, from having no interest in your cattle, excepting perhaps an interest adverse to your own, they may prove more troublesome than the very brutes themselves. As a general rule, a traveller, whether in Siberia or elsewhere, rarely promotes either comfort or economy by being wise in his own conceit.

On the 27th of the month, immediately after breakfast, we took leave of our kind hostess, Madame Zavoika, and then, accompanied by Lieutenant Zavoika, ascended the Ochota in a boat, to an encampment about ten miles distant, where we were to meet our princeling and his party. At this spot, which presented neither tree nor shrub to shelter us from the north wind,—always a cold one in these regions,—that was blowing, we found a caravan of about five hundred horses, just arrived from Yakutsk. Whilst we partook of a farewell dinner with our hospitable friend, packs were arranged, harness repaired, and horses laden. Our little band consisted of my two fellow-travellers and myself, my servant, a Cossack, and three Yakuti, with about thirty horses.

Bidding adieu to our excellent host, we commenced our journey, riding about ten versts along the sea-shore, whence we obtained our last look of the good ship Alexander; and then, striking into the country, we passed through a miserable district of burnt wood, which, however, improved, as we advanced, into forests of pine, larch, willows, and alder, with abundance of swamp tea, such as grows in Labrador and many parts of the Hudson's Bay territories. Our progress did not exceed four or five miles an hour, Jacob being ready with the standing apology of all first days, that the horses, being fresh from the pasturage, must not have their bellies shaken. In all such cases, whether the excuse be well founded or not, the traveller, as there is no use in going ahead of his baggage, must of course acquiesce in the pace of the slowest quadruped in the caravan,—unless, indeed, he has a Cossack with him to argue the point in his own summary way.

During the afternoon, we met an apparently interminable line of about six hundred horses, carrying goods for Mr. Shiloff, a rich merchant of Ochotsk. The whole of the property was entirely under the charge of the Yakuti,—a fact which to me spoke volumes in favour of the carefulness, honesty, and fidelity of the tribe. In truth, I had already begun to see that, if not in a hurry, I should never desire better attendants on such a journey, for Jacob and his companions understood the management of horses to a miracle, and were withal cheerful creatures, turning every incident into a rude melody to beguile their own toil, and perhaps also that of their cattle. But, pressed as I was for time, I should never have got on, more particularly as none of us wore uniform, without my Cossack, who, besides his own peculiar mode of infusing activity into all and sundry, supplied the place of a whole regiment of buttons and crosses by the most exaggerated representations of my rank and importance.

If there is anything in earth or air more formidable to these poor fellows than a Cossack, it is the "Spirit of the Forest,"—a personage invested, in their imagination, with almost unlimited power, whether for good or for evil. In the branches of the trees along the road were suspended numberless offerings of horse-hair, the gift being probably selected as an emblem of what the giver valued most; the extemporaneous songs seemed to be dictated by the hope of conciliating the great unknown; and, at supper, the first spoonful was invariably thrown into the fire to purchase a sound sleep from the genius of the place. As every locality has its own elf, the Yakuti, when on a journey, have no respite, soothing one object of terror after another, and only multiplying their tormentors as they increase their speed.

At the close of our first day, on which we had accomplished barely thirty versts, we encamped on a branch of the Ochota. After unloading the horses, the Yakuti tied them to trees for about an hour, in order to prevent them from eating or drinking while they were warm; and, having thus taken care of their cattle, they attacked their own pottage of rye-flour, butter, and sour milk, not forgetting the libation due to the tutelary divinity of the neighbourhood.

Next morning we started at five, having taken a cup of tea to keep out the cold air. About sunrise, I had a pleasing remembrance of home and old times, in the notes of a cuckoo, a bird unknown in America, where I had passed about twenty successive springs. For fifteen versts, we pursued our way along the river, on the banks of which we had slept, through a tolerably pretty country; and then, after crossing the shoulder of a small hill over heavy roads of clay and bog, we traversed on horseback no fewer than fourteen fords, some of them deep and dangerous, of the Ochota and other streams. Though I could not appropriate to myself the boast of a former traveller in these parts, that "Byron swam the Hellespont, and John Cochrane the Ochota," yet I did sometimes anticipate the misfortune of being left by my horse to attempt part of the feat.

In the course of the day, we passed through several native settlements, with comfortable yourtes, or huts, one of them belonging to Jacob. On our stopping at the old man's house, the princess, by no means an uncomely person, showed herself; she was neat in her dress, and tidy in her domestic arrangements. The Yakuti appear to be very industrious, young and old, male and female, always occupied with some useful employment or other. When not engaged in travelling or farming, the men and boys make saddles, harnesses, and tethers; while the women and girls keep house, dress skins, prepare clothing, and attend to the dairy. The poor people, moreover, are remarkably kind to strangers; for milk and cream, the best if not the only things that they had to give, were freely offered to us in every village.

Just as we were squatting down to dinner, three well-dressed gentlemen, attended by one of those indispensable Cossacks, rode up to us. They proved to be Judge Fish, a good-looking, sharp, and gentlemanly fellow, born in Petersburg of English parents, with the principal barrister of Ochotsk, a stout Siberian, whose countenance presented the reddest and most formidable crop of whiskers and moustaches, and the chief doctor of the same place, the most forbidding man without exception that I had seen for many years. These gentlemen had been holding a court at a village in the neighbourhood, this plan of carrying law to every man's door being absolutely necessary in such a country, and affording at the same time to the functionaries a safer field than a stationary tribunal for combining some attention to their own private interests, with a due regard for the public good. Very little ceremony was requisite to induce them to partake of our repast, to which the whole of them, particularly our medical guest, did justice, as if they had never done it before in their lives.

Parting with our friends, we resumed our course along the Ochota, for about twelve versts, to the little posthouse of Mitta. This place, in spite of the dignity of its appellation, was merely the shell of an old log hut, containing generally a few provisions for the use of passing caravans, though, to give the hovel its due, it did possess two rather pretty girls at the time of our visit. At this point, I was sorry to be obliged to make a disturbance with our princeling, who, to spare his horses, always found some pretext or other for moving at a snail's pace; while the Cossack gravely inquired whether he should not administer a dose of the whip for Jacob's benefit. In spite of my objections to the proposed measure, the man in authority dealt out two or three cuts, which certainly were of some service, for there was a visible improvement in our next stage. It was no wonder that we lost our patience with the old fellow, inasmuch as, when we encamped for the night on the Urick, we had been sixteen hours in the saddle for the matter of fifty versts, or thirty-three miles.

Near the Urick, the road ran over a hill, which, on this, the 10th of the English July, was still partially covered with its wintry garb, the atmosphere, of course, being very cold. From the ferryman we obtained some of the delicious nerka for our supper. During the day, by the by, we had met about three hundred horses laden with supplies for Ochotsk; and altogether we found ourselves in much less of a wilderness than we had expected.

Next morning, being the third day of our travels, we lost about an hour and a half in collecting the horses. These animals, when turned loose to feed in the evening, are apt to stray; but the Yakuti, knowing their haunts well, and having a keen eye to detect their track, rarely fail to follow the deserters on the right scent. One could not be surprised, if the quadrupeds should run away altogether out of the country. When compared with this corner of the world, England, which is sometimes said to be the hell of horses, must be contented with the secondary honour of being their purgatory. The unfortunate brutes here lie down to die, in great numbers, through famine and fatigue; and this road is more thickly strewed with their bones than any part of the plains on the Saskatchewan with those of the buffalo.

On either side of our path was a range of hills, while down the valley there flowed the Luktur, which we had occasion to ford repeatedly, following here, as well as elsewhere, the line of the crow's flight as correctly as possible, without regard to the windings of any stream. Though then an insignificant brook, yet the Luktur, like all the rivers of this region, is subject to sudden and violent changes, rising or falling several feet in a few hours. We saw a living proof, as it were, of this fact, in the remains of a platform, on which several Yakuti, after sacrificing much baggage and three hundred horses, had saved their own lives from one of these unexpected inundations.

While crossing a point of woods, we were surprised to hear loud shouts from some party ahead of us. Our Yakuti, however, returned the cries, while our horses, apparently as intelligent in the matter as their owners, grew very restive. To increase our perplexity, the fellows, who had begun the commotion, were now seen, still vociferating as loudly as ever, with a band of cattle scampering wildly before them; and our curiosity was soon tinctured with fear, when we observed our attendants making ready their knives for some desperate work. We did not know what to make of all this, till at length we perceived a huge she-bear and her cub making off, apparently as much frightened as any of us, at a round trot. We now ascertained that the bears are both fierce and numerous on this road; and, as the natives have no firearms, they let Bruin get pretty much his own way, excepting that they do sometimes propitiate him, as if he were himself the "Spirit of the Forest," by all sorts of grimaces and obeisances. Two horses had been killed in the neighbourhood only the day before, very probably by the same animal that had caused the present alarm. Before the two brutes were out of sight, we passed the herd of cattle, the drivers riding the bulls with as much indifference as if they had been on horseback.

The country had now become more fertile. There was no want of flowering plants; and the forests, moreover, were enlivened by the warbling of birds, which, accustomed as I had been to the death-like silence of American woods, was peculiarly grateful to my ear. We saw a large species of partridge, quite new to us, but not unlike the silver pheasant in its plumage; and we found several kinds of squirrels, the fur of some of which was said to be more valuable than anything of the kind produced in the new world.

In the course of the day we met the courier, who was bringing, as I had reason to believe, letters for me from England; but what was my disappointment on learning, what, in fact, I ought to have anticipated, that the bags could not be opened on the road. I felt as if doomed to pass my nearest and dearest friends, after a long absence, without exchanging words with them. The mail had been seventeen days out from Yakutsk, and was still at least two days from Ochotsk, making altogether the unusually long period of nineteen days; but the bearer, when attacked by me on the subject, accounted for the delay by a story of his having lost three days in one encampment, because his horses had eaten a plant which intoxicated them, and rendered them unfit to travel. This plant, though its effects seem to be pretty clearly proved, is yet itself unknown. After taking the drug, the animal kicks and bites furiously for two days; and, unless ridden till he is in a foam again, and is ready to drop with fatigue, he generally dies of stupor on the third day.

On this, our third day, we made out sixty-two versts, fording eleven rivers, and encamping on the Porrick. Jacob had not yet forgotten his yesterday's taste of the whip, as administered by his official "friend;" and certainly, in such a country, forty-one miles between morning and evening were not bad travelling. In the course of the night, we nearly lost our Cossack, with all the incidental advantages of his military discipline. My servant, having injured his eye against the branch of a tree, had poured into a glass a little laudanum to be applied to the hurt; and the Cossack took an opportunity, when unobserved, to toss off the tempting beverage. But M'Intyre, on seeing his comrade's wry faces, guessed the cause; and, luckily, an emetic was given in time to save the fellow's valuable life, turning his stomach inside out, to his infinite astonishment.

Next day, our road lay along the bank, and occasionally in the bed, of a river, descending from the Urrick Mountains, which was so full of windings as to require to be crossed every now and then from point to point. Where we encamped for the night, the stream was only a few yards in width, with a range of hills, apparently volcanic, on either side, while the intervening valley presented a breadth of four or five miles. This inconsiderable rivulet was said to be subject even to more extraordinary inundations than the Luktur, already mentioned. Though now a mere thread of water, yet it sometimes fills the whole of its bed, which is upwards of half a mile broad, extending, moreover, nearly a mile into the woods on either side.

We met several herds of cattle and caravans on their way to Ochotsk. The caravans generally march at the rate of four or five miles an hour for twelve hours at a stretch; but the drivers never have occasion to use the whip, as the horses obey every call with alacrity. The animals are taught to travel in single file, a certain number being tied together by a rope from the tail of one to the mouth of another, and so on from front to rear. In this way, if one starts aside or falls, a violent twitching of mouths and tails ensues, till the driver, by shouting, and thumping, and pushing, and pulling, again brings the column into marching order. These quadrupeds appear to take things coolly, seldom or never sweating or drinking, even when travelling hard in hot weather.

The encampments along this route are both numerous and good; and, notwithstanding all that had been said against the road itself, I found it, when not absolutely in the bed of a river, very passable as compared with many roads that I had traversed. Amongst the caravans that we met to-day, was one with goods and cattle for the Russian American Company; and we learned that, in this caravan, two horses had been killed by a bear only last night. By this intelligence, our Yakuti were thrown into terrible consternation, while, being unable to defend themselves by force, they had recourse, like skilful politicians, to a conciliatory method of proceeding. They bowed reverentially towards Bruin's favourite haunts with appropriate accompaniments, in prose and verse, lauding his bravery and generosity to the skies, recognising him as their beloved uncle, and endeavouring by every means to coax him into forbearance. In addition to bears, the neighbouring mountains were said to abound in wolves and rein-deer, as also in the wild sheep so common in the Rocky Mountains and on the north-west coast.

At noon, the thermometer rose as high as 80° in the shade, the temperature being still very cool at night. In fact, one half of the four and twenty hours was summer, while the other half might have passed muster in England as pretty seasonable weather for winter. This, our fourth march, was about sixty versts.

On our fifth day, the first of the Russian July, we continued our march up the valley of our yesterday's river, generally riding across or along its very bed. We at length came to a steep mountain, at the foot of which the Yakuti chanted a short prayer to all and sundry the elves and fairies of the neighbourhood, invoking their aid, or at least their neutrality, in the ascent, while the bunches of horsehair, besides being here unusually numerous, were, in some cases, very neatly plaited. The top of this hill, which we reached about noon, with the help of the spirits and our Cossack, proved to be the height of land between the tributaries of the Polar Ocean and those of the Sea of Ochotsk, presenting a sheet of water about five miles in circumference, which, like the Committee's Punch Bowl in the Athabasca Portage of the Rocky Mountains, was said to send forth two rivers down the opposite slopes; namely, the stream, which we had just traversed, towards the Sea of Ochotsk, and the Krestoffka, through the Mayo Fordoma, and the Aldan and the Lena, to the Polar Ocean. In the Mongol and Yakut tongues, which appear to be cognate dialects, this sheet of water is expressively distinguished as *Ciss Kule*, or Spine Lake. The country about the height of land was poor and dismal, inhabited by neither bird nor beast, and studded with large fields of perpetual snow and ice. The Urrick Mountains are a spur of the Stanovoi Chrebt, or great chain, that runs along the Chinese frontier. They are apparently of volcanic formation, being very rugged and sterile; they are, however, of no great altitude, not exceeding two thousand feet in height.

After crossing the height of land, we proceeded down the banks of the Krestoffka; and here my servant brought me a piece of mineral which appeared to contain a little gold. On inquiring, I ascertained that the Russian American Company had, some years before, established a gold mine in the neighbouring country on the Yana, but had soon abandoned it as not worth the working.

Our road was absolutely alive with caravans and travellers, all proceeding to Ochotsk with goods, provisions, and cattle; and of flour alone not fewer than five thousand loads had passed us before the close of this our fifth day. Among the travellers, we met Mr. Portnech, of the long-standing firm of Shelekoff, who had left Moscow in February, and was now thirteen days out from Yakutsk; also, a clerk of the Russian American Company, in charge of goods and supplies, and among them two coops of fowls and pigeons; and, lastly, Mr. Molodish, the chief magistrate and principal merchant of Yakutsk, who, for the preceding twenty-five years, had made an annual trip to Ochotsk.

By nine in the evening, after eight hours of heavy rain, we reached Udomsky Krest, or the Udoma Crossing; and, late as it was, we passed the river, here about three or four hundred yards wide, in a canoe, having accomplished, in the course of the day, about sixty versts. At this place there were a storekeeper, or commissary, a postmaster, and six or eight Cossacks, with a few other people. Our military guardian, who rode on ahead, had represented us as very great men indeed, in spite of our plain clothes. Every body was more obsequious than words could tell. The commissary, who met us in full uniform, talked to us for half an hour, uncovered in the open air, notwithstanding all that could be said by me to the contrary, while all the subordinates doffed their caps at least a hundred yards before they reached us. They provided us with milk, bread, butter, fish, and meat, offering us at the same time good lodgings in the posthouse; everything was neat and comfortable, the women comely, and the children able to read and write.

We had an agreeable proof that the attentions of our friends emanated rather from kindness of heart than from servility of disposition. A traveller had been attacked on the road by inflammation of the lungs, brought on by drinking cold water while he was overheated; and the poor Samaritans had lodged the sufferer to the best of their ability, remaining with him day and night, and doing everything that humanity could suggest to alleviate his misery. One of my companions relieved [illegible] patient by taking a little blood from him, while my other fellow-traveller, who had never previously witnessed such an operation, astonished the natives, by turning exceedingly faint, with an uncontrollable affection of both stomach and bowels.

Attached to the station was a small chapel, in which service used to be performed by any priest happening to pass that way. From this point, also, there was a communication by water with Yakutsk, which might be effected by descending the Udoma and the Aldan, and ascending the Lena; and, however circuitous the route might be, it afforded by far the best means of conveying such articles as could not be broken up into fractions of a horse's load, anchors, for instance, and cables, and the like.

In consequence of the barrenness of the immediate neighbourhood, our horses were sent to a distance of six versts for pasture, so that it was eight next morning before we took leave of our hospitable friends, who, so far from expecting to be paid, required much persuasion to accept a small sum of money as an acknowledgment of their kindness.

Having been here furnished, by order of Governor Golovin, with three fresh horses, for which no remuneration was demanded, we commenced our sixth day by entering a flat valley, bounded on either side by a low range of hills; while its surface, consisting of swamp, sand, clay, and stones, presented no other verdure than a little stunted timber. We crossed the beds of several rivers, which, though now dry, yet bore testimony to their occasional magnitude and force in channels of several hundred yards in width, strewed with drift-wood. We followed the banks of Windy River as far as its confluence with the Nalivnoi, or Overflowing River; and after fording this latter stream, in which the current was deep and strong, with some difficulty we encamped early on the farther side, inasmuch as there was no other good pasturage within twenty versts. In the forenoon we had passed several extensive glaciers; but the latter portion of our march was more pleasing, being encircled by ranges of hills, which presented scenery more picturesque than any thing that we had seen since leaving the new world. Our day's work comprised twelve hours and fifty-six versts, the weather being fine and warm.

In all the caravans that thronged the road, I could not help remarking, that hardly one horse out of a hundred was of dark colour, the great mass being white or gray, with a few roan, or *cendré*. We met to-day two clerks of the Russian American Company, attended by a midwife and some fishermen, for Sitka. All the parties that we saw on this road were unarmed, and appeared to apprehend, with the exception, of course, of Bruin's proceedings, no sort of danger. But in former days, when criminals were banished to Ochotsk, travellers required to be always ready to defend themselves against the attacks of runaway convicts; for, as the distance was generally proportioned to the guilt, hardly any but the most ferocious wretches were sent so far to the eastward.

In proof of my statement, that we were now experiencing summer by day and winter by night, we next morning found that our yesterday's warm weather had been succeeded by ice of half an inch in thickness—

pretty well for the 15th of our English July. The scenery was dreary and monotonous, while the travelling was rendered equally tedious and disagreeable by our being continually obliged to cross the Nalivnoi, whose deep waters, being still fed by the melting of the snows, were as cold as charity. Though the stream in question hardly equalled the volume of the Thames at Richmond, yet its channel was sometimes a mile in width, while the drift-wood, that lay scattered from side to side, showed that the torrent must occasionally have needed all its room.

In the valley of the Nalivnoi were numerous glaciers, the largest of them, known as the Capitanskaia Saecka, being eight or ten miles in circumference, and eight or ten feet deep. The glare of the sun's rays in traversing these fields of ice was so painful, that, if long endured at a time, it would certainly have produced snow blindness; and for this reason, as well as for every other, we were glad to take leave of the bed of the Overflowing River, and, after crossing a range of low hills, to enter the valley of the Poperethnie. Here a tolerable growth of pine, poplar, and willow, afforded some relief to the eye after the snow and ice which we had just left behind us, though the glaciers, to do them justice, here and there bore a budding willow, whose root, to all appearance, must have been buried in eternal frost.

Let me here mention, once for all, that I encountered great difficulty in trying to ascertain the correct names of the rivers, mountains, &c., that we passed. The Cossack could not always recollect them, if he ever knew the whole of them; and Jacob, if interrogated on the subject, was so vague and loquacious, as to render confusion worse confounded.

Caravans still thronged the road; and we accomplished about sixty versts to-day, in fifteen hours.

Our eighth day, the 4th of July, carried us through a region resembling that of yesterday in almost every particular. We rode up the valley of a stream, called in the Yakut language Yagetlog, in the Russian Dolgoyu, and in the English Long River; and glaciers were still as frequent and as troublesome to the eyes as ever. Curiously enough, the snow lay on the side of the mountain that faced the sun, while the slope that had the colder exposure was generally bare, the apparently unaccountable contrast having doubtless been caused by the fact, that the southern declivity had been sheltered from the prevailing winds of winter, which had swept the northern one at pleasure, forming heavy drifts on the opposite side.

We dined at a place called Baarag, treating ourselves to a little of our pemmican, the best, if not the only dainty of the kind that was ever seen in Asia. We crossed a large stream, called the Ancha, along the banks of which we pursued our way till we encamped for the night, at half-past ten, having completed about fifty-six versts during the day.

We had still continued to meet caravan after caravan. On asking one of the leaders at what time he had left Yakutsk, we were told, "On wet St. Nicholas day." On inquiring still farther what this could mean, we found that the patron saint of the empire, to mark his superiority over ordinary saints, has two days in the calendar appropriated to his honour—a wet one in summer, when his votaries are allowed to get as drunk as they like; and a dry one in winter, when they are expected to keep as sober as they can.

We also observed to-day the singular mode in which the Yakuti estimate distances. Taking as their unit the time necessary for boiling a kettle of a particular sort of food, they tell you that such and such a place is so many kettles off, or, as the case may be, perhaps only part of a kettle. In this neighbourhood, moreover, a spot was shown to us, where the last tiger of Siberia, killed about twenty years ago, was interred; and we were told that the bones of a camel, so fresh as not to be of any great antiquity, were to be seen near some of the adjacent hills. Farther, in this the valley of the Ancha, we saw another scaffold, on which a shopkeeper of Ochotsk, when overtaken by a sudden flood, was perched three days and nights, till the waters subsided.

On our ninth day we crossed many rivers, passing through a country similar in character to that of yesterday; but, as our horses were very much jaded, we halted early for the night, after only forty versts, at a posthouse on the Allack Youmi, which proved to be cleanly and comfortable. Here we got some provisions and a relay of horses.

Next morning, we started with our fresh cattle at five o'clock. Our country of to-day improved much in appearance, being generally well wooded, and often romantic; and we occasionally crossed hills, which commanded an extensive view of the mountains and rivers around. After travelling about our usual distance, we encamped at eight in the evening on a hill, which was represented to be the middle point between Ochotsk and Yakutsk, thankful enough to have got this length in safety. Even in this cold region, however, we were tormented out of the better half of our sleep, as we were on many an occasion besides, by myriads of musquitoes, that most horrible of all annoyances during summer in every country of my acquaintance but England. By the by, the Yakuti used in such cases to kindle a fire, that the smoke, by driving away the intolerable insects, might enable their horses to feed to leeward, erecting at the same time a fence round the blaze, to prevent the animals from burning themselves in their impatience.

Our curiosities of to-day were neither numerous nor important. We passed the remains of several huts erected for the preservation of the goods of a caravan, which was here overtaken by winter two years ago; and near them the Bishop of Sitka had erected a cross, which, however exclusive the Russians might be in their veneration, the Yakuti, I fear, would at best place on the same level in their estimation with the "blue spirits and white, black spirits and grey." We happened to fall on a brood of moor-fowl, scarcely fledged, and, to the infinite grief of the mother, captured one of the young. This bird has a beautiful plumage, red over the eyes, the body dark brown with yellow spots, and the legs feathered. Of quadrupeds, we had not seen any specimens but a few squirrels, and the two bears that frightened our Yakuti out of their propriety. But, though the almost uninterrupted line of traffic, particularly in summer, does drive away nearly all animals from the neighbourhood of the road, yet there is said to be no scarcity of them at a distance. In addition to bears, wolves, wild sheep, squirrels, and reindeer, already mentioned, there are foxes, sables, tiger-cats, and a goat called *kabargo*, which, without horns or tail, has a skin like the reindeer's, but with the hairs almost as stiff as bristles.

On our eleventh day, the 7th of the month, our road was even more rugged than yesterday; and, from the summit of the Nanukau, an eminence of about a thousand feet in height, we obtained a beautiful view of the mountains, that we had traversed during the two preceding marches, presenting, with their uniformly conical shape, the appearance of so many gigantic molehills. The descent of this eminence, paved, as it had been, by Nature with stones, of all the varieties of shapes and angles, afforded a painful and unsafe footing to the horses, while it suggested to the riders, in the event of a tumble, the most unwelcome and inconvenient imaginations. Beyond this, the mountains were of volcanic formation, presenting all the extraordinary forms so common to such regions, turrets, chimneys, dovecots, battlements, ramparts, heads, faces, monstrous noses, women sitting at spinning-wheels, &c.; and one of them, which rose about eleven hundred feet perpendicular from the bed of the Tsechovis, very much resembled the Thunder Rock in Lake Superior. We still occasionally rode over fields of ice, which contrasted strangely with the sultriness of the weather. As we had now passed all the caravans, the notes of the cuckoo were almost our only specimen of animated nature, excepting, of course, our own party and the musquitoes.

From the Nanukau, the road began to improve, and would, as we were glad to learn, continue to do so.

But, after all, considering the value of time in these hyperborean summers, it is inexcusably bad. Most travellers, I believe, occupy nearly a month on this journey; and caravans occasionally consume thrice the period in question. The gentleman lately in charge of the Russian American Company's establishment at Ochotsk was last year overtaken by winter at our yesterday's station, and had there to loiter away forty days, until he could resume his journey in a reindeer sleigh. The reindeer, harnessed two abreast to vehicles carrying the driver and one passenger, are said to perform a hundred versts a day, though, on a long journey, their daily average ought not to be allowed to exceed fifty or sixty versts. On pressing occasions, however, they have travelled from Ochotsk to Yakutsk in eight days, being little more than half the shortest time in which horses have ever accomplished the distance. Why this difference? Chiefly, of course, because the reindeer, with its spreading hoof, a kind of natural snow-shoe, finds a good path, as the gift of Nature, over the softest drifts, while the horse everywhere encounters a bad road, through the fault of man.

We halted for the night on the Oomnas, after a fair day's work of about sixty versts.

Next morning, we followed, for some time, the course of the stream on which we had encamped, and then fell on the Swichtelach, or White River, said to be navigable for canoes to the Aldan. Crossing the Swichtelach at the Ooloonach ferry, where there was a post-house, we proceeded along its banks till a quarter-past ten, performing about seventy-five versts to-day.

The weather continued to be oppressively warm, with a little thunder and lightning, which, independently of their intrinsic annoyances, threatened us, at times, with heavy rain—the greatest of all calamities in this region of glens and torrents. We had a palpable hint on this subject to-day, by passing a scaffold on which a clerk of the Russian American Company, when caught by a sudden inundation, had saved a valuable cargo of furs.

The scenery now began to lose its alpine character, the mountains flattening down to hills, the torrents sobering themselves into rivers, and the roads becoming level, while the landscape was rendered more cheerful by a variety of something like civilized plants, shrubs, and flowers, among which the wild rhubarb, represented to be of good quality, was particularly plentiful.

In some degree, however, the change in the face of the country merely altered the form of our difficulties. To-day, for instance, we crossed a swamp, bridged with corduroy, which was so full of gaps, from the gradual decay of the logs, as to be quite as dangerous, and nearly as impracticable, as the morass itself; and, to make ourselves miserable by anticipation, I found that Lieutenant Davidoff, Langsdorf's friend, and his party had left part of their baggage in one of these "Serbonian" bogs.

We dined to-day at a native village, of which the inhabitants were very hospitable. They were all active and busy as usual; and amongst their manufactures, I was particularly struck with their rugs, coverlets, and clothes, of the skins of horses, cows, and dogs, all so well dressed and finished, that they might have been elsewhere passed off as very tolerable furs. Notwithstanding the many defects in their character, I could not help liking the Yakuti for their industry, cleanliness, and kindness; so that I was really grieved today to see the Russian of our party do Cossack's duty on our guide, Jacob, merely because one of the horses, having taken fright in the woods, had knocked off its load. I had altogether taken a fancy to this old man, who did his best to please us, though his appearance certainly did not recommend him, being the counterpart—due allowance, of course, being made for the difference between man and beast — of the *chimpanzee* recently exhibited in London.

On the morning of our thirteenth day, being the 9th of the month, we, the passengers, pushed ahead of our little caravan, through sheer impatience. After crossing some deep morasses, we reached the noble river Aldan at half past eight, gaining two hours on the loaded horses in a run of eighty-three versts. Of the last forty-five versts, fully two-thirds lay over pieces of corduroy road, so rotten and open that the animals frequently caught their legs between the logs, giving several of us severe falls; but we had reason to be thankful that we got off so cheaply, for, what with the swamps themselves and what with their bridges, travellers had often lost two or three days in doing our work of four hours and a half. During the day, we had a remarkable instance of the training of horses among the Yakuti. One of our fellows had fallen in the track, while the nags behind were advancing at a quick pace; and each animal, as he reached the man, jumped over him, at the word of command, with the docility of a dog.

As we approached the Aldan, the improvement in the appearance of the country was more rapid. The path was enlivened by various kinds of trees and abundance of flowering plants, while hares, rabbits, and partridges were numerous. The wild rhubarb was still common; and at the Poperethnie Ferry, kept by a Yakut, I noticed its stalks and leaves steeped in water for the purpose of fermentation, to be afterwards boiled with milk and rye into a very excellent pottage. In summer, the Yakuti live chiefly on rye and milk, mixing therewith as much grease as they can get; but in winter they fare more sumptuously, having plenty of beef, horseflesh, and venison. They have most enormous appetites, when put to their mettle in that way; and, in fact, they esteem a man, all other things being equal, in proportion to the capacity of his stomach. At this same station, I saw the remains of an old gun, the only specimen of firearms that I had seen in Siberia.

Even here, at a distance of fifteen hundred miles from the sea, the Aldan is about three quarters of a mile in width, and contains an immense body of water. At the crossing place the banks are low, but elsewhere are lofty and picturesque. At the ferry there were several buildings, with a ferryman, a storekeeper, several other civilians, and five of those everlasting Cossacks in uniform; and, whether for ornament or use, a sentry appeared to be constantly kept at the door of the depôt of provisions. In addition to this civilized settlement, there was also a village of Yakuti, under a princeling such as our own Jacob. These princelings have certain specified duties to perform, being appointed over districts as channels of communication between the natives and the authorities. They correspond pretty nearly with the elders of villages, as known among the Russians themselves.

On the sides of the houses, which were much dilapidated, traces of a recent inundation were observable, and the flood had carried away five dwellings and a store, while the people had saved themselves by taking refuge for seven days in the garrets of such buildings as stood firm. All rivers that run to the north are peculiarly liable to overflow their banks in spring, because, while above they are swollen by the melting of the snows, they are still beset towards their mouths by their wintry barrier; and, in fact, the deluge, of which we discerned the symptoms, had been directly, though remotely, occasioned by the ice that dammed up the Aldan from below.

We crossed the river in boats, though there were also in use canoes of birch bark of the same peculiar shape as those on the Pend' d'Oreille River, near Fort Colvile, excepting that the Yakuti employed a double-bladed paddle like the Esquimaux and Aleutians. These canoes also serve as coffins, in like manner as among the Chinooks and other tribes of the American coast. Having all got safely across, we encamped on the left bank, where there was one house, at half past eleven, the sun's rays being still visible even at this late hour.

Learning that the road would be very much better, I determined, more particularly after the success of our experiment of to-day, to push on ahead of our baggage all the way to Yakutsk, still distant three hundred and fifty versts, hoping, by this arrangement, to see whatever was to be seen, and to get everything ready for proceeding up the Lena, before I could otherwise well finish my journey at our present rate of progress. Having formed this magnanimous resolution, we made a hearty supper of eggs, meat, and milk, turning in for the night as late as half past one.

In the morning, after having been detained at the station by various circumstances till eleven o'clock, we started with fresh horses, accompanied by two Yakuti, and also, to Jacob's great delight, by our Cossack. Everything conspired to put us in good spirits. The single house, with all its contents and appurtenances, was in perfect order; the old soldier, by whom it had been kept for thirty years, attended us in full uniform, with his sword by his side; and though he spoke with a superfluous amount of solemnity, and looked more profoundly wise than perhaps he was, yet he gave us the most solid proof of his real hospitality in no fewer than five different kinds of fish, *kirish*, *byelaya ruiba*, *stirlitz*, *pike*, and *okun*. These fish are taken in nets of horsehair and sinew, as also by hooks and with baskets, the last articles being of the same sort as those used in the Columbia River.

Speaking, by the by, of the materials of these nets, the horse is to the Yakuti what the walrus is to the Aleutians, their best friend in a great variety of ways. Besides being sold, as a whole, for a price, his labour earns money for his owner; his flesh is used as food; the hide of the inner part of his thigh makes waterproof boots; while the rest of his skin is formed into cap, shirt, and trowsers; and lastly, as we have just seen, his mane and tail become the means of drawing fish out of the water. Over and above these multifarious services of the animal in general, the mare in particular yields milk, which, when fermented into the indispensable *kumyss*, supplies a portable substitute, slightly spirituous and very palatable, at once for meat and for drink.

Our first stage of twenty-nine versts to Natchinsk was accomplished, chiefly at a gallop, in three hours and a half. This station was kept by some Yakuti, whose hospitality knew no bounds; they were comfortable and independent, possessing abundance of cattle and horses. The kindness of these people has an opportunity, which it never fails to improve, of putting its best foot foremost. To give warning of the approach of travellers, the postboys have bells attached to their stirrups, aiding the jingle with all sorts of shouting and bawling, so that, before we arrive in our own proper persons, the house is swept, the fire lighted, and the floor carpeted with sprigs of pine.

After an hour's rest, we travelled to Amginsk, beautifully situated, as the name alone would imply, on the pretty Amga, accomplishing seventy-eight versts in all—pretty well for a day that began only at eleven o'clock. The stream was about the size of the Thames above London; and its clear and placid waters afforded a delicious bath after our hot and dusty ride. Here we made a supper of milk, rye-bread, and horseflesh, and slept in our clothes on branches of pine, with our great coats for coverlets and our saddles for pillows.

We were truly glad to learn that from Amginsk we had but one small stream to cross all the way to Yakutsk, and as there were posthouses at every thirty or forty versts, horses could be frequently changed, the hire being eight kopecks a verst for each horse, or something like five farthings a mile. We now, therefore, had got rid of nearly all our troubles, excepting, perhaps, a few swamps with their corduroy roads.

During the day, we had seen a great number of birds, and, in addition to those previously mentioned, there were the capercailzie, or cock of the woods, the snipe, and the plover.

Our fifteenth day, the 11th of the month, was our first uninterruptedly pleasant march. We performed eighty-one versts, generally at a gallop, with good horses, through a country which on all sides exhibited signs of civilization and comfort. The landscape, besides its undulating character, was beautifully varied, consisting of copses of wood, lagoons teeming with wild-fowl, and prairies covered with countless herds, the whole subdivided into separate farms, each with its own homestead, by fences and landmarks. Some of the prettiest spots were consecrated to the dead, each body having a wooden tomb over it, with a cross at either end.

The natives were busily engaged in making hay for their cattle, but for the cattle only, the horses being left all winter to shift instinctively for themselves by scraping away the snow. They were mowing with a scythe of peculiar form, which they swung very awkwardly over their heads, chopping the grass rather than cutting it. The carts for conveying the hay to the farmyards, where it was stacked as in Europe, had runners instead of wheels, being not unlike the vehicles used for the same purpose in some parts of the Highlands of Scotland.

How happy, thought I, would it make me to see some of the poor savages of North America thus devoting their lives to peaceful industry, and enjoying all the comforts of a pastoral existence! In many parts of their country, they might well be as comfortably settled, if they would shake off their indolent love of the chace, not only as a means of obtaining subsistence, but even as a pastime.

Though the roads were generally good, yet there were a few patches of corduroy, essential enough in wet weather, but at present worse than useless. While at full gallop over one piece, our Cossack had a heavy fall, which, though sufficient to have knocked him to pieces, merely cut his hand and dislocated his finger. The stations of this day were kept by Yakuti, being all, with one exception, characteristically clean and tidy. But Orelach, where we remained for the night, was so filthy and uncomfortable, that I registered a formal complaint in the book which was attached, according to custom, to the table of the posthouse for the purpose of receiving the critical remarks of travellers; and I had no doubt that my entry, when it reached the proper authorities, would be beneficial to future passengers on the road. To render our situation still more disagreeable, we had some fellow-lodgers of a very questionable description, in the persons of five convicts, three men and two women, proceeding to Ochotsk, under the charge of three Cossacks. These wretches had the look of regular cut-throats; their very faces, even without such temporary ornaments as black eyes of each other's making, were sufficient to condemn them. What with the broils and uproar of these outcasts, and what with the familiarities of fleas and musquitoes, we passed a most restless night at Orelach, being the less able to bear the infliction with patience, as we had been kept awake the night before by the visits of uncomfortable bedfellows.

In one of the houses which we had entered to-day, I observed a child swaddled in a bag, which was attached to a board, the whole being a counterpart of the cradle used among the Indians of North America; and, on the same occasion, I noticed also an earthen vessel of native manufacture, employed in boiling some mess or other.

Next day, being the sixteenth of our journey, we made our best march to the full tale of ninety-eight versts, the country still well settled and the people all engaged with their hay. Considering the length of the winter and the number of the cattle, the requisite quantity of provender must be very large, large enough, one would suppose, to occupy the whole of every man's leisure in each summer; and yet, to show foresight, and economy, and industry, in one and the same instance, we saw many stacks of hay several years old still uncut, while the owners were toiling at the new crop as steadily as those who had no other resource against the ensuing season. On some of the farms, individuals, more laborious than even their neighbours, had attempted, but in vain, to grow rye in spite of the climate.

Excepting that they were liable to be now and then knocked about by a Cossack, these Yakuti appeared, according to the simple tastes of Nature, to lead an enviable life. As to necessaries and comforts, they had most of them at their doors; and as to the luxuries of tea and snuff, they possessed, to all appearance, ample means of purchasing a sufficiency of the same.

The country between the Aldan and the Lena appeared to have once consisted almost entirely of a chain of lakes. The prairies were generally surrounded by rising grounds, on which the traces of water were visible to a height varying from thirty to fifty feet, while most of these natural enclosures still contained small pools in their centres. The banks were mostly covered with pines, while the bottoms presented willows and poplars and other trees indigenous to an alluvial soil, with intervening glades of the richest pasture.

Before starting from Orelach in the morning, I was much entertained by watching the emotions of a Yakut damsel with respect to what appeared to me to be a very small matter. Our kettle, which contained some rice that had been left at supper, attracted her attention; and she was evidently waiting an opportunity for appropriating the luxury as a perquisite of office, when one of my fellow-travellers, who had been too fatigued to eat anything the night before, made his appearance on the stage with recovered appetite. If he had seated himself at once, with a determination to finish the job, he would at least have saved the maiden the pain of suspense. But no; he would only nibble at the rice, as if he was always more likely to stop than to proceed, while the countenance of the fair expectant passed through all the phases between disappointment and despair, as she saw mouthful after mouthful of the treasure vanish till the kettle was clean. The scene would have been a study for a painter, being all the richer from the circumstance, that the principal performer kept chewing away, unconscious of the little melodrama of which he was the author, ignorant alike of the girl's distress and my amusement.

From Orelach, our first stage was thirty versts to Tshooropsa, being accomplished in two hours and twenty minutes. At this place, the Russian postmaster was out of the way, having left very agreeable deputies in a pretty daughter of his own and some good-looking native women, with whom, laying aside our dignity for a moment, we played a game of romps, to the uproarious delight of the ladies. Thence a stage of thirty-three versts brought us in two hours and forty minutes to Porotoffskaya, where, after our forenoon's work, we made a hearty breakfast on cream and biscuit. After this refreshment we enjoyed great benefit from a siesta during the heat of the day; and, again starting at four in the afternoon, we proceeded to Tshetshiguiskaya, thirty-three versts in three hours, where we met another of the monthly mails on its way from Yakutsk to Ochotsk. On the last instalment of our ninety-eight versts, the horse of one of the party came down, throwing his rider like a sack of sawdust to a considerable distance; but, strange to say, both man and beast escaped unhurt, though exposed to the danger of being trodden under foot by every one of those in the rear, following, according to custom, close behind in single file. Speaking of accidents, I observed that the guide invariably selected the best animal for his own use; and I would, therefore, advise every traveller, if any of the readers of this book should ever take an airing in these regions, to make prize of the horse of the man's choice, as at once the pleasantest and safest in the stud.

In the course of the evening, we were visited by the son of one of the most respectable of the neighbouring Yacuti, the old gentleman himself, who was said to be worth five or six thousand pounds sterling, principally in cattle and horses, being then absent at Yakutsk. This youth rode a beautiful steed with gay trappings; and the saddle in particular was mounted with an alloy of silver and copper wrought by the natives themselves, who were skilful in this way even before they had any communication with the Russians. In addition perhaps to a lurking desire of exhibiting his charger and its showy appointments to strangers of our supposed consequence, the young cavalier's object was to render us any assistance in his power; and he brought with him some berries, several pieces of bread, a few knives and forks, and such other little things as, in his opinion, were likely to be useful. We felt highly gratified by this Yakut's courtesy and attention, though, in point of fact, we hardly stood in need of anything, for, both in board and in lodging, we had discovered that Nature really was contented with what she could get. We enjoyed milk and rye bread at breakfast, milk and rye bread at dinner, and milk and rye bread at supper, for hunger sweetened our homely fare; and at night our wearied limbs converted a few branches of pine into beds of down.

Next morning, being the 13th of the month and the seventeenth of our journey, a ride of thirty versts carried us in two hours and fifty minutes to Temooloya, where we breakfasted. Here were two invalids, the postmaster's daughter, who had lost her sight four years before through neglected inflammation of the eyes, and a native man, who had been deprived of the use of his right hand and left leg by an attack of paralysis.

In the neighbourhood of this station, the country had suffered much from the devastations of the locust, said to be of the same species as that known in Egypt. The grass was cut down as if mowed, so that the Yakuti were afraid that they would not be able to gather the requisite supply of hay against the winter. These insects had often made their appearance before, generally in dry seasons like the present. I was personally aware that a man might as well expect to reap after the fire and sword of a vindictive enemy as after the locust, for the crops at Red River Settlement had, for some years together, fallen a prey to this merciless and irresistible scourge of the husbandman.

After breakfast, fifteen versts more conducted us to Toolgyachtach, where, after filling ourselves with iced milk, we took a siesta of three hours. From this station, passing through a sandy district, we ascended a hill overlooking the course of the Lena, and commanding the sight, at the distance of twelve or fourteen versts, of the spires and cupolas of Yakutsk. After a toilsome progress of seventeen days, through an inhospitable and almost impassable wilderness, the prospect of a large town, with all its signs of civilized life, was a change as agreeable as it was sudden. The height whence we gained this first glimpse of rest and comfort, was two or three hundred feet above the level of the plain below, being part of a ridge which extended on either hand as far as the eye could reach, while a similar ridge, on the other side of the town, formed the opposite boundary of the valley. These ridges, which at present served as natural barriers against the inundations of the stream, were most probably, at one time, the ordinary banks of the river.

To a physical certainty, all the waters of Eastern Siberia must once have been considerably higher than they now are. From the Lena to Behring's Straits, the shore of the ocean is, for the most part, so low and flat as to be scarcely distinguishable in winter from the adjacent ice; while, at the distance of a few versts inland, a line of high ground, which runs parallel with the coast, presents a great quantity of decayed drift-wood. When the sea was higher, the rivers must have been proportionally higher too. In fact, almost every stream furnishes, on its own behalf, direct evidence of the inference in question. The Indigirka, at a distance of thirty versts from its mouth, is said to have contained much drift-wood, such as the sea alone could have deposited; and the banks of all the inland waters in general present, among the higher latitudes, regular alternations, in horizontal strata, of ice and soil.

All these phenomena seem to imply not a gradual, but a sudden, retreat of the ocean, for, otherwise, drift-wood would have been found on the Indigirka all the way to the present coast, and the moisture of the banks, if the lakes and rivers had shrunk by inches, would imperceptibly have oozed from the chaos so as to leave only dry land behind it. This sudden retreat of the ocean cannot be otherwise explained than by supposing that an isthmus, occupying the position of Behring's Straits, had been swept away by the pressure of the waters,—a supposition which is directly strengthened by the inclination of the arctic shore on either side, from Icy Cape downwards on the east, and from Cape North downwards on the west, as also by the shallowness of the soundings, never exceeding, it is said, thirty fathoms, along the whole breadth of the channel.

At the foot of the hill we found fresh horses, forwarded for our use by the agent of the Russian American Company; and a ride of five versts brought us to the ferry of the Lena, where an officer of police, sent by the Governor of Yakutsk, had been waiting for two days to welcome our arrival, which our new friend and ourselves accordingly celebrated, with great hilarity, in our own best glass of wine. After a swim in the river, which served to wash off the dust of the day's work, we spent an hour and a half, even with two sets of rowers to relieve each other, in crossing this sea of fresh water. The stream is of a brownish colour, though, as it passes over a bed of sand, it is not turbid; and it is studded with willowy islands and naked sands.

The Lena is one of the grandest rivers in the world. Even here, at a distance of twelve or thirteen hundred versts from the sea, it is about five or six miles wide; and its entire length is not less than four thousand versts. Of all the streams in this country of the first class, it is the only one that flows exclusively through Russian territory. The Oby and the Yenissei have each one or more of its principal sources far within the limits of Chinese Tartary; but the Lena, properly so called, is separated from the celestial empire by the valley of the Angara, a purely Siberian tributary of the Yenissei, a valley which, curiously enough, even overlaps it ten degrees to the eastward, while the Lena's main auxiliary, the Vittim, is so far from itself crossing the frontier, that it is robbed, as it were, of some of its own waters by the more northerly feeders of the Amoor. Under these circumstances, the Lena, if estimated by the crow's flight, is undoubtedly the shortest of the three, though, if measured by its windings, it may perhaps equal, or even surpass, either of the others. Its very name, which expresses laziness, implies the circuitous character of its course; and, though such name was applied only to a part before the whole was explored, yet the mere fact that its sources fell short of the central chain of mountains, would in itself suggest the general applicability of the appellation in question.

On arriving at the west side of the river, we were met by a party of Cossacks, who helped us up a steep bank of sand, where we found three droskies for ourselves, and some carts for our baggage, all forwarded by the Governor; and, on reaching the town, we were received by the head of the police, who conducted us to a well-furnished house that had been prepared for our reception. As I was a good deal fatigued, to say nothing of the lateness of the hour, I deferred, till next day, the duty of paying my respects to this kindest of all governors, and thanking him for his evidently hearty politeness. In the evening, however, I had the pleasure of seeing company at home, in the person of Mr. Shagin, representative of the Russian American Association.

Thus was our journey from Ochotsk to Yakutsk completed on the seventeenth day, without any accident or loss. The distance was estimated at nine hundred and forty-six versts, which, at the rate of three versts to two miles, would amount to six hundred and thirty miles. But at Yakutsk I was informed that, to the east and north of Irkutsk, the versts were of the old standard, which bore to the new the proportion of seven to five; so that we had actually accomplished about eight hundred and eighty of our own miles. If this information was correct, then, on our last march but one, we had told off before night nearly ninety-two miles; and, even at the modern standard, sixty-five miles, the equivalent in that case, of ninety-eight versts, were not an idle day's work.

CHAPTER XVII.

YAKUTSK, AND VOYAGE UP THE LENA.

Revenue and Population—Temperature—Agriculture—Site of Town—Fur trade and Ivory trade—Governor Roodikoff—Mr. Shagin—Native working in metals—Gluttony of Yakuti—Social factions—Hospital—Buildings—Curiosities—Departure from Yakutsk—Bestach—Passenger boats—Stolby—St. Elias—Condition of Peasants—Marchinskaya—Mr. Atlasoff—Reindeer—Stranded in a squall—Solianskaya—Olekminsk—Mr. Atlasoff's hospitality—Siberian conquests of Cossacks—Horticulture—Sables of the Olekma—Berdinskaya—Chase and capture of Yakuti—Cossack's discipline—Wild fruits—Condition of Peasants—Hurrah Rocks—Heavy bateau—Water-sails—Kamenskaya—Condition of Peasants—Yerbinsky—Pooloodoffskaya—Treatment of Criminals—Vittimsk, Sables and Talc—Tungusi—Aborigines in general—Boat upset—Character of Women—Doobroffskaya—Echo—Cheeks of the Lena—Echo—Wild fruits—Routine of existence—Our Saviour's Name-Day—Grand ball—Return of English letters from Ochotsk—Condition of Peasants—Goitres—Alexeyeffskaya—Cossack's irresponsible cruelty—Kirensk, sleepy-headed officials—Adventure ashore—Soberskaya—Nettle kale—Oolkanskaya—Beasts of prey—Character of Peasants—Inundations—Condition of Peasants—Snuff—Kosarki—Oostooskaya—Progress of Cossack Conquerors—Oostuginskaya—Figoloffskaya.

Yakutsk is the capital of the district of the same name. The revenue of this division of Eastern Siberia, which does not equal the expenditure, consists chiefly of about six hundred thousand roubles of yassack, and of two hundred and twenty thousand roubles, paid for the exclusive right of selling native spirits. The aborigines, consisting almost entirely of Yakuti, amount to about two hundred and forty-eight thousand souls, while the white population, including the Cossacks and all other servants of the government, does not exceed one fiftieth part of the number. Such of the Russian inhabitants as do not discharge any public function, live chiefly on the banks of the rivers, the natives, however, being scattered, particularly in the more southerly parts, wherever horses and cattle can find suitable pasture.

The town contains nearly half of all the whites of the district, with perhaps a couple of thousands of Yakuti and half-breeds. There are about four hundred dwellings, laid out into wide streets and spacious squares; and, as they are only one story high, and have outhouses and gardens, they cover, as one may expect, a comparatively large space. One of the squares is used as a bazaar, in which, according to the custom of the country, all the shops are collected. As to public buildings, there are seven churches, a monastery, an hospital, a barrack, and the ruins of an old *ostrog*, or fort. The grand material is wood, brought down the river from a considerable distance; for in the whole neighbourhood there is not one living stick of timber.

Yakutsk is situated on an extensive plain, in latitude 62° north, and longitude 130° east. The surrounding country is flat and uninteresting, having most probably once been, as I have already said, the actual bed of the Lena. Like the present bottom of the river, it is, for the most part, composed of sand; and, from this circumstance, the banks are so much at the mercy not merely of occasional inundations but even of the ordinary current, that the stream has advanced four versts in one direction, within the recollection of some of the present inhabitants of the town. Nor is the climate of a more promising character than the soil. During the whole year, the cellars are said to be in a frozen state, and the wells to send up newly formed ice, for the heat of summer, excessive as it is, never lasts long enough to dissipate the effects of winter, to a depth of more than two or three feet. The extreme temperature of either season is almost incredible. The thermometer has stood in the shade at 33° of Reaumur, or 106° of Fahrenheit, while it has fallen in due time to 51° of Reaumur, or 83° of Fahrenheit, below zero, the difference being 189° of the latter standard, or nine degrees more than the whole distance between the freezing and the boiling points of water.

Some years ago, an experiment was made, under the direction of Baron Wrangell, by the agent of the Russian American Company, in order to ascertain the depth to which the ground is frozen. A well was dug, to the depth of three hundred and eighty feet; and still the earth was found to be as hard as iron. This result, however, would appear to be by no means satisfactory, inasmuch as the pit, being worked only in winter, on account of the foul air of summer, was necessarily exposed, season after season, to the renewed action of the frost. To test the state of the atmosphere in the well, we let down a small bundle of blazing straw, which, after gradually waning, was wholly extinguished at a depth of thirty or forty feet; but we were told that, at night, the flame would live twenty or thirty feet lower. As the temperature, in winter, was said to rise rapidly on descending from the mouth, till, at the bottom, it was only two or three degrees below the freezing point of water, the excavation, if continued, would probably soon lead to soft ground; but, even then, the experiment would be unsatisfactory with respect to the state of the adjacent earth, for it would merely find a thaw of its own making. There is, on the whole, little reason for doubting, that the ground is frozen to an immense depth; for, under the uppermost yard, the frost never loses in summer what it has gained in winter. Even the ice of the sea, subjected, as it is, every summer to the action of the sun and the water, grows thicker from year to year, the first winter producing about ten feet, the second about five, and so on.

With such a climate, and such a soil, agriculture, of course, is out of the question. In two spots, indeed, rye is said to have ripened, though it is admitted to be altogether a precarious crop; so that, taking the bad seasons with the good, the curiosity costs more than it is worth. For supplies of agricultural produce, the inhabitants are dependant on the Upper Lena, and the country still farther to the south, great quantities of flour being brought even from Irkutsk and sold, after all, at the very moderate price of four roubles a pood, or a mere fraction more than an English penny for an English pound.

But of all these disadvantages, the Cossacks, who selected the site of Yakutsk, took no account. To those hardy adventurers, the far East was as much an object of ambition as ever the far West was to the pioneers of America; and it was doubtless under the influence of this aspiration, that they founded this metropolis of the desert, at the point where the Lena, after giving them twenty-five degrees of longitude for ten of latitude, began to return to the west of north. If they had had a map to guide them with ease and accuracy, they could not have made a more definite choice; and, in fact, from the Ural to the Pacific, the Cossacks uniformly evinced a singular degree of judgment in seizing the best positions, whether for conquest or for traffic.

To this situation, Yakutsk was indebted for many elements of prosperity. The town lay in the direct route between the Yenissei and the Sea of Ochotsk, while it secured, after the loss of the Amoor, the exclusive and perpetual benefits of the intermediate transport; and it moreover formed the connecting link between the Lena and other rivers of the first class, on the west, and the Yana, and other streams of secondary magnitude, on the east. Through each of those two directions, Yakutsk became, in process of time, a place of transit to still more remote regions. By means of the Sea of Ochotsk, it was brought into contact with Kamschatka, the Aleutian Islands, and the North-west coast; and, by crossing the subordinate tributaries of the Arctic Ocean, it met the spoils of the new world, from the farther side of Behring's Straits, at the fair of Ostrovnoye.

But, independently of the advantages of being a place of transit, Yakutsk, in consequence of its position, was, from the beginning, a principal emporium of two valuable branches of commerce, the trade in ivory and the trade in furs.

At one time, Yakutsk engrossed nearly all the fur trade eastward, from the Lena to the farthest bounds of Russian enterprise, thus draining a territory, certainly more extensive, and perhaps not less productive, than all the wilderness of British America; and even when, through the instrumentality of a wealthy and powerful association, Kiachta and Moscow directly attracted the riches of the new continent, and of all the islands from the Kuriles to Kodiack, this town still held possession of a country of sixty degrees in longitude, by twenty in latitude, which contained hardly any other tenants than the hunter and his game.

With respect again to the other branch of commerce, Providence had seen fit, in some distant age, to deposit, in the very coldest region on the face of the globe, an inexhaustible supply of an organic substance, which all previous experience would have expected to discover only in tropical climes. The bones of the mammoth were found, in the greatest abundance, throughout all the north-western parts of Eastern Siberia. Spring after spring, the alluvial banks of the lakes and rivers, crumbling under the thaw, gave up, as it were, their dead; and, beyond the very verge of the inhabited world, the islands, lying opposite to the mouth of the Yana, and, as there was reason for believing, even the bed of the ocean itself, literally teemed with these most mysterious memorials of antiquity. How did these bones come to be there? On this interesting subject, the following views have been suggested to me by one who, confessedly ignorant of geology and comparative anatomy, looks at the thing, as he imagines, with an eye of common sense.

According to some opinions, the mammoth must have lived and died on the spot in a climate different from the present one, the remains of horses, buffaloes, oxen, and sheep, having also been found in great quantities on the surface of one of the islands in question. But, unless the earth revolved, at the time of the milder temperature, on a different axis, similar evidence of a more genial state of things should exist, at least to some extent, in the same latitudes all round the globe. The entire absence, therefore, of all such evidence could be reconciled with this theory only by referring the whole of the phenomena to the flood, which could alone have affected, or rather have been the occasion of affecting, the earth's axis of rotation. On the sound principle, however, of not setting too many causes to work, this view of the case would appear to be fatal to the hypothesis of a change of climate, inasmuch as the direct operation of the flood might of itself be sufficient to produce all the result. The deposits under the sea could not be explained at all without the aid of some inundation or other, while, with respect to the deposits in general, the universal inundation must have taken its last sweep over the earth's surface towards the north.

Nothing else could so satisfactorily account for the geographical facts, that almost every peninsula points to the south, and that all the largest peninsulas are so many tongues of land running into the southern ocean. If one were to hazard a conjecture as to the precise course of the retreating deluge, perhaps the direction of the very meridians might be preferred from this circumstance, that the highest and the lowest latitudes of most of the great divisions of the land, such as Cape Taymoor and the southern extremity of Malacca, would be found to lie respectively in pretty nearly one and the same longitude.

But, if this were the true cause, why should not the bones in question be found in other sections of the north? Even of this difficulty the face of the globe might afford something like a solution. That part of Tartary which lies to the south of the grand burying-ground of the mammoth, is the loftiest level in the world of any great extent, while the intermediate chain of mountains is said to be lower here than it is either to the east or to the west. Under these circumstances, the retiring torrent, which had had force enough to scoop out the southern hemisphere into a sierra of promontories, would meet no obstacle in the way of wafting the skeletons of its victims from the boundless steppes of Gobi, to be preserved in the eternal frosts of North-eastern Siberia; whereas, farther to the west, the physical impediments of less continuous plains and loftier ridges would not only tend to prevent any considerable accumulation of organic substances, but also to retain any partial deposits within the influence of a climate likely to occasion their decay.

To return to Yakutsk: nearly all the furs and ivory are sold in the annual fair, which is attended by troops of itinerant dealers from other parts of Siberia and also from Moscow. Even at this distance from their ultimate destination, the finer furs command an exorbitant price; some sables, by no means of the first quality, having cost me fifty roubles a piece. Throughout Russia, in fact, the skins of animals, from the sheep to the ermine, have always been rather necessaries of life than articles of luxury. During the greater part of the year, they must be worn by every person, not for ornament but for use; and, as the more delicate varieties yield but a scanty supply, they are rendered far more costly in proportion than the coarser kinds by the competition of those who regard them as badges of opulence and rank. The ivory again fetches from forty to seventy roubles a pood, or from one shilling to one shilling and ninepence a pound, according to its state of preservation. The tusks are found to be fresher as one advances to the northward—a circumstance which seems to corroborate the notion that the climate has had something to do with their continued existence in an organic form. Towards the same quarter, moreover, they are smaller and more numerous,—another circumstance, which tallies exactly with the physical fact, that in a current, larger and heavier bodies are more likely than others to sink or to be entangled; and it appears to be something more than a curious coincidence, that the bones of the smaller class, such as those of the horse, the buffalo, the ox, and the sheep, have been discovered only in the remotest north.

Soon after my arrival, I dined with Governor Roodikoff, the feast serving the double occasion not only of doing honour to the strangers, but also of celebrating the name-day of one of our host's sons. These name-days, which are kept in the Greek Church as well as in the Church of Rome, are, as I have already mentioned under the head of California, merely the days of those saints from whom the christian names of the parties may have been borrowed. These festivals are considered to be far more important than such secular affairs as the anniversaries of births, being peculiarly pleasant and profitable to public men. The Governor's saint, for instance, was to have his turn in the calendar on the 20th of the month; and the Governor himself would then receive both from Russians and from Yakuti presents of furs and other commodities in proportion to his popularity—a guarantee, in some measure, for the good conduct of the higher powers.

At dinner, there were about twenty-five persons present, including Madame Roodikoff, with two daughters and as many sons, the heads of the police, both of district and town, the Hetman of Cossacks, the principal councillor, two doctors, and several merchants. The viands were numerous and excellent, consisting of soups, fish, beef, veal, fowls, wild and tame, the former in great variety, with pastry, sweets, and ices, and many other things besides, the whole accompanied by wines in abundance, and graced by a prince of a landlord.

Our good-humoured host, a captain in the Imperial Navy, had been taken prisoner at the Cape of Good Hope, in 1806, where he had been treated so kindly as ever afterwards to retain a friendly feeling towards Englishmen; and he had evidently resolved not to miss the present opportunity—one of the "few and far between" chances of the kind—of paying us back in our own coin. Though he spoke Russian at the commencement of the banquet, yet he launched out more and more boldly into such English as he could remember, with every succeeding round of champagne; and, in fact, the glorious old sailor dealt bumper after bumper with such rapidity, that I was fairly driven to rebel against his orders. We accordingly adjourned to the smoking-room; but the change was of no avail, for the enemy followed us to our place of refuge, continuing its explosions till "all was blue."

A siesta of two or three hours prepared us for meeting the ladies in the evening, who, on this occasion, mustered as many as sixty or seventy. Dancing, as a matter of course, was introduced, being kept up with great spirit, in all its forms of waltzing, quadrilling, gallopading, &c., till two in the morning. As Captain Roodikoff's English had evaporated with his champagne, Russ and Yakut were the grand languages of the ball-room, the latter being as fluently spoken as the former by the white inhabitants, more especially by such of them as have been born and bred in the place, under the auspices of a native nurse. Our worthy host probably enjoyed this last-mentioned advantage, for his father had been Governor of Yakutsk before him.

Next day, as any reasonable reader might expect, I dined at home, discussing with the Governor, who paid me a friendly visit in the afternoon, my last bottle of port. Descending from the praises of the wine to those of the indigenous kumyss, my guest sent for a bottle of the beverage which was used as beer in his family. It appeared to me closely to resemble sour buttermilk, without being at all greasy. It is prepared in a very simple way, the mare's milk, which is rather thinner and sweeter than that of the cow, being merely allowed to stand for some days in a leathern churn, till it becomes sour. It is then bottled for use. The kumyss that is made in this manner by the Yakuti is rather nutritious than exhilarating; but from the same material the Burats and the Kirghiz, living towards the south, extract an intoxicating spirit, in which they indulge to excess.

At the house of Mr. Shagin, we were very hospitably entertained. At his table, on one occasion, we met a party of twelve substantial burgesses, who appeared, however, to have mixed but little in the world. The dinner was choice and the wine plentiful. In fact, we had come in time for the champagne and other imported dainties, for the annual fair had just been concluded; and as nothing that was really good could possibly last in Yakutsk, a month earlier, or even a month later, might have made all the difference against us. In fact, the people are so liberal and hospitable, that, with respect to exotic luxuries, every family's year begins with a feast and ends with a fast. Their kindness to strangers is altogether extraordinary, and the more so on account of the extravagant price of all extraneous productions. The indigenous articles, however, are cheap enough, fish and wild fowl costing almost nothing, and beef only about a farthing a pound.

In Mr. Shagin's house, I saw some works of the Yakuti, in iron and silver, very skilfully finished. The silver had been obtained from a mountain to the north of Yakutsk, the ore containing seventy per cent. of lead and four of the more precious metal. The iron, as I understood, was found between the Indigirka and the Alasei; and I was assured that the tools made of it, whether from the excellence of the material or from the ingenuity of the workman, rarely broke, even in the severest cold — a degree of perfection never yet exhibited on Hudson's Bay by axes of the best temper. These Yakuti are expert in many other arts besides the working of metals. In preparing their food, for instance, against the winter, they far surpass the Indians of North America, rendering, in particular, their dried meat and dried fish more juicy and tender by first dipping them in brine; though, after all, there is no travelling fare in Siberia to be compared with pemmican, whether for its small bulk or for its nutritious qualities.

In one highly important particular, the Yakuti may safely challenge all the rest of the world. They are the best eaters on the face of the earth. Having heard a great deal more on this subject than I could bring myself to believe, I resolved to test the thing by the evidence of my own senses. Having procured a couple of fellows, who had a tolerable reputation in this way, from a village about twenty versts distant, I had a dinner prepared for them of two poods of beef boiled, and one pood of butter melted, being thirty-six pounds avoirdupois of the former, and eighteen of the latter, for each of the two. Of the solids, the performers had their respective shares placed before them, while the liquor was in common, with a ladle for drinking it.

Of the operatives, the one was old and the other young. The former, as if he had been training himself into nothing but stomach from head to heel, had his skin hungrily hanging in loose folds over his gaunt bones; while the latter, who showed no external symptoms of extraordinary capacity, must have relied chiefly on the vigour of youth and a willingness of disposition. At starting, the young fellow shot ahead, as if he meant to distance his friend, while the old man, waggishly making his wrinkles flap again upon him, said, "His teeth are sharp; but," continued he, crossing himself, "with the help of my saint, I shall be up with him yet."

After a good dose of the beef, they greased their throats for the second heat of the race by swallowing each about a pint or so of their heavy wet. At the end of an hour, they had got through half of their welcome toil, my senior guest having, by this time, shaken out nearly his last reef. Their eyes were starting from their heads, and their stomachs projecting into a brace of kettledrums. What were the gentlemen to do with the remaining half of their allowance? One moiety of the question might have been easily answered; for the butter, apparently in its purity, was making an outlet of every pore; but, as the solids could not escape so glibly from the premises, the problem of stowing away eighteen pounds of beef already full to overflowing puzzled all my knowledge, such as it was, of practica. mathematics.

Feeling that, whatever might be the case with my guests, I had myself had quite enough of the feast, I left our Cossack and Mr. M'Intyre to see that there should be no foul play in getting rid of the meat and drink; and, on returning about two hours afterwards, I was assured by my deputies and others that all was right, while the gluttons themselves tacitly confirmed the testimony by wallowing prostrate on the earth, relieving me, at the same time, from all sense of wrong in the matter by thanking me for my liberality and kissing the ground reverentially for my sake. After such surfeits, the victors remain, for three or four days, in a state of stupor, neither eating nor drinking; and, meanwhile, they are rolled about, somewhat after the manner of the *lumee-lumee* of the Sandwich Islands, with a view to the promoting of digestion — an operation which the slipperiness of their surface renders peculiarly difficult. Two of these gormandizers, one for the bride and another for the bridegroom, form part of the entertainments at every native wedding.

Like other small towns, Yakutsk, as a matter of course, is divided into factions; Governor Roodikoff and Mr. Shagin being the respective heads of the Montagues and the Capulets of the place. So far as they are individually concerned, their fathers, as the representatives respectively of the Imperial Government and the Russian American Company, waged fierce war while they lived, leaving, at their deaths, their offices and their quarrels to their sons, who again, if one may judge from appearances, consider the latter portion of their patrimony as fully more valuable than the former. Their duties may be a toil, but their jealousies are evidently a pleasure. This state of things, productive as it is of dissension and litigation, is perhaps wisely ordained, to enable the leaders and their respective parties to kill the nine long, dull, dreary months of winter. The amusement, such as it is, has at least the merit of being general, for not a man of respectability is allowed to remain neutral between the two belligerent bodies. Either a Capulet or a Montague everybody, that aims at being anybody, must become, at least under the penalty of being held as nobody by "both your houses."

I had various opportunities of observing the effects of this universal animosity. To give an instance: a public officer, learning that I had bought some sables from Mr. Shagin, at once pronounced them to be shamefully dear; and then, turning the conversation to the exhibition of my gluttons, he declared, after many mysterious nods and winks, that the thing was a failure, as might have been expected from men engaged by Mr. Shagin, adding, that he could have got two fellows to hold double the quantity of butter and beef, with my two eaters, bones and all, into the bargain.

In the hospital of the town, there was room for forty patients; and another on a larger scale was building at the time of our visit. There were five medical men in the district, residing generally in the capital, but making occasional circuits in the country. The head of the department was a fat, unwieldy, apoplectic man of about forty, who, when he dined with me at the Governor's, was either absorbed in profound meditation from beginning to end, or needed all his time and attention to meet the internal demand, never opening his mouth excepting for the discharge of the one special duty that was before him. This huge doctor would require to go his rounds through the district with an assortment of the mechanical powers. In his last journey, he was hoisted up a steep hill by means of ropes and pulleys, the horses having refused to move him on any terms; and, in descending on the other side, where the inclined plane might have been reduced to practice, he was led down the precipice with his eyes bandaged, lest he should turn giddy, and so fall soft to the bottom.

All the churches are built of wood, with foundations of stone, but are very substantial, and have a respectable appearance. The walls are constructed of round logs, the lower side of each being scooped out so as to receive the upper side of the one below it; they are then well caulked, outside with hemp or rushes, and inside with moss; and lastly, they are wainscoted, puttied, and painted: when heated by Russian stoves, these edifices are to a stranger oppressively warm, even in the most intense cold of this hyperborean climate. Such wooden buildings as I have described are remarkably durable; more so perhaps than the bricks, which are gradually coming into fashion, are likely to be. The fort now in ruins, the earliest monument of the Cossacks, was difficult to pull down after it had stood a hundred and fifty years; and Mr. Shagin's dwelling, though a century old, is yet in excellent repair. Speaking of the churches, I must not omit to mention the liberality of Mr. Shiloff, the same whom we met on his way to Ochotsk. This liberal merchant has erected a very neat place of worship at his own private cost, being rewarded by the government with a medal for his generosity. In connexion with his little church, he had also built a school, which was subsequently destroyed by fire; and, on receiving a hint from a high quarter that he should remedy the mischief, he very properly declined the honour, unless on the condition of receiving another medal. Of schools there appears to be a great deficiency, there being only three in the town, and three in the country.

Among other curiosities which I picked up through the kindness of the good folks of Yakutsk, the principal councillor, Mr. Kaydanoff, gave me a pair of round pebbles, brought all the way from China. These stones are, at all convenient times, carried by the Chinese in their left hands from infancy, and kept constantly chafing, one against another, into perfect smoothness; and, when thus prepared, they possess a sort of sacred character, the gift of one of them being a pledge of lasting love and friendship. The rough diamonds themselves, I suppose, must be scarce and dear, for the poorer celestials are said to be obliged to content themselves with walnuts instead of pebbles, succeeding, however, in polishing and rounding these less tractable articles to a nicety.

I had also an offer, as a matter of trade, of a few minerals that had been gathered near the Viliui, one of the westerly feeders of the Lena to the north of Yakutsk. A man called on me with about a dozen crystals, cornelians, and petrifactions; but, having no interpreter at hand, I desired him to return in the evening. Return he did accordingly, accompanied by a friend; for the accident of my being obliged to ask him to come back had evidently raised the value of his museum in his own estimation. After we had all looked very wise, I demanded his price; and the two worthies, doubtless regarding an Englishman as fair game, had the conscience to name the precise sum of fifteen hundred roubles, probably a compromise, as settled by the pair of cronies, between the first thousand and the second. My reply was such as to need not the aid of an interpreter; and, in one instant, the extortioners and their stones quitted the premises. In the vicinity, by the by, of the Viliui, there are said to be mines of coal—an article which, as wood is hardly to be got so far to the northward, cannot fail to be useful when steam is introduced on the Lena.

On the third day after our own arrival, Jacob presented himself with our baggage. Though the old man was one day behind his stipulated time, yet, as he had done his utmost, I paid him his money in full, thereby sending him off in the very best of humours. I was now all eagerness for a start, being too impatient even to wait for the next mail from Ochotsk, which was almost immediately expected with my English letters; and I was the more anxious to proceed, inasmuch as the dryness of the season, which had been so favourable to our journey on horseback, was likely henceforward to retard us, for the lowness of the water might keep us so far from the bank, as to embarrass the operation of towing. I therefore resisted all temptations to prolong my stay; while Mesdames Roodikoff and Shagin, as the next best thing to detaining us among them, prepared for our voyage the most liberal supplies of bread, cakes, and tarts, all the more acceptable to us, as well as creditable to the fair donors, on account of the scarcity of flour.

As the navigation of the Lena for some distance above the town was said to be very circuitous, I despatched the boat with our baggage on the 16th of the month to proceed as far as Bestach, about a hundred and fifty versts distant by water, where I could overtake her by a ride of a few hours after stealing two days more for the hospitalities of Yakutsk.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 18th, I paid my farewell visit to Governor Roodikoff, when we pledged each other, without much regard to the earliness of the hour, in more than one bumper of champagne; and at length, with much regret, I shook hands with my excellent friend and his amiable family. By the by, Madame Roodikoff and her two pretty daughters seemed scarcely to understand my English style of taking leave, the Russian mode of salutation being for the gentlemen to kiss the lady's hand, and for the lady, in her turn, to kiss the gentleman's cheek.

After an early dinner at Mr. Shagin's, we started at two in the afternoon for Bestach, accompanied by the head of the police. Our whole party consisted of a britzska with five horses, and two telegas with three each. Our road ran through what must have been the ancient bed of the Lena, a valley of twelve or fourteen miles in width, embanked on either side, as already mentioned, by a ridge of several hundred feet in height. The sandy soil produced nothing but short tufty grass, excepting that, in swamps and near creeks, the vegetation was somewhat more luxuriant. We passed through a number of native settlements, consisting at present not merely of the *yourti* for winter, but also of the *urossi* for summer, the former covered with mud, and the latter formed of birch-bark. We changed horses three times, and reached Bestach at ten in the evening, having come over the ground at the rate of ten or twelve miles an hour, to the great hazard of our vehicles and our own necks. On our last stage, in fact, my own postboy was thrown, while the five horses and the britzska passed over him. I of course expected to see him picked up a corpse; but, to our great surprise, he escaped without even a bruise.

From Bestach, our good friend, the head of the police, returned to Yakutsk, having first, however, sent forward his deputy to make arrangements for us at every station, and also left a Cossack sergeant in the boat to keep all and sundry with whom we might have any intercourse on the alert. The stages are of various lengths, generally ranging between twenty and forty versts. At each station there is a postmaster, who, by virtue of his office, wears uniform; and the peasants are bound to provide horses and drivers for the towing of boats at a regulated price, about a halfpenny a verst for each mounted man, while, in consideration of this duty, they are exempted from all other public services.

Within an hour after reaching Bestach we got under way, with a tolerably comfortable boat for ourselves, and a smaller one in tow for our Cossack and servants. These boats for passengers, which draw from a foot and a half to two feet of water, are divided into three parts. Near the bow is a floor of earth, or brick, or stone, on which a fire is made for cooking; at the stern are laid a few planks on the gunwales for the helmsman; and the centre is formed, by means of a covering of canvass and boards, into a sort of cabin, or crib, for the passengers. These craft, as I have already mentioned, are towed by horses, with one driver to each animal; but, when the men are prevented from attending by sickness, or by any pressing business, of which the postmaster is to judge the sufficiency, they are allowed to substitute boys or women, or any body, making up in number what is wanting in strength. At the very first we had the benefit of this rule—a rule reasonable enough in itself; for to our four animals we had six useless creatures of drivers, all of them either too young for hard work, or too old for active service.

Our first night on the Lena was rendered as uncomfortable as possible by various causes. Our little prison, besides being hot and close, was infested by swarms of musquitoes; and our conductors being frequently obliged, when the shoals ran too far out for towing, to drag our boat over flats up to their waists in water, kept up a clamour that would have prevented us from sleeping under far more favourable circumstances.

My sleepless hours were made still more miserable by gloomy forebodings of the length of our voyage; and I was quite firm in my belief that, at our present rate of progress, we could not possibly reach Irkutsk within any reasonable time.

The approach of daylight did not much mend the matter. Two thousand five hundred versts on the broad, shallow, sluggish Lena, with its cliffs of clay or sandstone, were a dismal subject for calculation. We were but little more at liberty than when we were in bed. We could not move from our places without incommoding each other; we could not walk along the bank, for the horses, when towing, went too fast to be followed; and the people, when tracking, were struggling in the stream at a great distance from the shore; and even on stopping at the stations to change our cattle, we were not sure of setting foot on land, as the boat sometimes stopped a full verst from the houses. We had no English books at hand; and, as we were all getting tired of each other, we had very little conversation. Even local topics of discussion were nearly out of the question; for my Russian fellow-traveller, through whom alone we could obtain any information, was certainly the most taciturn of the three, having, in fact, become so before he had this lazy river and our floating cage as an excuse.

Our grand hope was, that the waters would rise. In the evening we were heartily glad of a thunderstorm and heavy fall of rain; and the good people were tolerably confident that, after to-morrow, which was St. Elias's day, the river would swell out as usual.

In the course of the day, I lost the only sight that was worth seeing, in trying to beguile the tedious hours by dozing: I allude to the perpendicular rocks of great height on the right bank of the river, very appropriately called *stolby*, or the pillars.

Our first day's work, reckoning from Bestach, was as follows:—

Toyou-Arinsk . . .	28 versts.
Tish-Arinsk . . .	42 "
Bushameskaya . . .	23 "
	93 versts.

On the 20th, St. Elias was as good as his word. A few refreshing showers cooled the atmosphere; and, as every little would help, we trusted that they might have contributed to raise the Lena. To-day, our Cossack, after making a good deal of noise, got some abler drivers for us. But this forced labour, in spite of the remuneration, evidently fell very heavily on the poor people, more particularly at this season of the year, when they required fully all their time for getting in their hay, the only provender against winter for the herds on which their own subsistence chiefly depended. We were still far below Olekminsk, in the neighbourhood of which were to be seen the first attempts at agriculture. Our stations contained merely eight or ten peasants each, who scraped together a scanty livelihood by the towing of boats and the pasturing of cattle. Their ancestors, principally exiles and old soldiers, must have been partly planted by government without their own consent, and partly induced to make so unfavourable a selection by an exemption from taxes, or perhaps by the temptations of the fur-trade.

Whatever might be the difficulties of the case, our friend ahead took care that we should experience no delay at the stations; and to-day he stopped till we overtook him, to ascertain whether we found every thing as it should be. He was a Pole by birth, very civil, and chatty.

The river varied in breadth from five or six versts to three or four, being divided by islands and sand-banks into different channels. The shores consisted, for the most part, of high and broken rocks. Our stations were—

Sinkaya	28 versts.
Onmooranskaya	32 "
Foorinskaya	25 "
	85 versts.

In the course of the night we sprang a leak, which, after causing a good deal of confusion and alarm, was fortunately stopped without having done any material damage.

During next day we passed a rocky island, ten or twelve versts long, of exactly the same character as the mainland; and it had all the appearance of having at one time formed the bank of the river, till the stream, by ploughing for itself a passage behind, had cast it, as it were, adrift from the shore. At one of the stations I saw some bread, which had been made of rye and the inner bark of the larch, ground up together. On this unsavoury substance, with sour milk, the poor people in a great measure lived; and they were considered to fare sumptuously indeed, if they could add a little of something that looked very much like tallow, being a mixture of curd and butter melted together into a mould. As to the article of dress, they were clad almost exclusively in the skins of their defunct nags; and their very feet were enveloped in stockings of horsehair, which, I apprehend, would make a very satisfactory kind of penance for the tender feet of some other regions.

As we contrived to get six horses instead of four, with a corresponding increase in the number of drivers, we made a longer march to-day than usual. Our stations were—

Tsitskaya	34 versts.
Malikanskaya . . .	35 „
Saniyachtachskaya . .	42 „
	111 versts.

On the fourth day of our voyage from Bestach, we were met, at the station of Marchinskaya, by the police-master of Olekminsk, who had come, by direction of the kind and considerate Captain Roodikoff, to succeed his brother in trade, from Yakutsk, in making arrangements for us beforehand at the different stations. As our Pole was now to return, I sent by him, as a trifling acknowledgment of the gallant Governor's untiring politeness, the remainder of our stock, about eight gallons of port wine, feeling assured that he would appreciate the gift as an expression of my sense of obligation, independently of its being something in Yakutsk, where a genuine glass of the kind was, perhaps, never seen before.

Our new friend was a brother of Mr. Atlasoff, of Ochotsk. He met us in full uniform, with cocked hat, sword, and white gloves. He had been thirty-eight years in the service, and, during the whole of that time, had never been out of the district of Yakutsk. He appeared to be as remarkable in the way of reindeer as his brother was with snow-shoes, having driven the same animals two hundred versts a day, for three or four days consecutively; and having ridden one of the creatures for a similar period, at nearly two-thirds of the rate just mentioned. If the reindeer falls to the ground through exhaustion, the rider, or driver, seizes the animal's tongue, holding it out of its mouth for ten or fifteen minutes: if this be done, it generally recovers; if not, it is pretty sure to die. In riding, the grand difficulty is to keep the saddle firm, which, from the uncongenial shape of the brute's back, has always a tendency to slip about in every possible direction, sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left, sometimes backwards and sometimes forwards. In summer, the reindeer's principal food is moss; but in winter, it thrives well on frozen fish.

At the station, where we met Mr. Atlasoff, we got the *titemay*, a sort of salmon-trout, and the *stirlitz*, a kind of sturgeon, both very good in their way. The *yelma*, or white salmon, reckoned the best fish in the river, I did not consider to be by any means of fine flavour.

The banks, which had hitherto been generally steep and rocky, were now considerably changed in appearance, sloping, in most places, down to the water's edge. The stream itself had improved, too, for St. Elias had done his duty so well as to allow us to approach the shore near enough for being conveniently towed. We met several canoes of birch-bark, similar in form to those that we had seen on the Aldan and the Pend'-d'Oreille, with the long double paddle of the Esquimaux. In the forenoon, a heavy squall drove our boat on the beach, setting our little tender adrift; the wind was very fresh for a short time, raising a rough sea, and uprooting the trees around us. For a wonder, we got ashore five minutes to-day and had a bath—quite an event to us, after having been huddled together, nearly four days and nights, without space to stretch our legs, or even to enjoy the full swing of a comfortable yawn. Our stations were—

Marchinskaya . . .	41 versts.
Chatik Toomool . . .	22 "
	63 versts.

In the early part of the night a quantity of rain fell, so that the various streams, whose mouths we passed next day, were considerably swollen. St. Elias, in fact, was sustaining his reputation admirably, improving, at the same time, our navigation, in spite of our heretical scepticism.

As a piece of great luck, we got a walk on shore of three or four versts this forenoon; and much we needed some exercise, eating and sleeping, varied only by sleeping and eating, having rendered us stiff and puffy, quite unfit, in short, for the work that we should have to perform after quitting the lazy Lena. Though the scenery was becoming softer, with an occasional symptom of agriculture, yet we could hardly bring ourselves to take an interest in anything but our rate of progress. The only feature in the day's work that roused our attention, was an assemblage of bluff rocks, standing out from the general line of the shore in the form of pillars, chimneys, turrets, &c. We had been five days from Bestach without having accomplished the fifth part of our voyage. Our stations were—

Charabalskaya	22 versts.
Namaniuskaya	45 "
Solianskaya	44 "
	111 versts.

The station of Solianskaya, which we passed in the night, was said to derive its name from some saline springs in its neighbourhood. At four in the morning, being our sixth day from Bestach, we reached Olekminsk, where we were received with the utmost kindness and attention by Mr. Atlasoff, who had stopped here in order to dispense to us the hospitalities of his own home. Though the landing-place was not above five hundred yards from his house, yet a drosky, drawn by a spirited pair of black horses, was waiting to carry us, with some ten or twelve Cossacks to dance attendance on all sides. The residence was comfortable and commodious, the floor actually looking as clean and white as if it had been holy-stoned for half a century—as it might have been, for the building, though only of wood, was yet nearly a hundred years old. We were introduced to Madame Atlasoff and her son, who did the honours of our reception with a good grace. These Atlasoffs, as I have already mentioned with respect to the gentleman of the same name at Ochotsk, were justly proud of being descended from the original conqueror of Kamschatka. Perhaps, as a whole, the Siberian conquests of the Cossacks were more marvellous than any other series of similar exploits; for, from the days of Yermac, to be hereafter noticed, to those of our host's ancestor, they subjugated one populous tribe after another, in bands so small—often in twenties, and twelves, and tens—as to throw into the shade the hardihood of the first invaders of Mexico and Peru.

According to custom, we began the day, even at this early hour, by taking a glass of tea, with cream and rusks; and then, after visiting the church and whatever else was to be seen in the town, we returned, about half-past six, to a substantial breakfast, at which our host insisted on my occupying the chair. Before proceeding to real business, we had a relish, which to us would have been a splendid meal, in the shape of caviar, radishes, salted fish, bread, gin, and rum, with a glass of nalifky, a native spirit extracted from rye and flavoured with berries and sweetmeats. Having appetized ourselves in this pleasant way, we did the amplest justice to a genuine feast of fish-patties, beefsteaks, sweetbread, soup, and bouillie, stewed prunes, cream, &c.

The neatness of the whole premises bore testimony to the taste and ingenuity of this agreeable family. In the windows were tubs of flowers, which were then all in blossom; and the Siberian rose in particular was very pretty, with its semi-transparent stem and leaves. In the garden were cucumbers, peas, and various other vegetables.

Like all the other settlements that we had seen, Olekminsk stood on the west, or left bank of the river, which thus appeared to form a kind of definite boundary between civilization and barbarism. It derives its name from the Olekma, which falls into the Lena immediately opposite to the town. In spring, the lower parts of Olekminsk are subject to inundations; but the climate, notwithstanding the periodical visits of the intermittent fever, is considered healthy.

The town contained about fifty houses, with a population of about four hundred souls; and the whole district, according to Mr. Atlasoff's statement, numbered four thousand seven hundred and eighty-three males, being three thousand six hundred and thirty Yakuti, five hundred and twenty Tungusi, and six hundred and thirty-three Russians, or about ten thousand of both sexes in all. The climate is sufficiently good for potatoes, rye, oats, and even wheat, at least of the Himalayan variety. Still, however, the seasons are so uncertain, more particularly with respect to the early frosts, that the rye varies from a maximum of forty returns to a minimum of five, while wheaten flour ranges between twelve and thirty-six roubles a pood.

Mr. Atlasoff and three merchants were the principal inhabitants. These good people, contrary to the standing rule in small communities, contrived to live together on terms of perfect harmony; and, as the village boasted a resident fiddler, their social meetings generally ended in a dance. The leading trader is an experimental farmer, dividing his attention between agriculture and commerce; and, in his well-regulated establishment, I saw a small flock of sheep, an old billy-goat, several cows and calves, a number of tame geese, and, lastly, two pairs of cranes from the Vittim, stepping about in a very ladylike manner. On the very day before our arrival, one of the other two merchants had gone mad. The first symptom of his derangement had been his demanding from Mr. Atlasoff a passport to St. Petersburg, to enable him to organize a mercantile association, "of which," said the worthy magistrate, crossing himself devoutly, "the Almighty was to be president and the Emperor vice-president."

At Olekminsk there is an annual fair, which is attended by the itinerant dealers as they descend the Lena, on their way to Yakutsk. The principal articles of native production are the far-famed sables of the Olekma, universally admitted to be the finest in the world. They are found on the river just named, which rises in the Yablonnoi chain, forming the north-eastern portion of the boundary between Russia and China; and the annual returns usually amount to five or six hundred skins. These sables are extravagantly high, even at Olekminsk, having this year fetched fifteen hundred roubles for forty as they rose from the pile, and having last year brought a thousand roubles more; so that the mere difference between two successive seasons has been upwards of a pound sterling on the price of every single skin. In addition to the sables, many squirrels of a very valuable description, and also a few bears, wolves, and foxes, are exposed at the annual fair.

As the trappers trace the Olekma to its very sources, distant, by the crow's flight, about four hundred miles, hunting all the way wherever there is profitable ground, they are about ten months absent from the Lena, starting in August and returning in June. It is, in fact, towards the head of the river that the best skins are found, for the animals appear to get sleeker, as well as more numerous, in proportion to the remoteness of the haunts of men. Of this principle, the opposite shores of the Lena, separated from each other at most by a breadth of five or six versts, furnish a remarkable exemplification, the furs on the west bank being comparatively coarse and scarce, and those on the east bank fine and abundant.

Having obtained a good supply of vegetables and fresh provisions, we left Olekminsk, Mr. Atlasoff preceding us as before; and about five in the afternoon we reached the station of Berdinskaya, whence we were tracked twenty versts by men. Whilst proceeding in this way, we passed an island peopled by Yakuti; and our steersman, seeing seven or eight fellows sleeping on the bank, without any thought of a towing-line, pointed out the providential reinforcement to his wearied companions. The Yakuti awoke just in time to make a good race of it; but, after a sharp hunt among the willows, they were all forced to lend a hand at the rope. Such a chase is sometimes carried into effect even in joke, for the timid Yakuti submit to this species of impressment with characteristic pusillanimity.

The settlements were more numerous to-day; and the extent of cultivated land regularly increased. Our stations were—

Olekminsk	25 versts.
Berdinskaya . . .	30 "
Tcherenduskaya . . .	33 "
	88 versts.

During the night, the wind was fresh, and we had an alarm of shipwreck, though happily we escaped that calamity. Next day, being our seventh from Bestach, our Cossack gave us a specimen of his summary discipline. As the progress of the boat was not equal to the irascibility of his temper, the man of office went ashore in a small canoe to quicken the pace; and, having made six of the miserable drivers, Russians and Yakuti, dismount at the word of command, he belaboured them in turn with a thick stick, apparently distributing his favours with the utmost impartiality. The unresisting wretches seemed to feel the wanton outrage far less than ourselves; they took the whole thing, in fact, as a matter of course. They were, perhaps, conscious of having in some degree deserved what they got; and I certainly found, as Captain Cochrane had found before me, that, under the system of corporal chastisement, the people had become so degraded as hardly to appreciate, at least within the limits of a traveller's patience, the force of any other motive.

The country still continued to improve as we ascended. The population was less scanty; the presence of several flocks of sheep bore evidence of the amelioration of the climate; and the scenery was less monotonous, for the banks showed many well-wooded hills, while numberless streams, large and small, flowed into the Lena through the intermediate valleys. Our stations were—

Nelinskaya . . .	40 versts.
Delgiskaya . . .	28 "
Berdoffski Ostrog . .	35 "
	103 versts.

Next day, we walked some ten versts along shore, killing time pleasantly enough by gathering blue berries and excellent currants. The settlers seemed to be comfortably lodged and well clad, while for their maintenance they had abundance of cattle, sheep, poultry, grain, potatoes, and vegetables. In spite of the want of schools, all the Russians, of every age, and many of the Yakuti, could read and write, education being handed down, very much to the credit of the people, as an heirloom from father to son. This we understood to be more or less the case all over Eastern Siberia.

In the evening, we passed some very remarkable rocks, partly on the mainland and partly on islands, known as the "hurrah" rocks, from their being saluted with loud shouts by the boatmen descending the river in loaded craft. This custom most probably originated in the resemblance borne by the rocks in question to human habitations. They were said to have the appearance of chimneys, battlements, pillars, gables, and the like; but most of this we were obliged to take on trust; for, as we passed the spot towards the close of twilight, we saw but little of the curiosities.

Speaking of the downward craft, we had met a heavily laden tub to-day, carrying to Yakutsk supplies of grain, stores, and provisions. It was a large bateau made of round logs, which were covered with boards, while rough planks were nailed on the tops of the sides by way of gunwales. It was, in truth, nothing more than a raft, drifting down before the current, with some six or seven people on board to keep it out of mischief. Such crazy and unmanageable barges are so slow in their movements, that, after wasting the whole season of open water, they are sometimes overtaken by winter before they reach the remoter stations to the north of Yakutsk, causing a great deal of expense and loss to the government, and not a little of inconvenience and misery to the settlers. Even without the aid of steam, the evil might be remedied by the introduction of a faster class of vessels. One should, however, remember, that, as the upward freight is much less bulky than the downward, the rafts in question are employed only for the one single voyage, being broken up, at their place of destination, for fencing, &c. To get the vessels along, such as they are, every artifice is adopted. When the winds are favourable, sails are hoisted; and when there is no propelling force but that of the water, trees, attached to the bows, are sunk with their branches foremost, so as to take a deeper hold of the current.

This was our last day of Mr. Atlasoff; for Kamenskaya—taking its name, by the by, from the rocks just mentioned, which were a little below it—was the most southerly place in the Yakutsk district; but, before leaving us, he sent forward a light boat to intimate to the different postmasters on the route that persons of distinction, under the immediate care and protection of government, would require to find horses and drivers in readiness at every station. We parted from this very worthy man, with such a sense of his services as made us regret that he did not hold some appointment more appropriate to his deserts; and we liked him all the better for the honest pride with which he traced his descent in a direct line from the Atlasoff of Kamschatka.

From Olekminsk, where it was five versts wide, the Lena had gradually diminished in breadth, till now it resembled in size the Saskatchewan at Carlton, with only about half a mile from shore to shore, while its surface was still farther contracted by its being studded with islands of pine, birch, and willow. Our stations were—

Titshilnaya	30	versts.
Nochtooskaya	26	„
Fidayskaya	25	„
Kamenskaya	33	„
	114	versts.

Next day, being our ninth from Bestach, carried us through a country so sterile and poor, that the inhabitants, to all appearance, contrived to support themselves only by dint of the most miserable expedients. The cone of the stone pine, when roasted, formed a part of their food, being far inferior in flavour to the same kind of thing that we had received from the worthy monks of Santa Barbara. Among the utensils of the peasants, I noticed a quern, such as was once commonly used in the Highlands of Scotland for grinding oats and barley; and I also observed shoes of birch-bark, very indifferent wear, I should imagine, for rough or wet roads. These poor people might be regarded as victims for the public good; for they might mend their position even by going down the river, if they were not obliged to remain, in order to preserve the continuity of the line of conveyance.

Yerbinsky, our first station of this morning, lay within the limits of the Irkutsk government. At this place, under the orthography of Djerbinsky, or Jerbat, Captain Cochrane found a remarkable cave, of which, however, the unphilosophical denizens appeared to be entirely ignorant. Our stations were—

Yerbinskaya	35	versts.
Ninskaya	36	„
Sildikooskaya	30	„
Boogroogrinskaya (half)	22	„
	123	versts.

Next day, the sole incident in our monotonous life was the purchase of our first sheep. Our stations were—

Boogroogrinskaya (half) .	22 versts.
Moochtinskaya	25 „
Kintiskaya	49 „
Chamra	28 „
	124 versts.

Next day, being our eleventh from Bestach, we passed, in the afternoon, the station of Kristoffskaya, said to be half way between Yakutsk and Irkutsk. In the evening, we went ashore at Pooloodoffskaya, where there were about a hundred inhabitants, with many fields of potatoes, barley, rye, and oats. While we were exploring one of their houses, prying perhaps too curiously into everything, we were furiously attacked by a woman, who took us for petty robbers; but, to make amends for the lady's churlishness, the elder of the village, a fine, good-humoured old man, offered us cream, berries, and nuts, with the evident intention of removing any bad impression from our minds. The amusing fierceness of the virago in question, as the solitary exception to the general rule, only tended to make us appreciate more highly the hospitality and kindness of all classes of the population of Eastern Siberia.

To-day, we overtook six fellows, four Russians and two Yakuti, who were going to Irkutsk on a charge of murder, and who were beguiling the time, as they went, with desperate quarrels and fights among themselves. As already mentioned with respect to Heroux, whom I saw moving about at large on the North-west Coast, these wretches were not in irons. Throughout Russia, in fact, there would appear to be a singular disposition to run into opposite extremes on the subject of punishment. Though we had seen the whip and the cudgel applied for any offence or no offence, yet we were told that death, as such, could hardly be inflicted even on the most atrocious criminals. Our stations of to-day were—

Etokfa	55 versts.
Kristoffskaya . . .	29 ,,
Pooloodoffskaya . . .	28 ,,
	112 versts.

Next day, being the 30th of the month, our first station was Vittimsk, a large village, with a population of two or three hundred souls. It takes its name from the Vittim, which empties itself by three mouths into the Lena, immediately opposite to the station. This stream, which, at the point of confluence, is nearly equal to the main river, rises in the Vittim Steppe, not far from the Chinese frontier. Its sables, which have a high character, are inferior only to those of the Olekma, the difference probably arising from the circumstance, that the sources of the latter are more immediately in contact with the inaccessible fastnesses of the Yablonnoi Chain than those of the former. The Vittim is remarkable also for a talc mine, which is said to produce the largest and clearest sheets of the substance in the world, some of them being quite pure to the extent of two feet and a half square.

Vittimsk may be considered as the limit between the Yakuti and the Tungusi, as practically fixed by the Cossacks, when they came to mediate, with the strong hand, between the native tribes. Previously to the

European invasion of Siberia, the tide of population had almost uninterruptedly flowed from the south. The Yakuti, as universal tradition testified, had descended from the Lake Baikal and the River Amoor, driving before them into the remotest north and east the miserable remnants of the Omoki, the Yukahiri, and the Tchuwanzi; while the Tungusi, if their superior courage and energy had had full play for another century, would most probably have sent the victors after the vanquished to the inhospitable borders of the land of the Tchuktchi. In fact, this tide of population could have hardly ever ebbed to the southward; for the tribes of the extreme north, if they had attempted to return to a richer soil and a warmer climate, would have had to encounter the hordes of the central steppes, far more populous, and not a whit less hardy, than themselves.

This set of the current of migration would explain some of the peculiarities of the aborigines of Northern Asia, as distinguished from those of the new world. It would, in a great measure, account for the fact, that most of the dialects of Tartary and Siberia bore the plainest traces of affinity, even when the different tribes were not connected together by the paramount influence of the neighbouring powers; while the languages of the new world, excepting, of course, the branches of the same stem, were fundamentally and irreconcilably distinct. It would also, in a great measure, account for the fact, that Siberia was never so wholly lost to civilization as America had been. Its most secluded corner was linked with the rest of the world, both by war and by commerce, those grand bonds of union by which Providence constantly counteracted the isolating tendency of the confusion of tongues; and it doubtless was through the want of such bonds—a want occasioned partly by the immeasurable distance, and partly by the impassable ocean—that the natives of the new continent sank into a barbarism unknown and unsuspected before the days of Columbus.

Even in the old world, entire seclusion of one race from all others would appear to have been unfavourable to national improvement. In diametrically opposite climates, the Laplander and the Hottentot resembled each other, in being the lowest specimens of humanity in their respective quarters of the globe, while the Kamschatdales, in spite of the vast superiority of their soil and climate, were inferior, in almost every respect, to the Tchuktchi, who enjoyed no other advantage than that of being more immediately in contact with other tribes. Spain, too, on the one hand, and China and Japan on the other, would tend to establish the principle in question; for, though they were, in point of fact, highly civilized, yet they alone, of all the communities on earth that were so, continued at best to be stationary in their civilization. If, in some of these instances, the state of things is at present different, the change only tends to confirm the rule; and, to offer one example, the Chinese, by being brought, for two or three campaigns, into involuntary intercourse with the British, have confessedly learned more, not merely of the science of war, but also of the arts of peace, than any people before them ever learned in so short a time.

To resume my narrative. While we were passing some steep rocks to-day, the little boat in tow, in which were our servants and the Cossack, was upset; and all the baggage got thoroughly soaked, though, fortunately, nothing of value was lost. If this accident had happened at night, some of the persons in the boat, and perhaps all of them, would have been drowned; for even good swimmers, in the absence of assistance, would have been unable to extricate themselves from the covering of the capsized vessel.

At our last station, we were obliged to wait about three quarters of an hour for horses. Our visit at this season, when the people were collecting their hay, was certainly most inconvenient; nevertheless, any excuse for the detention of travellers would be wholly inadmissible. In the present case, we bullied the elder of the village, a sort of rural mayor; he, in his turn, bullied all others; and, after much uproar, we could get only women and boys as drivers, one of the former having to leave her sucking infant, in order to proceed on this nocturnal duty.

The women on this river were the most active and laborious of their sex that I ever saw; while, in common with the men, they were remarkably civil and obliging. Every person, too, was of a pious turn of mind, at least so far as external observances went. To-day, for instance, on looking into the house of one of the drivers, we were followed by the man himself; and no sooner was the door of the best room opened, than our host fell into a fit of bowing and crossing, in honour of an image that occupied one corner of the apartment. Our stations were:—

Vittimsk	29	versts.
Tshoriskaya	22	„
Resinskaya	24	„
Parshinskaya	24	„
Kooraskaya (half) . . .	20	„
	119	versts.

Next day, being the last of July, we reached Doobroffskaya at ten in the morning. This was the neatest settlement that I had yet seen. The dwellings were large and commodious, with a bath-house attached to each; and everything bespoke a more than ordinary share of cleanliness and industry. At our preceding stations, there had been generally but one bath-house for several families, into which young and old, of both sexes, used to enter indiscriminately at least once a week. In addition to the clamour of the elder of the village, the cries of the postillions, the scolding of our Cossack, the barking of dogs, and all other sounds incidental to a change of horses, I heard a precisely similar uproar from the opposite bank, as if other travellers had been getting fresh nags at a rival establishment. The whole proved to be the effect of one of the most correct echoes that I had ever heard, whole sentences being repeated distinctly. At our bidding, the echo spoke English to admiration, for the first time, perhaps, in its existence.

We passed some perpendicular rocks, known as the "Cheeks of the Lena," which contracted the stream to about a quarter of a verst in width, with a current of four knots. Here also was an echo, which I tested by firing a pistol several times; and, in each case, at least six successive reports were reverberated in the most extraordinary manner.

In my rambles of to-day, I found currants of various kinds, cranberries, raspberries, service-berries, strawberries, and choke-cherries. As to provisions, we were now well off, having a regular supply of mutton, fish, potatoes, eggs, honey, cream, butter, &c., with excellent tea — black only — three times a day, but neither wine, nor spirits, nor beer. The indolent routine of our life was generally as follows. We rose at ten; we bathed; we breakfasted; if practicable, we walked from three to ten versts; we then returned to bed for an hour or two, in order to cool ourselves; after a second bath, we dined about four, stretching our legs, perhaps, for a few minutes, as a digester, at some station or other; we took supper at nine, going to bed as soon thereafter as might be agreeable. In justice, however, I should add, that we did occasionally read, and write, and talk.

Our stations were :—

Kooraskaya (half) . .	20 versts.
Doobroffskaya . . .	29 „
Tshastinskaya . . .	37 „
Franershkova . . .	25 „
	111 versts.

Last evening, we had noticed that all the bath-houses were lighted for active service—a circumstance which proved that the people were sweating themselves into a state of purification, in order to do honour to some festival or other. This was the invariable custom on Saturday night, or on the eve of any grand holiday.

Accordingly, this turned out to be Our Saviour's name-day. All the inhabitants were decked in their best clothes, enjoying a little respite from labour. Wherever we put ashore, the heads of families hastened down to us, with little presents of eggs, cream, green peas, &c., uniformly refusing payment, and saying that, on such an occasion, it was not right that we should be allowed to pass their dwellings without partaking of what they had to bestow. Notwithstanding this liberality, we learned that the poor people were really labouring under a considerable scarcity of food, inasmuch as St. Elias, with his high waters, however friendly he had been to us, had, in a great measure, cut off their principal source of subsistence. This state of things was well expressed in the comprehensive phrase, that their nets were too small and their breeches too large.

At Fliimskaya, which we reached about ten in the evening, the inhabitants were keeping up the festivities with great spirit. The whole of them, to the number of eighty or a hundred, had met in two houses, where, besides dancing, they were moistening their clay with plentiful potations of a vile description of beer, which, weak as it was, had made them half muzzy. The music was the screeching of some half-dozen old women; and the floor was occupied by only one man and one woman at a time. First, the lady would endeavour to escape from her lover with an amusing display of coyness and coquetry; and then the gentleman, in his turn, would draw off, while his mistress would strive, by every winning way, to coax the truant back again. At the conclusion of each dance, the fair performer gave me three kisses, conferring the same favour on each of the other strangers, excepting that our Cossack appeared to me to get, or perhaps to take, a double dose. All the people, whether drunk or sober, carried their civility to excess, kissing my hand frequently, and even the ground on which I had been standing, and showering on me their perpetual benediction of "May you never want bread and salt!"

Speaking, by the by, of these festivities, I saw hops to-day on some of the farms.

To myself, as well as to these poor people, this was a day of joy and gladness. Just as we were sitting down to dinner, a Cossack arrived from Yakutsk, bringing me the English letters that I had passed on the road near Ochotsk. Having been sent back by the next mail, they had reached Yakutsk on the fourth day after my departure; and on the same evening they were sent after me by the worthy governor, in charge of an active man, who was, with all speed, to travel on horseback by day, and by night in a light boat. In this manner, the courier had followed us for fifteen hundred versts, accomplishing in ten days what had occupied us fourteen; and I had, therefore, every reason to be satisfied with his zeal and diligence. The attendant expense of two hundred and seventy roubles I by no means grudged, for the intelligence from my family was honey to my soul.

We passed several large settlements, in two of which there were churches, and met a priest in a canoe going to perform duty in one of the places of worship. In this part of Siberia, there would appear to be very few ministers, there being, in fact, a lamentable dearth of religious and moral education; and the sole teachers of the people, in most neighbourhoods, seemed to be the Cossacks and the magistrates. We were now in the country of the Tungusi; and at Tsherskaya we saw a few of the tribe. Both physically and morally, they were superior to the Yakuti, active, well made, and independent in their manners and sentiments.

Our stations were:—

Mooshinskaya . . .	27 versts.
Tsherskaya . . .	23 „
Darenskaya . . .	31 „
Fliinskaya . . .	20 „
	101 versts.

Next day, being the 2nd of August, the banks of the river were hilly and well wooded; and at all the spots fit for cultivation, generally distant from each other eight or ten versts, were small settlements of fifteen or twenty families a piece. At every place were collected large heaps of the cones of the stone pine, intended partly for food, and partly for being crushed into an oil, which, being used by the Russians in salads and cookery, brings as much as ninety roubles a pood. Among other manufactures of the peasantry of the neighbourhood, we observed a thick felt of sheep's wool, used for bedding, saddles, &c.; and we were told that the Mongols and other southern tribes made a similar article of camel's hair, of which they sold considerable quantities, chiefly for tents, to the Burats of Lake Baikal.

As we advanced on our voyage, that very disagreeable complaint, the goitres, became more and more prevalent. Other maladies, also, of the blood, or of the general system, were very common. Noses in particular appeared to have been almost decimated; and certainly, in no part of the world did I ever see nearly so many faces divested of their ornament and protection.

At Alexeyeffskaya, the poor people had not got their horses quite ready—an offence which "his worship," the popular designation of a Cossack, resented with much more zeal than ceremony, suiting his style to his subject, and his actions to his words. This wretched system of irresponsible cruelty should undoubtedly be reformed. But, for the reasons already mentioned, a traveller would only waste his time in attempting such a thing in his own case, while even the government, however good and resolute its intentions might be on the subject, could not immediately remedy the evil. The law might prohibit the use of the cudgel, supplying its place, as a matter of necessity, with a better motive in the shape of a higher rate of remuneration; but, in the latter branch of the business, nine out of every ten travellers would find an additional reason for kicking and cuffing the inoffensive creatures, relying on the proverbial consolation of official knaves, that the Emperor was far off, and calculating on the interested sympathy of nearly all those, who might be occupying the long ladder of communication between his majesty and themselves. Even if the victim of a wanton assault could sue for damages, or some other satisfaction in the local courts, he could, in general, obtain justice only by outbidding his oppressor, who would most probably be far abler to buy the venal commodity in question than himself. In fact, the head of an extensive despotism is peculiarly liable to be deceived by his subordinate functionaries; and, as a remarkable instance, the Brother of the Sun and Moon is said to have been the last man in Peking to hear of the capture of Canton. How can Truth, distorted as she proverbially is, in passing from one street to another, fight her way, unadulterated and unsullied, over thousands of miles, where every tenth individual that she meets has an interest in moulding her to serve his own ends, or those of his friend or his party?

Moreover, there would, in my opinion, be a good deal of difficulty in bringing the ignorant people to believe that nobody had a right to beat them; for the same middlemen, who would prevent the Emperor from hearing their complaints, could still more easily prevent them from knowing the Emperor's benevolence. The simplicity and credulity of the great mass of the population of Siberia, with respect to everything that does not fall within their own daily routine, are quite incredible. When an astronomical party, for instance, was traversing the country, astonishing the natives night after night, with telescopes and sextants, a wag of a fellow set the curiosity of the good folks quite at rest, by telling them, that his majesty had missed one of his stars, and had sent out his wise men to find it. Our stations were—

Sploshinskaya . . .	25 versts.
Vistinyakaya . . .	20 „
Gorboffskaya . . .	27 „
Alexeyeffskaya . . .	28 „
	100 versts.

Next morning, by six o'clock, we reached Kirensk, being, in point of size and importance, the second town on the Lena; by reason, however, of a thick fog, we could see nothing more than the looming of a number of houses through the vapour. It was said to contain about fifteen hundred inhabitants, principally Russians, and to be regularly laid out with one school, five churches, and several substantial houses. We were visited by the mayor, who was also head of the police, the commissary, and the postmaster, all equipped in their best uniform for the occasion.

At this place, our Cossack would really have had some excuse for inflicting his summary justice, inasmuch as we were detained two hours for want of horses—a delay such as we had never experienced even at the meanest station on the route. Unfortunately, however, the offender in the present case was a peg or two above the jurisdiction of "his worship." Our Cossack had gone to rouse the postmaster, whose maid-of-all-work, hearing the terrible voice of our disciplinarian, speedily brought a message from her master, that the applicant should first take his podoroshnoya to the head of the place. With considerable difficulty the magistrate in question was got out of bed; and at last the postmaster and himself presented themselves to us in their grandest outfit, having evidently made us wait longer than was necessary, that they might show themselves off to the best advantage. The postmaster apologized by saying, that he was a hard sleeper, so much so, that his maid-of-all-work had positive orders to keep stirring him till he rose, and even then not to leave him till he was half dressed; but that the damsel, in her eagerness to satisfy our Cossack, had not sufficiently shaken him that morning. To prove the truth of his statement and the sincerity of his regret, he offered to trounce the girl on the spot; and, though we then and there denied him that pleasure, yet he most probably paid the fair delinquent with interest after our departure. The obvious truth was, that the two gentlemen, having heard that strangers, who were very great men, were coming up the Lena, had conspired to manage matters in such a way as to enable each of themselves to see and be seen.

The Lena, from its seven versts at Yakutsk, was now reduced to three hundred yards in width, while its shallow stream was overgrown at the bottom with grass and reeds, which greatly impeded our progress. Getting tired of the delays experienced by the boat, one of my fellow-travellers and myself resolved to amuse ourselves by walking along the bank. Coming to a track, which struck through the woods apparently as a short cut from one side of a deep point to another, we followed it for seven or eight versts, till we again came out upon the Lena. Seeing nothing of our little squadron, we sauntered up the towing-path for five or six versts farther, expecting every moment to be overtaken; but, towards sunset, being certain that we were ahead of our friends, we retraced our steps, fortunately reaching, when it was now nearly dark, the station of Soberskaya.

At this settlement, which appeared to consist of a single hut, we found twelve or thirteen men and lads, who gave us a hearty reception. In fact, our appearance and condition would have excited the compassion of less hospitable people. To say nothing of hunger, we were suffering from cold, and were almost crippled; for we had started in the heat of the day, without shoes, and with no other clothes, in fact, than our shirts and trousers. The peasants, taking pity on our forlorn state, made a grand fire for us, and offered us a share of their own supper, which consisted of black bread, a little salt, and a dish of cold water, which, that it might look as like soup as possible, was taken with a spoon. Immense piles of the unsavoury cakes rapidly disappeared; and each person, as he finished his meal, bowed to some images that stood against the wall of the best room, of which the door was open. Perceiving that we enjoyed the heat much more than the victuals, the peasants, after explaining that this was a fast-day with them, boiled some potatoes, which, with the salt and a few spoonfuls of the cold water, were very acceptable.

Speaking, by the by, of the water and the salt, and of the ceremony with which they were used, the two articles in question hold a high place throughout Russia, as being the sacred emblems of hospitality. Even in the poorest hovel, they are at the service of the stranger, while the partaker receives a benediction as well as a welcome. A story is told, that, during the French invasion, the inmates of a house, who had hid themselves on the approach of a few soldiers, could not refrain from pronouncing the customary blessing while the marauders were helping themselves to water under their roof. Thus far the anecdote is quite in keeping with national character; nor is the sequel, in my opinion, altogether improbable. The hospitable and pious ejaculation was the death-warrant of the family, and they were one and all butchered by their ruffianly guests. Soon after midnight, we were much relieved, both in mind and body, by the arrival of my servant and our Cossack, who had walked ahead of the party to meet us, or to search for us, bringing our coats with them. They informed us that the detention of the boats had been caused partly by the shallowness of the stream and partly by the fact that the bend of the river was five or six times as long as the neck of land that we ourselves had crossed. Embarking in a canoe to meet our people, we got on board again by two in the morning; and, in the course of an hour, we made amends, in the shape of a hearty supper, for the day's misfortunes.

In the course of the rambles just mentioned, I saw a good deal of land under cultivation, with tolerable crops of wheat, barley, oats, rye, potatoes, hops, flax, &c. Here I saw, also, something that I had never seen before. I had often heard of "nettle kale" in Scotland, and perhaps had eaten it; but never, till I visited the banks of the Lena, had I found nettles artificially grown as greens. At Sitka I had partaken of them, dried and preserved; and, to my taste, they were an excellent vegetable. Our stations were—

Kirensk . . .	24 versts.
Soberskaya . .	60 „
	84 versts.

On rising unusually late next forenoon, I found that we were passing through a highly interesting country. The banks of the river were undulating and well wooded, while every spot that was capable of cultivation was occupied by an agricultural settlement. In the course of the afternoon, we were obliged to remain a short time at Oolkanskaya, in order to stop a leak. The village at this station was divided into two parts by a small stream, from which it was said to derive its name; and, while strolling about, I observed in the brook a number of baskets and weirs for taking fish, such as I had seen on the Columbia and in New Caledonia.

The settlers told me that their crops were better this year than usual, but that sometimes they had been so unproductive as to render necessary the purchase of grain. They also complained that the wolves and bears, which were numerous, frequently carried off their cattle, pigs, horses, and sheep. From all accounts, these beasts of prey would appear to be much fiercer here than in America.

The more that I saw of the peasants, the better, generally speaking, did I like them. In two or three instances, however, I was induced to suspect that they must have inherited from their ancestors, who had been chiefly convicts, a few prejudices on the important subject of private property. The loss of a bridle and of two or three other small articles proved that pilfering was not altogether unknown on the Lena.

Our stations were—

Makaroffskaya . . .	18 versts.
Potapoffskaya . . .	25 „
Oolkanskaya . . .	30 „
Markoofskaya . . .	24 „
	97 versts.

Next day, being the 5th of the month, the water was deeper and the footing for the horses better, so that this was by far the longest march that we made. The banks of the river continued to improve in fertility and populousness.

All the settlements on the Lena usually stand at the outlets of rivers or creeks, or on low points of alluvial formation. Such situations, though advantageous in regard to soil, are yet very undesirable in this respect, that they are liable to be deluged as often as the waters are high. During such inundations, the inhabitants are frequently obliged to take refuge in the upper stories of some of the loftier houses, while, in almost every season, several dwellings and families are swept away from some neighbourhood or other by the current.

Besides the crops already mentioned, the inhabitants of the Upper Lena raise tobacco sufficient for their own consumption. In short, without being dependent on any market, they produce for themselves an abundance of food, make their own clothing, build their own houses, grind their own corn, either in water-mills of simple construction, or by means of querns, and, though last not least, prepare their own snuff.

It is chiefly in the form of snuff that tobacco is used throughout this country, whether among whites or among natives. This mode of consuming the weed prevails among the Monguls, the Burats, the Tungusi, the Yakuti, the Tchuktchi, the Aleutians, and all the aborigines of Russian America, from Behring's Straits downwards. Hence, one might reasonably infer that the use of tobacco travelled, at least into the northern parts of the new world, from Asia; and if so, the thing more probably took place before the commencement of Russian domination than after it, inasmuch as the Cossacks, who, however fond of tobacco in other shapes, did not take snuff themselves, were not likely to teach others to take it.

At Kosarki I found that the people were suffering from dysentery in its worst form, a complaint previously unknown in this quarter. The malady first made its appearance in some salt works, situated at the mouth of the Kuta, about fifty versts farther up the river, where it had carried off forty or fifty persons. Unfortunately, there were no medical men in the neighbourhood at the time, who might have arrested the progress of the disease. In a country so poor and so thinly peopled, resident physicians are, of course, out of the question; but the government everywhere employs competent individuals to make circuits, and to report on the health of the inhabitants.

At this same station of Kosarki, all goods are transhipped, those going down being conveyed thus far on rafts, in order to be put on board of the large barges already described, and those coming up being transferred into small boats.

Our last station of to-day, Oostooskaya, lay at the entrance of the Kuta, occupying, I apprehend, the very site of the first building that was ever erected by Europeans on the Lena. Its very name would imply this much. Signifying, as it does, the city, or town, or station, or post, of the mouth of the stream, it could, with propriety, be applied only by those who had reached the spot not by the Lena but by the Kuta. In fact, this settlement, which was commenced in or about 1630, formed the grand centre of operations for the conquest of all Siberia to the eastward. On the one hand, the founders of Oostooskaya built Yakutsk as the first grand stage on the road to the Pacific Ocean; and, on the other, they established Irkutsk as the stepping-stone to Lake Baikal and the vast regions beyond it. It was from the Tonguska, the nearest feeder of the Yenissei, that the Cossacks made their way to the Lena, being more anxious, as already mentioned, to penetrate to the east than to the south; and it is a curious fact that, by ascending the Lena and crossing the height of land to the site of Irkutsk, they were, in a manner, only retracing their steps to the principal auxiliary of the Tonguska. But, even if they had known that the Angara, rising far up in the fork between the Vittim and the Lena, would itself have carried them ten degrees more to the eastward, they would perhaps have considered the rapidity of its current as a sufficient reason for trying their fortunes on another stream.

Our stations were—

Nasaroffskaya . . .	28 versts.
Siochoffskaya . . .	28 „
Kookoosk	24 „
Kosarki	22 „
Yakoorina	28 „
Oostooskaya . . .	18 „
	148 versts.

Next forenoon, we obtained at one of the settlements a rather nauseous substitute for milk. It was water, in which the cones of the stone pine, after being crushed for oil, had been steeped. It had a reddish and whitish colour, something like a mixture of milk and brickdust, excepting that it was hardly so palatable. This was part of a fast of two weeks, very religiously observed in the Greek Church, though really I could not see why our milk should be stopped, inasmuch as most of us had no interest in the matter. Our stations were—

Toorootskaya . . .	16 versts.
Rushskaya . . .	36 „
Osmoloffskaya . . .	18 „
Bosgarskaya . . .	24 „
Skokminskaya . . .	20 „
Tarasoffskaya . . .	24 „
	138 versts.

Next day, the 7th of the month, we were all in high spirits at the prospect of leaving our prison and proceeding by land to Irkutsk. Our stations were—

Oremskaya	17 versts.
Basoffskaya	21 „
Dodinskaya	21 „
Galoffskaya	32 „
	91 versts.

On the 8th of August, our long voyage on the lazy Lena—lazy upwards, from the shallowness of its waters, as well as downwards, from the slowness of its current—came to an end. At Oostuginskaya, near the mouth of the Uga, we were delighted to learn that carriages were waiting at the next station to convey us to Irkutsk; and, accordingly, at Figoloffskaya we exchanged our inexpressibly indolent mode of travelling for one perhaps unrivalled in point of whirling, and jolting, and thumping. We took our seats in a tarantasse drawn by five horses, and a telega with three, while three vehicles, that had eight horses between them, followed with our baggage.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM FIGOLOFFSKAYA TO IRKUTSK.

Tyoomenzora—Vercholensk—Katschooga—Bratsky Steppe—Burat Settlements—Village of exiles—Koodinskaya—Irkutsk—Governor Patneffsky—Governor-General Rupert—Archbishop of Eastern Siberia—Chinese jealousy—Lake Baikal compared with Lake Superior—Mines of Nertshinsk—Trade of Kiachta—Steam on Lake Baikal—Mission of Selenginsh—Mines and washeries—Irkutsk, its hospitalities—Departure from Irkutsk.

The carriages in which we were now travelling had been sent to meet us by the Governor of Irkutsk, under the charge of a magistrate of police, who, after having waited for us a whole week, had been obliged, almost immediately before our arrival, to retrace his steps in person to the capital.

Being no longer exposed to the impediments which had retarded us on the water, we pushed on sharply all night, stopping merely to change horses, and to view some of the more important settlements on the route. At Tyoomenzora we breakfasted on eggs, cream, and strawberries, adding to these delicacies of the season, in the centre of Asia, a little of our pemmican, from the heart of North America—such a pic-nic between the two continents, as neither of them had ever seen before. Thus far the road had been bad, and at some places even dangerous, first looking down on the Lena from the edge of cliffs several hundred feet high, and then descending, as if to renew our aquatic troubles, into the very stream itself.

After breakfast, our track lay along the base of some precipices of limestone. Soon, however, we entered a fertile valley, with our old friend, the peaceful Lena, still by our side, in which was prettily embosomed the ancient town of Vercholensk. The level banks and the sloping hills on either hand were closely cultivated, excepting where clumps of trees had been left by way of ornament; so that in planting this, their original post, as the name would imply, towards the head of the stream, the Cossacks displayed as much taste and judgment in the selection of a site as ever the Jesuits displayed in Canada, or the Franciscans in California. Speaking of the signification of the name in question, *Verchney* and *Neshney*, respectively equivalent to *Upper* and *Lower*, would appear to be derived from the simpler forms of *Verch*—as in Vercholensk, and Verchayansk, and *Nish*—as in Nishigorod, the abbreviated edition of Nishney Novgorod; and if one utterly ignorant of the language might still farther presume to offer another suggestion, which, if correct, might be the groundwork of extensive and important investigations, I should be inclined to trace some resemblance and connexion between *Nish* and *Verch* respectively, and our vernacular *Beneath* and *Over*.

At this town I was received with great attention. The whole population flocked to see the expected travellers, of whose importance they had received very exaggerated accounts; and amongst the crowd of our admirers we found a clerk of the Russian American

Company, who had brought a close carriage for my use all the way from Irkutsk. We called on a wealthy peasant, the occupier and proprietor of a beautiful mansion, where an old lady of eighty received us, performed the office of hostess to perfection, and was even a little offended at our refusing to partake of refreshment under her roof. This man was, of course, a peasant merely in name. Throughout Siberia, the descendants of exiles, generally speaking, are classed as serfs of the crown, being practically neither more nor less than unprivileged subjects; and such of them as may have risen above the rank of labourers, are as little liable to be dragged down from their actual position as any nobleman in the land. In the whole length and breadth of this portion of the empire, slavery, properly so called—the submission of one subject to the irresponsible caprices of another—is entirely unknown. In fact, there is not in the country, to the best of my knowledge, a single germ of a territorial nobility; and perhaps this peculiarity in the constitution of society has its bad side as well as its good, inasmuch as it exempts the great mass of the public functionaries from any local check, in the shape of an influence unconnected with themselves. But the very exiles themselves, to say nothing of their descendants, are virtually left to carve out their own fortunes. A well-dressed man, who spoke with a strong German accent, introduced himself to us. He proved to be a Gallician, who had been banished twenty-six years before for smuggling, but had raised himself, by his steadiness and talent, to be one of the most respectable inhabitants of the town. He had an excellent house, with a very neat little wife in it; and, as a proof of the extent of his business and resources, he supplied all the horses for five successive stages.

According to the statement of my smuggling friend, the place contained a population of two hundred and forty souls; and though, from the number of the houses, I was inclined to prefer a higher estimate, yet my informant referred me to the unanswerable authority of the chequered post, which, according to the custom of the country, served as a standing record of a state of things, perhaps, twenty years old. Meanwhile, the Vercholenskians had undeniably multiplied; but the worthy Gallician, having come so far to learn experience, had apparently made up his mind to take on trust every thing that had a legal look. These official values, as it were, of each settlement, are intended, to a certain extent, to regulate taxation in the gross, for considerable periods.

Hitherto I had had but five horses, three wheelers and two leaders; but from Vercholensk, as the road would be hilly, my wheelers were increased to five. Before reaching the next station we overtook the magistrate of police, who had waited so long for us at Figoloffskaya; and, after the ceremony of introduction was over, he joined our cavalcade, which thus consisted, in all, of seven vehicles and thirty-five or forty horses. We flew over the ground; the roads, the cattle, and the weather, being as fine as heart could wish. A stranger, however, would require a considerable amount of moral courage to permit himself to be driven along, at the rate of twelve or fourteen versts an hour, with so many uncontrollable hoofs and wheels behind him. Any accident, if it did not begin with a broken neck, would be sure to end with something still worse.

At Katschooga I was met by the head of the police and the principal inhabitants, and stopped to lunch with a rich merchant. I was here introduced to a chief, or taeshow, of the Burats, having the command and supervision of about five thousand of his tribe; he was a handsome man, wearing uniform, and possessing something of address and education. Though his authority was of the same subordinate kind as that of a princeling among the Yakuti, yet, in actual position, he was infinitely higher than our old friend Jacob. His subjects were as superior to our first specimens of the aborigines in civilization as they were in number—a fact easily explained by their more southerly situation. I had also the pleasure of being introduced to the wife of the head of the police, the prettiest woman that I had hitherto seen in Asia. She made a thousand apologies for her husband's neglect in not having gone some three hundred versts down the Lena, to meet me at the limit of his district; and, if the honest man had been guilty of a great deal more than what she was polite enough to impute to him, he would have been quite safe with such advocates on his behalf as her black eyes, glossy hair, pouting lips, and dimpling cheeks.

Katschooga appeared to be a thriving place, as one might expect from its being the entrepôt of the whole of the trade between Irkutsk and the settlements on the Lena. Some of the most influential among the inhabitants were exiles, to whom, so far as as we could judge, no stigma was attached; and, in fact, considering the numbers sent to Siberia for political offences, or even for not being able to give a satisfactory account of themselves, the mere idea of banishment could hardly be supposed to involve the same moral and social incidents among the Russians as among ourselves. A German, in relating his history to us without any apparent hesitation or reserve, playfully said, that he had come on a visit to Siberia, but had not yet made up his mind as to the time of his return; and an old man with a flowing beard, and altogether of very remarkable appearance, though this happened, by the by, at our next station, told us that, upwards of thirty years before, he had had the misfortune to commit a small mistake in Moscow.

At Katschooga we took our last swim in the Lena, an embrace, as it were, at parting. How different was the scene, when first we viewed the river on our approach to Yakutsk! To look at the stream itself, a breadth of seven versts had shrunk into two or three hundred yards; while its shores, instead of being a sterile flat in an inhospitable climate, were varied by hill and dale, wood and water, pasture and cultivation, skill and labour having done their utmost to heighten the charms which nature had bestowed with a liberal hand.

After crossing the Lena, we left it to pursue its way up a valley to the right, while we ourselves struck into a beautiful prairie to the left, through which flowed the small stream Issel, with many Russian and Burat farms on its banks. Thence a rise of about fifty feet took us into another plain of much greater extent, bounded by hills which were cultivated to their very summits. At the end again of this second expanse, which was marked by the station of Chorbatskaya, we entered the Bratsky Steppe, so famous for its beauty. This magnificent prairie, through which meandered the beautiful Manzurka on its way to the Lena, was studded with Burat settlements, while thousands of cattle, horses, goats, and sheep, were grazing on the rich pasture all round, as far as the eye could reach. The surface was undulating; and on every side the landscape terminated in hills, which bore traces of artificial vegetation to their very tops.

While halting at one of the settlements, I was introduced to another taeshow, with whom I had the honour of drinking kumyss and eating sour milk in his own yourte; and I afterwards visited his son's yourte, to whose princess, arrayed in a curious mixture of barbarism and civilization, a sheepskin with plenty of plated-ware about it and an embroidered cap, I was presented with all due ceremony. The old chief was said to send annually to market grain to the value of thirty or forty thousand roubles, and to be worth altogether about twenty thousand pounds sterling in cash. The deputy or assistant of the taeshow had received orders from the Governor of Irkutsk to accompany me; and he accordingly here added one more to the number of my suite.

At Manzurskaya, which we thus reached with a formidable line of eight carriages, all the good people, young and old, rushed out of doors to see the English stranger, who, being only the second or third visitor of our nation in these parts, was, of course, a great curiosity.

Soon after leaving Manzurskaya, I began to be reminded, by sundry hints not to be mistaken, that I had not closed my eyes for nearly forty-eight hours. The world, both in its sights and in its sounds, seemed to be getting into all the possible varieties of disorder and confusion; and at length I fell into a profound slumber, which the bells of the horses, the jolting of the vehicles, and the changing of our eight teams amid a discordant din of Russ and Bratsky, so little disturbed, that, when I awoke, I had no other evidence than the mere change of scene that I had been asleep at all. The drivers and horses had been succeeded by other bipeds and quadrupeds; the darkness had given place to broad day; and the landscape had expanded itself from the fertile valley of a murmuring brook, into a sea of plains, which, but for the villages, and the flocks and the herds, I might have taken to be part of the boundless prairies of the Assiniboine.

We were still on the Bratsky Steppe. The soil, though it was light and in some places sandy, had yet been fertilized by pasturage; and white clover was abundant. In order to secure a sufficient quantity of provender for the seven long months of winter, the borders of every stream, where the grass, of course, was more than ordinarily luxuriant, were set apart by fences for hay, while, still farther to increase the supply, large meadows were artificially irrigated.

At Yerdoffskaya, after stretching along a line of a hundred and sixty versts, the grand plain of the Burats gradually narrowed itself into a small valley; and thenceforward to Koodinskaya, the country strongly reminded me of some parts of Scotland, particularly of Strathpeffer. A short time before reaching the last-mentioned station, we passed through a village of political exiles of distinction; and I saw peeping out of the windows many a face that betokened high birth, while the hearts of the owners doubtless thought rather of Moscow and Petersburg, to which we were flying, than of ourselves.

At Koodinskaya, where we breakfasted, I experienced an instance of civility which astonished me even in the peasants of this country. Intending to bathe, I questioned a man as to the depth and bottom of the river; and his only answer was, after stripping, to wade up to his chin, this giving me ocular demonstration of the quantity of water and the firmness of the footing. Our swim did us a great deal of good, for, independently of the heat of the weather, our outside horses had done little or nothing but kick up clouds of dust in our faces. In fact, we had discovered, that the grandeur of having five horses abreast was hardly worth the annoyance.

Seven or eight versts beyond Koodinskaya brought us to the top of a hill, whence we gained our first view of the metropolis of Eastern Siberia, lying on three rivers, the Angara, the Irkut, and the Oushakoffka. From this distance Irkutsk presented a fine appearance, with its fifteen churches and their spires, its convents, its hospitals, and its other public buildings. But this favourable impression vanished as we approached; and we were disappointed at seeing so little bustle in the wide streets, and so many edifices going to decay.

We entered the city over a long wooden bridge, rattling along with no small commotion, till we reached an excellent house, which the Governor had caused to be prepared for our reception. This mansion belonged to the great monopolist in the way of wines and spirits, already mentioned under the head of Yakutsk, as paying so large a sum for an exclusive license in his trade. The leviathan himself was residing at Krasnoyarsk; but two of his agents introduced us into the handsomely furnished house, providing us at the same time with a dozen or so of attendants, of all sorts, sizes, and countries.

Having arrived about two in the afternoon, we were immediately visited by the principal magistrate of police, with a complimentary message from the Governor, who was followed by Mr. Dedoff, the agent of the Russian American Company. After dinner, my Russian fellow-traveller, who acted as our interpreter, left us, in order to make some arrangements for our future proceedings. To beguile the time, my other fellow-traveller and myself ventured to take a stroll through the town without a guide; and, after we had wandered about among the churches and shops till twilight came on, we turned our thoughts homewards, soon discovering that we knew neither the name of our street nor its situation. In this predicament we strayed at random from place to place, in hopes of meeting some person acquainted with English or French; and at length a gentleman in a drosky, who must have suspected the truth, conducted us to Mr. Dedoff's. As that gentleman could not understand a word that we uttered, he was, of course, a good deal astonished at so unseasonable a visit. Like a true Russian, however, he gave us a hearty welcome and a bottle of champagne; and, when at length we explained the mystery to him by signs, he sent us home in his drosky about midnight.

Next morning, being the 11th of August, I received, in addition to several complimentary visits, a still more solid proof of politeness and attention. A handsome carriage with four magnificent grays, as also a smaller vehicle and pair, were placed at my disposal by the Governor, with postillion, footman, and bearded coachman, all complete. I was now able to make a round of calls in princely style, beginning, as in all duty bound, with the Governor. His Excellency, M. Patneffsky, proved to be a civilian, the first person of his class whom I had yet seen holding an important office in Siberia; he was a middle-aged, affable, intelligent man, and welcomed us very courteously. He made many inquiries with respect to my voyage, such as whether I had found police officers and postmasters civil, vehicles, horses, and provisions good, &c.; and he concluded by inviting us all to dinner for the same day.

I next proceeded to the country residence of General Rupert, the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, a gray-headed, handsome, soldierly man of sixty. He informed me, that he had the Emperor's commands to facilitate my movements in every possible way, and was pleased to add that he should individually derive great satisfaction from the fulfilment of his instructions. I accordingly explained, that my own intentions then were to start next day for Lake Baikal and Kiachta, to return as quickly as possible, and, lastly, to resume my homeward journey the day following that on which I might get back to Irkutsk. His Excellency recommended that I should remain another day before entering on my southern trip, assuring me that this trifling delay would really occasion no loss of time, as it would better enable him to despatch orders as far as the western limits of his jurisdiction to have horses, &c. ready for us along the route. Such a recommendation would, of course, have been equivalent to a command, even if his Excellency had not specially forestalled the morrow by inviting us to dinner.

I called again on my friend Mr. Dedoff; and we were all very merry over our adventures of the preceding night. This gentleman's house had been the Russian American Company's place of business ever since the association existed under any form; and he himself had been in the service for more than forty years. Besides Mr. Dedoff, there were at this establishment three clerks and several servants, with hired labourers for particular occasions. All these agencies in Siberia, restricted, as they are, almost exclusively to the business of transport, must be a heavy drag on the Company's resources.

At the Governor's, where we had, of course, an excellent dinner, the party was small, consisting only, besides his Excellency and his lady, of a councillor and a doctor, with their wives, and ourselves. In fact, we had heard, as far down the Lena as Kirensk, something that explained the circumstance. As Yakutsk had its feud between Governor Roodikoff and Mr. Shagin, so Irkutsk again, entirely eclipsing its northern rival in this respect, had its feud between General Rupert and Governor Patneffsky; and we had accordingly been prepared to find society in a divided and disjointed condition.

After dinner, which was at two o'clock, Madame Patneffsky took us into her workroom, in which, to say nothing of a number of Chinese curiosities, was the lady's own loom, with the most superb piece of embroidery in it that I ever saw. The Governor afterwards showed us his valuable collection of minerals, comprising some splendid specimens of aqua marina, topaz, amethyst, gold ore, and various other metals and stones found in Siberia; and we understood, that one of the blocks of topaz in particular was the third largest in the world. His Excellency informed us that gold had recently been discovered in some marshes, or *toondri*, close to Irkutsk.

On the following day, I had the honour of receiving visits from the Governor, the Mayor, a councillor, and lastly the brother of one of the medical gentlemen of New Archangel. I afterwards paid my respects to the Archbishop of Eastern Siberia, who in England would have been reckoned very young, being not more than thirty-five or forty years of age, to fill so important an office. On my entering, he rose to receive me, and, taking me apparently for an obedient child of the Greek Church, held out his hand for me to kiss. Being ignorant of the custom, I gave him a hearty shake, for I really was prepossessed in his favour at first sight; and, though I observed him withdraw his hand awkwardly from my grasp, yet I did not precisely see the error of my ways, till one of the party went through the orthodox ceremony with all due devotion. The archbishop conversed readily on the subject of the spiritual welfare of the vast country committed to his charge, telling us that, besides his metropolitan jurisdiction over the Bishop of Sitka, his immediate diocese comprehended all Eastern Siberia, with the exception of course of Kamschatka and Ochotsk. The good prelate complained that the prevalent mania for searching for the precious metals, which had of late been greatly aggravated by the productiveness and extension of the mines and washeries, was prejudicial to the prosperity of agriculture, and, in a certain degree, to the diffusion of Christianity; nor did he appear to think that an equitable return was made from the west side of the Uralian Mountains for the vast quantities of silver and gold which were annually sent across them from the east.

The archbishop had nothing austere or repulsive in his manners. He was, on the contrary, most affable and courteous; while his conversation showed that, without diminishing his interest in his own sacred vocation, he had acquired a large fund of general knowledge, and had mixed much in the world. I spent with him one of the most interesting hours of my long and varied journey; and, in fact, I might truly say that no other individual of whom I saw so little in my travels stood higher in my estimation than the primate of Eastern Siberia. If my former acquaintance of Sitka and this his immediate superior were to be considered as average samples of the prelates of the Greek Church, the whole of them, as a body, would certainly form a hierarchy inferior in dignity and respectability only to that of our country.

A trip to Kiachta and its Chinese neighbour, the village of Maimatschin, I had always regarded as likely to be one of the most entertaining portions of my voyage; and what was my disappointment to receive, at the very moment of intending to start, a hurried note from Governor Patneffsky, stating that, according to information just obtained by his Excellency, the Chinese, without assigning any reason, had suddenly interdicted all communication with foreigners of every nation. This was a death-blow to my cherished hopes of bringing "the flowery people" within the range of my travels. Though the prohibition in question was general, yet I could not help being vain enough to infer that my own little party was the special object of celestial jealousy. The authorities at Maimatschin had had plenty of time to hear of the contemplated visit of English travellers; and they might either have suspected us of being spies, or have thought that, at that particular time, they had already too many of "the fierce barbarians" on the other side of "the central land."

But as all the preparations for my journey had been completed, I determined to go at once as far as the Baikal Lake, distant about sixty versts from Irkutsk. The road was good, lying for the most part along the bank of the Angara, whose rapid current formed a striking contrast with the sluggish waters of the Lena; and in a few hours we reached the point at which the river was gushing from its inexhaustible cistern. At the first glance of this the largest body of fresh water on the old continent, my thoughts flew back over my still recent footsteps to that parent of many Baikals, the Lake Superior of the new world; and I involuntarily reflected, with some degree of pride, that no preceding traveller of any age or nation had ever stood on the shores of the two greatest of the inland seas of the globe. Even if my previous wanderings through the wildernesses of North America had not given me any personal interest in the matter, I could hardly have refrained from indulging in a comparison between the Baikal, on the one hand, and the Superior, with its great progeny, on the other.

In mere position they resemble each other in a very remarkable manner. Touching, though in opposite directions, one and the same parallel of latitude, they are intersected, at the outlet of the Ontario and at the western extremity of the lake before us, by one and the same circle of longitude—almost the very meridian, by the by, of the highest and lowest extremities both of Asia and of America—of the head of Baffin's Bay, and of the western entrance of the Strait of Magellan—of Cape Tayman, and of the southern point of the Peninsula of Malacca. With respect to the extent of country drained, the Baikal has certainly the advantage of all its American rivals put together; for, while the latter are pressed in every direction by the heights of land, the former is fed by its two principal tributaries from sources distant from each other in a straight line at least a thousand miles.

But, if from the adjacent regions we turn our attention to the ultimate destination of the waters which are received, the reservoir of the St. Lawrence infinitely surpasses that of the Angara, for, while the latter stream loses itself in an always impracticable ocean, the former, annually bearing upwards of a thousand seagoing ships on its bosom, forms the channel of communication between the most commercial country on earth and her most important colony. Moreover, the reservoirs themselves, in point of navigable utility, bear pretty much the same relation to each other as their outlets do. Though, with the exception of the Superior alone, every one of the connected lakes of North America, the Huron, the Michigan, the Erie, and the Ontario, is traversed, both in its length and in its breadth, by considerable numbers of sailing-vessels and steamboats, yet the Baikal is little better, in regard to traffic, than a barren waste. Surrounded by lofty mountains, whose precipitous sides sink at once into the bottomless waters, it possesses but few harbours or anchorages; formed with a length of ten times its breadth, it is subject at once to violent gales, which blow along it as through a funnel, and to sudden squalls, which sweep across it as they rush down from the defiles of its amphitheatre of hills; and situated in a bed, which looks like the work of the volcano and the earthquake, it is still liable to be dangerously agitated, without any visible cause, by subterranean energies. To make matters still worse, the craft in use, apparently carrying from eighty to a hundred tons each, are the most awkward, clumsy, crazy tubs in the world. Under all these circumstances, nearly the whole of the vast traffic, which is carried on between Irkutsk and the boundless regions beyond the Baikal, either passes in sledges over the frozen lake, or is conveyed round its southern extremity by rugged and perilous roads.

The traffic in question is connected partly with the mines of Nertshinsk, but chiefly with the international emporium of Kiachta.

Nertshinsk is famous for gold and silver, lead and iron; and its various establishments are the ordinary destination of convicts of the worst class. So long as the Amoor remains closed against the Russians, all the incidental transport must either cross or double the Baikal, on its way to and from Irkutsk; and, even if the Amoor should follow the political fortunes of all the other great rivers of Northern Asia, the present line of communication between Nertshinsk and Irkutsk would gain far more than it could lose, by being extended all the way to the Pacific, sacrificing perhaps part of the business of the mines, but almost entirely superseding the route by Ochotsk and Yakutsk. Nertshinsk, by the by, stands on a tributary of the Amoor. It is the remotest place of any note in that quarter of Siberia; and it is remarkable as the spot at which the Russians reluctantly consented to stop in their eastward progress, as, in fact, the only spot in the wide circuit of their empire at which they ever permanently halted in their career of conquest.

With respect again to Kiachta, the treaty of Nertshinsk,* to which I have just alluded, stipulated, in general terms, for a reciprocal liberty of trafficking between the Russians and the Chinese; and accordingly, under its sanction, individuals on their own account and caravans on behalf of the government used to visit Peking. But the Muscovites constantly set so bad an example before the sedate folks of the imperial city in the way of drinking and roystering, that, after exhausting the patience of the celestials during a period of three-and-thirty years, they were entirely deprived of their commercial privileges in 1722. After all intercourse between the two nations had ceased for five years, the Russians, having first made some concessions and apologies, obtained a new treaty in 1728, by which, in order to prevent future misunderstanding, the international trade, so far at least as private individuals were concerned, was to be conducted on the international frontier; and on the very ground, which the diplomatists occupied during the negociation, Kiachta was soon afterwards built. Still, however, Kiachta found a rival in Peking, for public caravans were permitted by the new treaty to penetrate as before to the capital of the celestials; and it was only in 1762 that Catherine the Second, by relinquishing the imperial monopoly in question, rendered this little town the grand, if not the sole, emporium of the commerce between Russia and China.

Kiachta stands on a brook of the same name, which, rising in Siberia and crossing the line of boundary, washes also, at the distance of half a furlong, the Chinese village of Maimatschin. Taken by itself, the position has nothing to recommend it. It is beset on all sides by rugged mountains; and the streamlet, which forms a bond of union between the most extensive empires in Asia, or perhaps in the world, is so inconsiderable, that, even with the aid of damming, it often fails to afford an adequate supply of water to the dwellers on its banks. The two settlements are situated, as nearly as possible, on the fiftieth parallel of latitude, being about a thousand miles from Peking and about four thousand from Moscow. Though the Chinese route to this secluded mart is vastly shorter than the Russian one, yet it is, at least in some slight degree, certainly less practicable. At the distance of about a week's march to the northward from Peking, the Chinese have still before them a journey of forty days and upwards through a dismal desert of table-land, parched with heat during one half of the year, and covered with snow during the other. The Russians again, whether they come from the west with manufactures, or from the north and east with the produce of the chase, enjoy the advantages of a peopled country and of navigable waters nearly all the way to

Irkutsk; and, when they have met at this the common centre of all the lines of communication, they may, and often do, prosecute the rest of their journey to the very neighbourhood of Kiachta, by crossing Lake Baikal and ascending its principal feeder, the Selenga.

The Russians bring chiefly furs, woollens, cottons, linens, &c.; and the Chinese principally teas, silks, sugarcandy, &c. But, in order to convey to the reader more definite and accurate notions on a subject so interesting to many classes of our own population, I shall subjoin the substance of an official statement of the trade of 1837, premising that the Russian goods are valued at their actual worth, but that the Chinese commodities are estimated at rates laid down by agreement in 1800.

To begin with the Russian side of the market: the whole of the wares, foreign as well as native, amounted to 19,501,281 roubles—the native being 16,792,082, and the foreign 2,709,199. Of the native wares, the furs, embracing the incredible number of 2,931,347 squirrels, were 7,406,188 roubles; the woollens, 5,156,296; the cottons, 1,722,747; the linens, 522,279; and the leather, entirely whole hides, 1,508,395; so that the furs alone were about 5,000 roubles more than the linens, and the cottons, and the woollens, taken together; and of the less important articles, amounting in all to 476,177 roubles, the works in tin, iron, steel, brass, copper, and lead, were 76,595; mirrors, 162,956; and grains, of various descriptions, 88,110; while a host of manufactures and productions were valued, under the head of sundries, at 148,516 roubles. In addition to glue, isinglass, and talc, the sundries in question comprised many things, such as China, two or three ages ago, did not expect to import from Russia—542 reams of writing-paper, and about 4,000 pieces of crockery for the tea-table; and this sending, as it were, of coals to Newcastle, however trifling the quantity, would appear to place in the most striking light the superiority of the material civilization of Europe over that of Asia. Again, of the foreign wares, the furs, very nearly half of the amount being the value of lamb-skins from Bokhara, were 1,041,661 roubles; and the manufactures of all kinds, nearly two thirds of the whole being velveteens and camlets, were 1,667,538.

To come to the Chinese side of the market: the total value of all manufactures and productions, according to the principle of valuation already laid down, was 7,697,357 roubles. But, as the trade is exclusively conducted by barter, without the intervention of either coin or bullion, the actual worth must have been at least thrice this amount, consisting of the declared value aforesaid of the Russian goods and of the duties on the exportation of the same. With respect to the different articles taken in detail, the official statement, from which I draw my information, does not specify any valuation whatever, limiting itself generally to number and weight. Of black tea, there were about 77,000 packages, which weighed 133,274 poods; of green tea, all of the best quality, there were about 420 packages and 625 poods; and of brick tea, there were 9,320 packages and 654 pieces, weighing between them about 28,000 poods. Of sugarcandy, there were 3,546 poods; and of apples and other fruits, there were rather more than 91. Of manufactured articles, silks and cottons, neither of them in any great quantity, formed the staple; while, of writing-paper, there were only 1,500 sheets; and of porcelain, 4,154 cups; with 9,900 cups of wood.

Besides all this wholesale trade, a retail traffic is conducted for the express purpose of supplying the Chinese with the agricultural productions of the country beyond the Baikal.

On the Russian side, this retail traffic amounted to 719,531 roubles in all, the value of individual articles not being specified. As this branch of the international commerce throws considerable light on the economical condition of the two empires at this their principal point of contact—showing fertility to the north of the line of boundary, and barrenness to the south of it—I extract the entire table, just as I find it, from my official statement:—

Iron manufactured	150 poods.
Soap	269 „
Tallow candles	51 „
Harts' horns	386 „
Wheat flour, fine	6,010 „
Do. do. common	36,637 „
Rye do.	112,848 „
Wheat	119,386 „
Rye	24,507 „
Barley	12,759 „
Peas	3,567 „
Oats, buck-wheat, meal, and pea-flour	398 „
Beef and mutton	4,695 „
Fat	1,711 „
Butter	854 „
Mushrooms, dried	618 „

Bread	368 poods.
Fish	273½ „
Flax or hemp, prepared for spinning	3,670 hanks.
Horn combs	5,510 pieces.
Eggs	117,845
Geese, ducks, and fowls	8,194
Sheep	7,350
Pigs	2,172
Camels	137
Horses	1,338

In former times, this business was still more extensive, as well as more profitable; till, at last, the Chinese induced the Mongols to cultivate the banks of the Orkhon, a tributary of the Selenga, thereby exciting a competition against the Russian and Burat settlers on the lower waters of the latter stream.

Again, on the Chinese side, the retail traffic amounted, according to the principle of valuation already laid down, to 398,157 roubles; being fully one-third higher in proportion than the equivalent for the Russian commodities in the wholesale trade. This advantage, however, on the part of the Muscovite retailer, is more likely to have been apparent than real—more likely to have arisen from a different selection of celestial articles than from a higher profit on native productions. In point of fact, the selection was as different as one could well have imagined. Of black and green teas, there was little or nothing, barely 315 poods; while, of most other things, there was a proportional increase; and, of some things, even an actual preponderance. This will be made clear by the following comparison, keeping in view that the wholesale trade of 1837, on the side of the Russians, was twenty-seven times as valuable as the retail trade:—

	Wholesale.	*Retail.*
Sugarcandy	3,546 poods.	1,410 poods.
Cups of porcelain	4,154 pieces.	562 pieces.
Do. wood	9,900 "	17,971 "
Brick tea	28,000 poods.	29,136 poods.
Raw silk	12 "	47 "
Cottons	13,021 pieces.	18,095 pieces.
Nankeens	8,290 "	30,923 "

With the single exception of the raw silk, every one of these results may be explained by the fact, that the retail dealer selects his equivalents with reference to the local demand of Siberia; while the wholesale trader turns his attention to the more aristocratic markets of Nishney Novgorod and Moscow.

The grand season for business is the winter. There is not, however, any regulation to this effect; for the barter begins just as soon as the goods on both sides have reached the scene of operations. Though, in some of the immediately preceding years, the trade had commenced as early as November, yet, in 1837, it did not commence before the 20th of January, or, according to our reckoning, before the 1st of February. In disposing of their commodities, the Chinese have a considerable advantage, inasmuch as their teas never remain unsold in Maimatschin; while the Russian goods, partly through a diminution of the demand, and partly through the artifices of the celestials, are often so depreciated in value as to wait to a second, or perhaps even a third year for a market.

The Chinese send their purchases on camels, and in carts drawn by oxen, to Kalgan, where the goods are, for the most part, again sold to other buyers; and in this way they find immediate use for the beasts of burden required in the retail trade; for they have to carry to the south, including the agricultural produce, a far greater bulk than what they bring to the north.

The Russians convey nearly the whole of the returns, at least of the wholesale trade, to Nishney Novgorod and Moscow, availing themselves, in general, of the waters of the Yenissei and the Oby, by descending one branch and ascending another, and so on, as far as Tiumen on the Tobol; while one is lost in wonder to reflect, that, after all their windings and wanderings, the teas and silks of China visit the great fairs of European Russia only to commence, in many cases, a new series of distant travels. From Nishney Novgorod, for instance, a large quantity even of so coarse an article as brick tea is annually despatched into the province of Astrakhan, for the use of the Calmucs. At our wages of labour, no goods, unless of the most costly description, could bear the expenses of such a transport; for even in Russia, with its remarkably low rates of remuneration for man and beast, the freight is startling in its amount, being about forty pounds sterling a ton between Moscow and Kiachta. On this point, my official statement aforesaid furnishes tolerably complete information. In 1837, the average prices of carriage to Kiachta for a pood were, in roubles and kopecks, as follows:—

From Moscow	15.47
„ Nishney Novgorod	12.65
„ Kayan	12.30

From Tiumen	6.57
„ Tomsk	5.91
„ Krasnoyarsk	3.00
„ Irkutsk	1.05

As the cost of transport of 105,000 poods from all places was 820,000 roubles, being an average of 7 roubles and 80 kopecks, a very large proportion of the whole weight must have been brought from the Asiatic side of the Uralian Mountains, so as to reduce the carriage all overhead to something like three-fifths of the rate even from Kazan. In fact, a considerable quantity of the manufactures did come from Tiumen. But the gross freight to the westward was fully thrice the total amount just mentioned, having been 2,500,000 roubles. Besides being themselves heavier than their equivalents, the teas were secured, every chest of them, in raw hides against all damage; and the packages, over and above being thus increased in weight, were nearly all sent, paying, of course, the higher rates of transport, to Nishney Novgorod and Moscow. Enormous as all this expense is, when taken in the mass or stated by the ton, still, the cost of fourpence a pound avoirdupois, scarcely equal to a middleman's gain, is not a very alarming addition to the price of rich silks and fine teas. The inland freight from York factory to Red River Settlement is about the half of that between Kiachta and Moscow; and yet the Hudson's Bay Company sells everything but the very heaviest goods at considerably lower rates than any retailer in the Canadas, excepting, perhaps, and only perhaps, in the larger towns. The moral of the whole is this, that all the delays and obstacles of nature are as nothing, when compared with the artificial burdens of repeated transfers and of long credits, of intermediate profits and of bad debts.

How far the trade of Kiachta will be affected by the opening of certain ports in China to all nations, time alone can tell. Even if part of it, as is likely to be the case, be diverted to the coast, the deficiency will, in all probability, be more than supplied by that growing taste for foreign productions, which a more extensive intercourse with foreign visitors is sure to cherish. So far, at least, as experience goes, the Russians have no great reason for apprehension, inasmuch as the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly, which might have been expected vastly to enlarge the maritime commerce to the prejudice of the inland traffic, was actually followed by a considerable increase of the business done at Kiachta. But the truth is, that the Russians enjoy peculiar advantages, both local and political. The black teas of Maimatschin, which are far superior to anything of the kind that is ever seen in England, are produced in the north of China, and may be more cheaply transported to Siberia than to Canton; and again, Russia alone, of all the states on the face of the earth, possesses a national establishment in Peking, for the education of her youth, and the ministrations of her religion; being probably more disposed to make the requisite submissions for soothing the pride of the celestials than if she were standing on the coast in the presence of jealous rivals.

To return to Lake Baikal: the transport between Irkutsk, on the one hand, and Kiachta and Nertshinsk, on the other, which must either cross that upland sea, or double it, cannot be estimated at less than four hundred thousand poods a year, besides passengers. Now, all that is wanted, in order to enable this large business to take the shortest route, and thereby economize both time and money, is the introduction of steam. I accordingly suggested this scheme to some of the inhabitants of Irkutsk; and I mentioned to the Governor in particular, that Moore, the engineer at Sitka, would next year be passing through Siberia, and might be useful to any adventurers willing to embark in the project. Though I was uniformly assured that the thing was impossible, inasmuch as no steamer could live during the windy seasons, I yet felt satisfied that the plan not only was practicable, but would be profitable. According to the public prints, the impossibility—that beast of a word, as Napoleon is said to have styled it—has, since then, been achieved; so that goods either now are, or soon will be, carried to and from Irkutsk, without breaking bulk, by the Angara, the Baikal, and the Selenga. But the mere economy of money and time will be the least part of the benefit. The settlement of the country will be promoted; agriculture will be rewarded; and commerce will be encouraged; while, last though not least, an invaluable impulse will be given to the general mind for the effecting of public improvements.

The Baikal is about seven or eight hundred versts in length, and about seventy or eighty broad, at its widest part. Its waters are as clear as crystal, everywhere deep, and in many places unfathomable. Besides the numberless cascades that rush down its wall of mountains, it receives many rivers, more especially the Angara, at its northern extremity, and the Selenga, on its eastern side, towards the south; and its single outlet, in spite of the superior claims of the Selenga, on the double ground of position and magnitude, professes in its name to be a continuation of the remote and comparatively inconsiderable Angara. The two Angaras are sometimes distinguished from each other as Upper and Lower. The quantity of water which issues from the lake, is believed to be vastly less than that which flows into it—the difference being, in all probability, too great to be explained by evaporation alone. In this view of the thing, a large portion, as a matter of course, must be absorbed—an operation which the volcanic origin of the huge hollow may be supposed likely to facilitate. In fact, the lake presents certain features which have induced individuals to infer that it has a subterranean communication with the ocean. It is the only body of fresh water in the world that possesses seals; and when agitated, in the way already mentioned, by invisible causes, it throws up to its surface quantities of small fish, which are never seen at any other time. In illustration of the mysterious agencies of nature, which produces the same ends by contrary means, I subjoin two passages from Baron Wrangell's interesting work:

" These flat valleys are occasionally filled with water, by the overflowing of the rivers in spring, when they form lakes of various sizes, all very full of fish. The intense frosts of winter cause large clefts in the ground, by which the water drains off, sometimes in the course of a single year, sometimes in several.

" A curious phenomenon occurs in the lakes in the vicinity of the village of Alaseya. In the middle of winter, the water sometimes suddenly disappears without any side-channels being visible. In such cases, a loud noise is heard at the time the water disappears, and, when the bottom of the lake is laid bare, large clefts are visible, occasioned by the severity of the frost."

The Baikal contains a vast variety of fish, no fewer than fourteen sorts of the salmon alone. Of the salmon, the omal is but a little larger than the herring, which, in fact, it resembles so closely in flavour as, to my taste, not to be distinguishable; still, however, it has the scales and teeth of its own tribe. In this lake, sturgeon also are taken, weighing as much as four hundred pounds. Most of the fish, as well as the seals, confine themselves to the Baikal, being never found in the waters of the Angara; and the omal in particular is said never to be seen anywhere else, excepting in the Polar Ocean, the Sea of Kamschatka, and a certain pool in Siberia that has no outlet.

Till very lately, the country beyond the Baikal presented another object besides Kiachta, which, of itself, might have induced me to cross the lake. About five and twenty years ago, several English missionaries of the Protestant faith were established, under the patronage, and partly also at the expense, of the Emperor Alexander, among the Burats of the Selenga; and this specimen of religious liberality, unmatched in any other country in Christendom, was still permitted to work its way under the auspices of the Emperor Nicholas. But these devoted exiles, less fortunate in this respect than their brethren of the Sandwich Islands, found that a bad religion, whatever might be its countervailing merits, was a worse enemy of the pure and simple Christianity of the Bible than no religion at all. The Burats professed the lamaism of Thibet, with its dominant priesthood and its whole libraries of creeds and commentaries; and, under the influence of their hereditary prejudices, local and national, social and political, literary and ecclesiastical, they deliberately and obstinately preferred the flickering glare of their own idolatry to the genuine light of the gospel. In a word, the missionaries, to the best of my knowledge, made not one real convert, while they were still more seriously discouraged by the fact, that every pretended proselyte openly relapsed as soon as he had gained the secular ends of his interested hypocrisy. About two years ago they retired from the barren field of their zealous labours. For this step, in addition to the mere despair of success, two immediate causes were assigned. From political motives, the Russian government was said to be anxious to conciliate lamaism; and the Greek Church had its jealousies roused by the suspicion that the baffled Protestants were striving to prevent the Burats from embracing any other form of Christianity than their own.

About seven or eight versts beyond the outlet of the Baikal, somewhat ambitiously distinguished as "The Port," we passed the night at Lestvennechnain, having reached this station by a road cut on the face of a hill, overhanging the lake, and protected by a parapet wall towards the water. At the distance of forty versts from Lestvennechnain there was a gold washery, which I could not spare time to visit. In fact, a traveller would never get along through Siberia, if he were to allow himself to be infected with its endemic mania; for the whole surface of the country, from the Uralian

Mountains to the Yablonnoi Chain, would appear to be one vast bed of the precious metals. The government reserves to itself all the mines, turning them to excellent account, both as sources of revenue and as penal colonies. The washeries, however, are open to private enterprise, on paying to the crown a tenth of the proceeds. When capitalists wish to embark in the business, they employ peasants of experience to make a survey of a certain district of country; and, as soon as any favourable ground is discovered, application is made to the authorities for a licence to commence operations. Volunteer labourers are easily found on condition of being fed and clothed, and of participating in the profits; and there have been instances in which peasants have earned fifty roubles a day, during the two or three months of the working season.

Having returned to Irkutsk on the following day, I learned that I might have gone to Kiachta after all, without much risk of disappointment. If General Rupert had been informed in time of the interdict which had deterred me from attempting the journey, he would have sent an officer with us for the express purpose of offering any necessary explanations, and of thereby gaining us admission into Maimatschin. On the whole, however, I thought that things had been ordered for the best; for the Chinese, after they had got me within the gates of their village, might have kept up the metaphor of the celestial character of their empire, by never letting me out again.

The three days which I spent in Irkutsk after my return were passed in a constant succession of hospitality and festivity. I experienced marked attention and kindness from all the principal inhabitants, particularly the Governor-General, the Governor, the Mayor, Prince Galletzen, M. Dedoff, M. Sofronoff, the distiller, and M. Chezolet, a leading merchant of the place. In the house of General Rupert we were entertained with all the pomp and magnificence befitting the dignity of the Governor of Eastern Siberia and Commander-in-Chief of the Cossacks. The dinner was served in an oval hall of spacious proportions, which was thronged with servants; a military band in the orchestra played at intervals; and our host and all his male guests, excepting ourselves, were arrayed in glittering uniforms. There were present Madame Rupert, with her six highly accomplished and remarkably interesting daughters, and two little boys, three aides-de-camp, and a doctor. The viands, both solids and liquids, were in the greatest variety and of the choicest kinds. Before taking our leave, we were conducted by his Excellency into his extensive museum of curiosities, minerals, &c., considered as the most valuable in Siberia. I was particularly struck, while going round the premises, with two dwarf ponies brought from Peking, of most symmetrical forms, and also with a magnificent charger, presented to the General by the Grand-Duke Michael.

After dinner, which was all over by half-past three, we spent a delightful evening with M. Dedoff, who had invited Prince Galletzen, a most agreeable companion, to meet us. Our banquet at the mayor's was the most sumptuous display of the kind that I saw during the whole course of my travels. We had melons, pineapples, champagne at eighteen roubles a bottle, or nearly ten pounds sterling a dozen; and, in short, the arrangements in general would have done honour to a royal table. M. Medvednikoff, however, could well afford the expense, being believed to be worth five millions of roubles. In truth, the merchants of Irkutsk, dividing with their brethren of Moscow the bulk of the trade of Kiachta, might well be styled princes. Their houses were palaces; and, in fact, the official residence of the Governor-General had once belonged to a merchant, the father of Madame Medvednikoff. Speaking of this lady, who was said, by the by, to be the belle of Irkutsk, we met on this occasion a very extraordinary old fellow, in the person of her uncle. He was a millionnaire, and a complete miser. His house looked as if it had been built for the mere purpose of shutting out the world, presenting to the street a dead wall, with the exception of a door of sulky and inhospitable dimensions; and he was said never to admit any human being within his portals, unless to his single annual entertainment. On this one day of the year, pride, with an inconsistency common enough to the tribe of skinflints, got the better of avarice. The apartments of the den, which were gorgeously finished and luxuriously furnished, were ostentatiously thrown open, while the tables would groan, the more deeply, of course, from want of exercise, under a profusion of the most costly dainties.

Siberian entertainments, however, are not without their little drawbacks. Before dinner, all the guests drink schnaps out of the same glass, eat caviare and herring with the same fork, and help themselves to preserves with the same spoon; and, during dinner, changes of knives and forks are unknown. These barbarities I witnessed even in the elegant establishments of the three highest official functionaries in Irkutsk, the Mayor, the Governor, and the Governor-General.

Irkutsk, in spite of all its magnificence and wealth, presented a melancholy appearance of dilapidation and decay, the wide streets being almost deserted, and many of the houses tumbling into ruins. The population was said to be about twenty thousand. Of public buildings there was no lack. The churches, convents, and hospitals, were fully worthy of a provincial capital; and one new church in particular was in course of erection, which was to have its cupola covered with silver. Among the charitable institutions I was especially pleased with a school intended for the maintenance and education of fifty female orphans, though happily, at present, only thirty-eight of these unfortunates could be found. The girls receive such a training as is likely to render them useful in life; and, at the age of sixteen, they are generally provided with situations.

On the day of my departure, I paid and received several farewell visits; and I really bade adieu to my kind friends of Irkutsk with great regret—a regret which could not fail to be felt by any stranger, who, after passing through a wild and almost uninhabited country, had suddenly entered a city where he had had unbounded hospitality lavished on him. We provided ourselves with two tarantasses for the journey. As the seasons are so short and the means of accommodation on the road so scanty, these carriages are so constructed, that one can travel by night as well as by day, without altogether sacrificing the form of going to bed. At the bottoms of our vehicles we could stretch ourselves, in order to obtain such repose as our rapid progress over rough roads might admit. By order of the Governor, a magistrate of police, in whose charge was placed our podoroshnoya, was to precede us along the road, and see that everything requisite was prepared for us beforehand. We were allowed one horse for each passenger, three animals for my tarantasse, and two for the other. For each of our five beasts we paid seven kopecks a verst, being something less than five farthings a mile; while each of our two postboys had a fee, according to the length of the stage, in the proportion of two roubles to three versts. But where more cattle were really rendered necessary by the state of the roads, they were to be furnished, without any additional charge. Such were our arrangements for our overland journey of about four thousand miles.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM IRKUTSK TO TOBOLSK.

Accidents—Mode of foraging—Convicts—Nishney Udinsk—Discomforts of travelling—Alzamoos—Peasant's house—Colonization of Siberia—The Burassa—Kansk—An exile's establishment—Krasnoyarsk, delays—Mines and washeries—Chief of the Burats—Ostrogs for convicts—Kosulskaya, quarrelsome postmaster—Atchinsk—The Tchulim—Dilapidated tombs—Inquisitive hostess—The Kia—Kyskal—Tomsk—Crawley an albino—False information—The Tom—Tartars—Barabinsky Steppe—Gipsies—Ubinskoi—Kainsk—Condition of peasants—Omsk—the Irtish—Tobolsk.

On the 15th of August, at seven in the evening, we left Irkutsk, crossing in a ferry-boat to the left bank of the Angara, and accomplishing, before midnight, two stages of twenty-five versts each. The weather, which had been threatening us for some days past, now began to be as good as its word, and torrents of rain fell during the night. With roads, which were bad at the best, this was rather an uncomfortable omen for people in a hurry; and we, of course, made ourselves as miserable as possible. To be jolted through four thousand miles of quagmire was by no means a pleasant anticipation.

Next day, something like real trouble seemed to thicken upon us. In the morning, my Russian companion's axle took fire, and occasioned some detention. In the evening, his reins, through the driver's carelessness in letting them go, got entangled round the wheel, and brought up the horses with a jerk. One of the animals had his hind-legs broken, while the other was choked to death. Had there been a knife at hand, the creature might have been saved from strangulation. But neither master nor man had such an article, while the postboy could not legally carry about him any weapon of the kind; and our carriage was out of sight.

Till the afternoon, the weather was raw and wet. The country appeared to be almost exclusively appropriated to pasturage; and it would have been uninteresting, on account of its flatness, had it not been covered with flocks and herds. We passed many populous villages, as also some salt works and other manufactories.

On the 17th, we accomplished a hundred and twenty-five versts before breakfasting at Sharaboo. Talking of eating, we had only two meals a day, being indebted even for them to the exertions of my servant. The stations did not profess to supply us with food on any terms; and we had consequently to forage and cook for ourselves, getting very little for our pains but coarse bread and tough fowls. So far, however, as horses were concerned, we regularly derived great benefit from the proceedings of the police officer who was ahead of us.

The roads were bad, while many streams were to be crossed, particularly the La and the Iga, two feeders of the Angara; and, what was worse than half a score of such rivers, the Russian's axle was again at its mischief, giving way altogether, and detaining us four hours. We were now in the midst of a population, whose habits and manners rendered any little delay far more disagreeable than we had ever found it to be among the honest and civil peasantry of the Lena. Many of the settlers, in fact, were themselves convicts,

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in whom a change of residence had not produced any essential change of character; and, in spite of all our caution and vigilance, several things were, last evening, stolen from our very carriage at Zeminsky. On the contrary, the native peasants, though generally the descendants of convicts, appeared to be remarkably steady and obliging. They were strong and compact; and, throughout the district, they were, as a body, the largest race of men that I had ever seen.

In one of the villages, a handsome church of wood, the work of a self-taught native of the neighbourhood, was nearly completed. Generally speaking, the places of worship were substantially built and neatly finished. Whether they were well filled, I had some reason to doubt, for every holiday, Sunday as well as Saturday, and Saturday as well Sunday, seemed to be celebrated by drunkenness. St. Nicholas, I suspect, is the only name in the calendar that has a dry day; and even St. Nicholas, as we have already seen, has the loss made up to him by having a wet festival to boot as well as his neighbours. Speaking of tippling, we last night met on the road that indispensable patron of patron saints, the wealthy distiller whose mansion we occupied in Irkutsk; and I was grieved that I had not an opportunity of personally returning my thanks to him for the kindness that I had experienced at the hands of his agents.

At noon, on the 18th, we reached the town of Nishney Udinsk, having travelled five hundred versts in sixty-five hours. Our friend ahead had provided quarters for us here, in case that we might feel disposed to remain a few hours; and I was met by the postmaster, the commissary, and the other authorities, all in full uniform; for, besides the verbal announcements of my importance, my passport gave me the title of "Governor," the highest rank known in Siberia. If such honours and ceremonies could have resulted in a comfortable room and a good dinner, I might have liked them better; but, as things were, I should have placed more of a hungry man's reliance on the smile and nod of "mine host" of the humblest alehouse—even of "The Pig and Whistle" itself—in merry England. On several occasions, I was disgusted with an obsequiousness, which, in my opinion, a sovereign could not accept without a feeling of degradation; I allude to the custom of bowing down and kissing the ground before people of distinction. One of those who thus saluted me was a Dutch beggar, who, as he did not appear to be really an object of charity, pocketed merely his labour for his pains. A similar slavishness of disposition was exhibited by a subordinate functionary in Irkutsk; but, among the serviles, I did not reckon my Yakut eaters, for, though they did kiss the ground, yet they had not bowed down for the purpose.

Nishney Udinsk was a straggling collection of wooden houses, containing a population of about eight hundred souls; and the neighbourhood was more hilly than anything that we had seen to the west of the Baikal. The principal inhabitant, the son of an exiled Jew, of the name of Priceman, was said to be worth two millions of roubles, partly made by his father, as a distiller, and partly by himself, as a general trader. From this merchant of the first guild, for such he was, we purchased some sugar, at three roubles a pound, and some fowls, at threepence each. We had also the pleasure of seeing his daughter, celebrated, not only as the great beauty, but as the rich prize, of the little world of which Nishney Udinsk was the centre. I witnessed, by the by, a scene in the street, which would induce one to hope that Mademoiselle Priceman's lovers might adjust their respective claims without fighting about her. Two fellows had quarrelled about the wife of one of themselves, and were doing all the damage to each other that they could. To say that the combatants came to blows, would be an abuse of language, for they did nothing but pull and shake, push and jostle, scratch and tear; and I would rather have taken all that passed between the husband and the paramour, than the scolding which the lady fair, who was the subject of the controversy, addressed to her lord and master.

In consequence of almost constant rains for some time past, the roads were so heavy, that, next morning, we made only twenty-five versts before breakfast. This meal we took at Alzamoos, in the dwelling of a peasant, the station-house itself being under repair. Our host, however, did not remain to do the honours, having evacuated the premises, with his whole family, on our approach; and this proceeding he doubtless intended as a signal mark of respect and hospitality. A guitar, and some other articles of the kind, proved him to be a man of some education and taste; and he appeared to be in tolerable circumstances, for we found, in his cupboard, a little of the best nalifky that we had ever seen. We of course made ourselves at home,, as, in the absence of inns, every traveller must do, in all parts of the country. But still, in spite of the extremely hospitable disposition of the people, we could not, without a great sacrifice of time, have depended on them for food, being obliged, in this important department, to take care of ourselves, to pick up a fowl at one place, a loaf at another, and some eggs at a third, and to cook all at a fourth.

Not only are the peasants of Siberia remarkable for their civility, but all grades of society are decidedly more intelligent than the corresponding classes in any other part of the empire, and perhaps more so than in most parts of Europe. The system on which Siberia has been, and continues to be colonized, is admirable alike in theory and in practice. The perpetrators of heinous crimes are sent to the mines; those who have been banished for minor delinquencies are settled in villages or on farms; and political offenders, comprising soldiers, authors, and statesmen, are generally established by themselves in little knots, communicating to all around them a degree of refinement unknown in other half-civilized countries.

In the course of the afternoon, we crossed the Burassa, forming the boundary between the provinces of Irkutsk and Yenissei. Fortunately, however, we were still within General Rupert's jurisdiction, so that our police officer continued to go ahead, in order to provide for our comforts; and yet, notwithstanding this advantage in our favour, we soon discovered that Yenissei deserved its reputation of being the worst governed district in all Siberia. The country about the river is hilly and picturesque, and contains several gold washeries.

Our Russian again detained us two hours by the breaking down of his vehicle, which, to tell the truth, was overloaded with all sorts and sizes of valuables.

On the 20th, we reached Kansk, standing on a river of the same name, and containing a population of three thousand souls. At the ferry, we were met by the mayor, the commissary, the hatman of Cossacks, and other officials. It was the most interesting place that we had seen to the west of Irkutsk, occupying a beautiful valley, surrounded by green hills, and possessing a woollen manufactory, besides some salt works. Still we remained only a couple of hours, being unwilling to lose time, more particularly as the improvement of the roads, in consequence of the undulating character of the surface, was enabling us to gallop over hill and dale at the rate of twelve versts.

The villages are very numerous, not only on the road, but as far back on either side as we could see; and the people all looked healthy, comfortable, and happy. In any place where the posthouse was out of repair, our police officer used to pounce on the best house for our use; and, as the owners would neither make any demand, nor accept any remuneration, we were generally obliged to compromise the matter by forcing a small gift on the host's wife or daughter. The dwelling in which we breakfasted to-day, was that of a person who had been sent to Siberia against his will. Finding that there was only one way of mending his condition, he worked hard, and behaved well. He had now a comfortably furnished house and a well cultivated farm, while a stout wife and plenty of servants bustled about the premises. His son had just arrived from Petersburg to visit his exiled father, and had the pleasure of seeing him, amid all the comforts of life, reaping an abundant harvest, with one hundred and forty persons in his pay.

In fact, for the reforming of the criminal, in addition to the punishment of the crime, Siberia is undoubtedly the best penitentiary in the world. When not bad enough for the mines, each exile is provided with a lot of ground, a house, a horse, two cows, and agricultural implements, and also, for the first year, with provisions. For three years he pays no taxes whatever, and for the next ten only half of the full amount. To bring fear, as well as hope, to operate in his favour, he clearly understands that his very first slip will send him from his home and his family, to toil, as an outcast, in the mines. Thus does the government bestow an almost parental care on all the less atrocious criminals.

In the afternoon, after passing through a new settlement of exiles, called Borodino, we came in sight of the Siansky Mountains, celebrated for their singularly rich mines of gold and silver.

Next day, we entered Krasnoyarsk, the capital of the province of Yenissei, already mentioned in these pages as the place at which the Chancellor Von Resanoff, the lover of Donna Conception, of Santa Barbara, met his premature fate. We were, as usual, received with great civility by the municipal authorities, who came to meet us at the ferry on the Yenissei, and provided us with an excellent house. I called on the Governor, a civilian, of the name of Kapilloff, who very politely pressed me to dine with him the next day, being the anniversary of the Emperor's accession to the throne. I declined the honour, however, through my anxiety to get forward, and begged for horses to continue our journey, as soon as ever our carriages should have undergone a few necessary repairs. I called also on the chief magistrate of police, who was very attentive, placing his carriage and four horses at my disposal; whilst with him, I happened to sneeze, when, according to etiquette, he bowed to me, and wished me good health.

We strolled through the town, finding little to interest us, excepting the tomb of Von Resanoff, erected in 1831, by the Russian American Company. There was the usual number of public buildings, all of wood, such as churches, hospitals, and barracks. Among the exiles in the place, there was one of high rank, Lieutenant-General Davidoff, banished for participating in some attempt or other at revolution. He was very comfortably, nay, happily, settled, with his whole family about him, sons-in-law, brother-in-law, and so on, and appeared to enjoy all the luxuries and elegancies of polished life. So far as the eye could judge, General Davidoff was no more an exile than Governor Kapilloff himself.

For our own immediate purpose of racing against time, we could hardly have come more inopportunely to Krasnoyarsk. Everybody was idler than his neighbour on the occasion of the consecration of a new church, by the Bishop of Zomsk, situated, rather ornamentally, I thought, than usefully, on the face of a hill, at the distance of a verst and a half from the nearest house. At the conclusion of the ceremony, the chairman of the building committee gave a grand entertainment to the Bishop, the Governor, and all the higher functionaries generally, the whole party, I understood, displaying as much zeal as if St. Nicholas's wet-day had brought them together; and, in imitation of so good an example, the lower orders speedily filled the streets, and kept them filled, too, for the most of the night, with drunken males and females. I had heard that the men of Krasnoyarsk, on account of their size and strength, were frequently drafted into the Imperial Guards; but, whether it was that I was out of humour, by reason of the delay, or that they showed themselves under disadvantageous circumstances, I saw nothing particular to admire in them.

The town stands on the Yenissei, in a level plain, embosomed in hills, being said to derive its name from some neighbouring cliffs of red earth. It may be considered as the centre of the district where the mania for gold-washing, which broke out about fifteen years ago, has been carried to its greatest height—a mania which has brought not only agriculture, but even commerce, into comparative neglect and disrepute. Of the population, amounting to about six thousand, the great majority are more or less infected with the malady. As an instance of the speculative character of this occupation, one individual, who embarked in the business about three years ago, obtained no returns at all till this season, when he has been richly repaid for his outlay of a million and a half of roubles by one hundred and fifty poods of gold, worth thirty-seven thousand roubles each, or rather more than five millions and a half in all. Such a lucky hit as this serves, of course, to give a fresh impulse to the spirit of gambling, which animates both foreigners and natives alike. A Prussian botanist and physician, entirely wrapped up in the love of his favourite sciences, had actually started on a pilgrimage to Kamschatka, for the sole purpose of examining the vegetation. When, however, he got as far as the golden district of Yenissei, he paused and pondered for a time in the fair town of Krasnoyarsk, till at length, as the bad luck of physic and botany would have it, he was chained to the spot in the double capacity of husband and gold-washer.

Speaking of marriage, a young lady's charms are here estimated by the weight, not of herself, but of her gold. A pood is a very good girl; and, according to Cocker, who appears to get the better of Cupid here as well as elsewhere, two or three poods are clearly twice or thrice as good as a wife.

At present, the mines and washeries are very unfavourable to the settlement and cultivation of Siberia, by calling away the labourers from more steady occupations to the precarious pursuit of the precious metals. Already has the effect been seriously felt in Krasnoyarsk, where a pood of meat has risen, in ten years, from a rouble and a half to twenty roubles, and where fowls, such as we bought at Nishney Udinsk for a quarter of a rouble a piece, cost three roubles a pair. When, however, these mining and washing operations shall have been reduced to a more regular system, they will afford an extensive market for the produce of the surrounding country, and thus, in the end, become the firmest support of the very agriculture which they now embarrass.

The province of Yenissei alone has this year yielded five hundred poods of gold. The most valuable washeries are those on the Tanguska, which falls into the river that gives name to the district, a considerable way to the north of Krasnoyarsk. The richest washing tract in Eastern Siberia is said to be the triangle bounded by the Angara to the east, the Yenissei to the west, and Chinese Tartary to the south.

Expecting that we should start during the night, I laid myself down in the evening, as I had done ever since leaving Irkutsk, at the bottom of the carriage. In the morning, however, I found that I had slept without being rocked, for there we were still in Krasnoyarsk; and, notwithstanding my reiterated applications for horses, we were detained till ten in the morning in a place, of which hardly a single inhabitant, what between washeries and holidays, seemed capable of attending to any ordinary business. Almost everything, in fact, had gone wrong since we entered the province of Yenissei; and even our policeman was generally so far behind, that we had to wait for him at the stations.

We passed through a beautiful country for pasturage, well wooded and well settled. Soon after leaving the town, we overtook the principal chief of the Burats, on his way to visit the Emperor Nicholas. In face and general appearance he resembled an Indian of North America; he was, however, a man of education and address, and wore a handsome uniform. This potentate was attended by an interpreter.

In each town and village, by the by, along the great thoroughfare, there is an ostrog, with a sentry at the door. These wooden forts are used for locking up the convicts, while passing onward to their respective destinations. The convicts travel in parties of two or three hundred each, very lightly chained together, and escorted by soldiers; and, in order still further to prevent escape, sentinels are stationed at every three or four miles on the road. Under all these circumstances, attempts at desertion are very rare, and scarcely ever succeed.

At Kasulskaya, which we reached at one next morning, we found the postmaster drunk and stupid. He not only would give us no horses himself, but endeavoured also to deter others from giving us any, alleging that he had received private instructions not to render us any assistance. Not contented with negative churlishness, the fellow insisted on removing the candle, which, by law, should be kept burning all night in every posthouse. A scuffle ensued between my ever-ready fellow-traveller and the worthy functionary, in which the former was likely to come off second best; but, feeling that, at least on this occasion, he had done nothing to merit a drubbing, I rescued him, candle and all, from the rascal's fury. In the course of an hour, we obtained cattle from some of the villagers, and took our departure.

Sixty versts of very bad roads brought us, at two in the afternoon, to Atchinsk, where we were provided by the authorities with a house, in which we took breakfast and dinner in one. Our landlady was a jolly, good-humoured, handsome dame, whose husband was away washing for gold, at the distance of a hundred versts. Under this agreeable and communicative lady's tuition, I should soon have picked up the Russian language.

The population of this town is about two thousand, while that of the surrounding villages is five times the amount. All this is the work of the last twenty years; and the rapid growth of the neighbourhood, almost rivalling the mushroom-like settlements of the United States, shows how successfully government is proceeding in the colonization of Siberia. Many of the inhabitants, and even some of the principal merchants, are Jews. Though the soil in the vicinity is said to be very rich, yet here, as well as at Krasnoyarsk, the monotonous labours of the husbandman have been, in a great measure, superseded by the more attractive occupation of hunting up the precious metals.

Atchinsk stands on the Tchulim, a tributary of the Obe, which is here so tortuous in its course, that a circuit of six hundred versts, according to my information, may be avoided by a portage of twenty-five. It is the most westerly town, at least on this route, in this tiresome province; and, at the distance of seventeen versts beyond it, there stands a pillar to mark the boundary, not only between Yenissei and Tomsk, but also between Eastern and Western Siberia. The traveller, however, has but little reason for congratulating himself on the change. The farther that one advances to the westward, the more rapidly do the roads, the posthouses, and the horses degenerate. The same regulations, it is true, apply to the whole country, so that the entire difference lies not in the theory but in the practice. These regulations, drawn up by Catherine the Second, in her own handwriting, are a lasting memorial of the sagacity and vigilance of that illustrious sovereign.

About a hundred versts from Atchinsk, there are said to be some remains, in the shape of dilapidated tombs, of a race that had apparently made greater advances in civilization than any of the modern aborigines of Siberia. There is also a steppe about two hundred versts distant, on which the neighbouring Tartars have, from time immemorial, been accustomed to congregate for the purpose of enjoying all sorts of athletic sports. On such occasions, they stake their women, horses, and other valuables; and, though the authorities often receive complaints of foul play from the losers, yet, for obvious reasons, they seldom interfere between the gamblers.

In the course of the day, a distance of three versts occupied several hours. The road was execrable, and the night dismal, dark, and wet. We repeatedly got off the right track; and when, at length, to our joy, we reached a posthouse at midnight, we found neither fire nor light, while the inmates, a man, two women, and a child, were all fast asleep on the same shakedown.

Next day, every thing seemed to become worse and worse, the roads abominable, the stages long, the country dreary, the stations comfortless, the delays constant, and the postmasters uncivil. Besides being poor and miserable in appearance, the people were said to be really bad, robberies and murders being so common, as to render travelling very unsafe in some parts of the district. At our first station of to-day we were detained two hours for want of horses; while the posthouse was a filthy hovel, with a draggle-tailed creature of a landlady. Besides breakfasting, we killed time, as well as we could, by entering into conversation with our draggle-tailed hostess, who proved to be an amusing gossip. Her husband had been "exiled," as she said, for being saucy to his master; or more probably, we thought, to his master's goods and chattels. She was very inquisitive about ourselves, taking me, at first, for a Turk turned Russian; next, guessing that I was a German; and, lastly, hitting on my country. Under this lively lady's roof, we witnessed an instance of the strictness with which some of the travelling regulations were observed. The courier with the mail had lost his podoroshnoya at his last station; and though, in most countries, the bags would have been a sufficient passport, yet the luckless fellow was here detained, till a certificate of his having once had a podoroshnoya could be procured.

In the course of the day we passed a number of small carts on four wheels, each drawn by two horses, and loaded with twenty poods of tea, on its long and weary way to Russia. Autumn had now commenced in right earnest, and the fall of the leaf was rapid. We had still before us, on this, the 5th of our English September, fully three-fourths of the distance from Irkutsk to St. Petersburg; so that, if things did not mend, we had a fair chance of being overtaken by the early and sudden winter of this climate.

At the Kid, another tributary of the Obe, we spent three hours in crossing; and cold, wet, sleepy, and unwell as I was, I thought this the most miserable portion of my whole journey. After crossing, we came to the ruins of Kyskal, a village of four hundred and fifty houses, which was consumed by fire on the morning of the preceding Easter Sunday. Several lives had been lost; and many more would have been so, if the flames had burst forth a few hours earlier, when most of the inhabitants, according to time-hallowed custom, were helplessly drunk. We had great difficulty in obtaining shelter, till a young and pretty woman induced her drowsy husband to admit the starving and shivering strangers; and we were not sorry to be detained in this snuggery, for want of horses, till daylight.

Our next two days were as uncomfortable as possible—weather and roads bad, nothing to eat but black bread and sour milk, and most vexatious delays at every station. On the second of these miserable marches, when we were within four miles of Tomsk, our Russian's rickety vehicle—a drag, in every sense of the word—again broke down; and as the peasants, from some scruple or other, would neither be coaxed nor bullied into taking it on, the owner was obliged to embark with us, amid some superstitious forebodings on our part as to the probable consequences. On reaching Tomsk, where there proved to be no posthouse, we repaired to the proper magistrate, who, after examining our podoroshnoya, and finding all right, proceeded to billet us on some of the citizens. Our lot fell on a dismal house in the suburbs, of which the proprietor had gone to Tobolsk, leaving his young wife, a buxom enough damsel, in charge of an ancient duenna; and, in spite of the vigilance of her guardian, the fair mistress of the mansion peeped into the room, merely to ascertain, of course, whether Englishmen looked like other people.

The absence of my Russian fellow-traveller's wardrobe, by preventing us from calling on the Governor before the morrow, added upwards of half a day to the wrong side of that gentleman's account—a very vexatious entry in our travelling ledger at this advanced season of the year.

Between the events of the day, and a severe cold caught at the passage of the Kid, I went to bed in no very good humour, though this was the first time, for fourteen nights, that I had doffed my clothes, or slept out of the carriage. I had no great reason, however, to congratulate myself on the change, for I scarcely closed an eye. I felt feverish; I missed my accustomed jolting; and, what was worse than every thing else, the good lady of the house, who was sleeping in an adjacent gallery, perhaps to enjoy the fresh air, or, perhaps, to watch the premises, kept sending forth, during the whole night, coughs, sneezes, and sighs, with various other noisy tokens of her whereabouts. I was glad to rise early, and perambulate the town, visiting the markets, where I found the butchers, like their brethren in England, dressed in blue frocks. Was the coincidence, I asked myself, the result of accident, or of imitation, or of some innate congeniality between the colour of the coat and the unctuousness of the occupation?

Tomsk stands on the Tom, and is a handsome and flourishing town, with wide streets. Though many of the buildings are of brick, yet nineteen-twentieths of the houses are merely log huts. On either side of the roads, which, in rainy weather, are so many rivers of mud, there are boarded paths for the accommodation of pedestrians. The population varies considerably in amount according to the season, being about eighteen thousand in summer, and twenty-four thousand in winter. The fluctuation is occasioned chiefly by the prevailing mania of the country; and as the birds of passage must contain far more than an average proportion of adults, the extent of the washing speculations, as compared with the other employments of the inhabitants, may be easily estimated. This fashionable pursuit is a perfect lottery, in which a hundred become poorer for one that is made rich; while, with respect to the lower classes, even the most fortunate labourers seldom derive any other benefit from their earnings than a winter of idleness, vagabondism, and dissipation. Indeed, the washeries themselves, during the very season of work, have too often become dens of drunkenness and riot; so that the different governors have been obliged personally to visit the establishments lying in their respective provinces, in order to curb the turbulent and profligate conduct of the adventurers.

I found here various races of people collected together—Russians, Tartars, Jews, Poles, &c.; while, in proof of the spirit of toleration, Catholicism, Judaism, and Mohammedanism, had each its own places of worship, as freely and openly as the national establishment itself.

After breakfast we paid our respects to the Governor, a frank, plain, good-humoured old soldier, who gave us, at my request, a Cossack, to precede us as far as Omsk, the new capital of Western Siberia. General Tartarenoff talked much about our country, and particularly about the difficulty of acquiring our language, repeating to us over and over again, with great glee, his whole stock of English, a few words picked up from the free and easy vocabulary of a common sailor at Memel.

I met with a greater number of petty annoyances at Tomsk, than at any other place in Siberia. Our Tartar driver was so quarrelsome, as to require to be taken before a magistrate; horses could hardly be got for love or money; and, on crossing the river at our departure, the Charon had a grand dispute with us, in consequence of our resisting his attempts at imposition. Then our fare was poor and unwholesome, though our dinner did boast of three courses. First there came soup made of grits, cabbage, and water; secondly, bread and salted cucumber; thirdly, fresh cucumbers and pickled mushrooms, with bread and tea. In the kitchen, our servants had the first two courses the same as ourselves in the parlour; while, in lieu of the third course, they were regaled with plenty of nice sour milk. We had no reason, however, to complain of our hostess, for such was the ordinary diet of the middle classes.

Among the foreigners in Tomsk there was an albino, of English birth, of the name of Crawley. For a long time this white negro had exhibited himself for money not only throughout Europe, but also in various parts of Asiatic Russia, picking up, by the by, a huge wife at Vienna; and, after he had got as far as Tomsk, on his way to China, he emancipated himself from his caravan, in order to keep an eating-house and a billiard-room. I was sorry that I had not an opportunity of seeing him, and he was equally disappointed at not seeing me, inasmuch as he had met only one Englishman since he settled in Tomsk.

On leaving this city, we crossed the Tom, which was here about half a mile wide, leaving our Russian behind us, in order to have the repairs of his carriage completed; and, though the roads were good, yet we could not make much progress in the absence of that gentleman, who acted in the capacity of interpreter. We passed several settlements of the aborigines, as also one of their burying-grounds, in which each tomb was enclosed within a small square of logs. These Tartars were a comely race, the men being above the ordinary stature, and the women chubby and mirthful; and such of the females as were of mixed blood might be said even to be beautiful.

Next day, having been overtaken by my Russian fellow-traveller about ten in the morning, we began to see more symptoms of life on the road, meeting the mail and several travellers; and, at the crossing of the Obe, we found a proof of the increasing intercourse in the existence of rival ferrymen, who, however, illustrated the proverb of the cooks and the broth, by detaining us with their squabbles. The weather had improved; and along the road there was much land under cultivation.

On the ensuing day, we entered the Barabinsky Steppe, a flat and fertile prairie of vast extent. Among the many agricultural settlements that studded this boundless plain, the one which most particularly attracted my attention was a colony of Jews absolutely turned farmers—a phenomenon the more extraordinary in a country where every one else was agog in pursuit of gold and silver. But the alteration of complexion was perhaps more remarkable than that of disposition. Though these tillers of the ground still retained their hereditary features, yet, in spite of the usual influence of rural labour, they had exchanged the swarthy countenance and dark locks of their race, for fair skins and light hair, which were very becoming in the women, with their heads swathed in a kind of red turbans. In the course of the forenoon, we had a curious remembrance of home in a large band of gipsies, whom we met at Elkul: in appearance and habits they were the exact counterparts of their brethren and sisters in our own country.

On this our fourteenth day from Irkutsk, we reached Ubinskoi, said to mark one third part of the distance to St. Petersburg. We had just previously posted through the miserable little village of Kolyran, giving its name to one of the most valuable of the mining districts, and communicating, by a cross road, to the southwards, with Barnaonl, the local depôt of all the precious metals of the surrounding regions. As the weather had been dry for some time, the roads were tolerable, notwithstanding the perfectly level character of the surface.

Next day at noon we reached Kainsk, standing on the Om. Though pretending to be a town, yet it was nothing but a straggling village of miserable houses, with a population, many of them Jews, of less than a thousand souls. We were still on the Barabinsky Steppe, which would, in fact, carry us two hundred versts farther to the western boundary of the province of Tomsk. In this immense plain, there are several extensive lakes. One of them, from which our yesterday's station of Ubinskoi takes its name, empties itself into the Om; but of the others, which all lie off the road, some are salt, and, of course, have no outlet.

As we arrived at noon on Sunday, the good folks of the town were just coming out of church, while their less scrupulous brethren and sisters of the adjacent villages were celebrating the day as usual by getting drunk—or rather by continuing drunk, for the Saturday had been the festival of John the Baptist. As a curious instance of the influence of custom, not merely on private individuals but also on public opinion, the bottle is quite fashionable and orthodox on any and every holiday, excepting always St. Nicholas's dry turn, while the bath on these sacred occasions is shunned as one of the deadly sins. Knowing this, I was surprised to-day on seeing an old lady—with one foot in the grave, and another out of it,—openly emerge from a bath-house, reeking all over with the evidence of her impiety; but, on inquiry, I found that the apparent sinner, being an invalid, had made all right by procuring the requisite dispensation. What a blessing in point of comfort and cleanliness, if the priests could and would prevail on the people to accept the bath in place of the bottle!

Being preceded both by the Cossack, whom I had obtained from Governor Tartarenoff, and by an officer of police, we did not encounter any delays at the post-houses. But, after leaving Kainsk, I began to suspect that some extraordinary merit on our own part was one main cause of our getting forward so swimmingly, for the whole population of every village, whether by day or by night, flocked to see us, the males all uncovered, and the females incessantly bowing. The secret gradually oozed out, that our friends ahead, as much perhaps for their own convenience as for our glory, had insinuated that I was an ambassador from the Emperor of China to the Czar, while the simple peasants, according to the natural growth of all marvellous stories, had of their own accord pronounced me to be the Brother of the Sun and Moon himself, pushing on to the capital, along with my interpreter and one of my mandarins, in order to implore the assistance of the Russians against the English. Private accommodations were prepared for us at every station; and we were decidedly the greatest men that had ever been seen to the east of the Uralian Mountains. As the roads were excellent, we enjoyed the joke, whirling along at the rate of twelve or fifteen versts an hour.

During the night, the officer of police left us at the boundary between the provinces of Tomsk and Omsk, so that we had now to depend on our Cossack alone. The farms of the villagers are not always near the villages, being sometimes as much as thirty versts distant. The peasants appear to be well off, and really are a happy and contented race. With respect to the young women, a custom was said to prevail which would be more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Such of them as remain single at their mother's death, are at the disposal of their nearest male relative, whether father, or brother, or uncle, or guardian, who may sell their first favours, in marriage or otherwise, for his own private emolument; and, in justice to all nearest male relatives, I ought to add, that the damsels don't seem to dislike the practice.

At a house, where we dined to-day on sour-kraut, an old man could not possibly conceive how we, being English, could be coming from the east, assuring me that all the Englishmen, who had ever visited Siberia, had not only come from the west, but had no other way to come. Knowing something of geography, our aged host explained to us that, besides the Polar Sea on the north and the Chinese frontier on the south, there was on the east a great ocean, which was certainly far from England, the western door alone, as it were, being left open to admit our countrymen.

In the course of the afternoon we entered Omsk, the new metropolis of Western Siberia. It stands, at the confluence of the Om and the Irtish, in the midst of a sandy plain, which presents no tree of larger size than a dwarf willow. Over this barren flat, which extends on all sides as far as the eye can reach, the biting winds blow from every quarter of the compass without impediment, driving before them in winter drifts of snow, and in summer clouds of dust, both of them equally pernicious to the eyes. The town is still in its infancy, having but lately supplanted Tobolsk; but already the public buildings are handsome, while the fortifications, where the two rivers do not afford protection, are formidable. It has been selected as the seat of the general government, chiefly with a view to the gradual subjugation of the Kirghiz, who occupy a vast breadth of country all the way from this to the Caspian Sea; and the advance of Russia in this direction, besides being peculiarly important both commercially and politically, is the more an object of ambition on this account, that, along all the rest of the southern frontier of Siberia, the jealousy, if not the power, of China forbids the acquisition of new territory. Besides a population of five or six thousand, there is a garrison of four thousand men; and, in fact, the place may be considered merely as a military post, for nearly all the inhabitants derive their subsistence from the presence of the troops. As to civil government, Omsk still depends on the ancient city of Tobolsk, which continues to be the capital of the united provinces of Tobolsk and Omsk.

We were hospitably received into the house of Count Tolstoy, a clever, cheerful, plain man. He had recently returned from St. Petersburg, whither he had escorted the Khan of Tashkand, lying in about 43° north latitude and 70° east longitude, on a visit to the Emperor. The chief in question may already be reckoned among the vassals of Russia; and, at no distant day, his territories will form an integral part of this colossal empire.

Next morning, after breakfast, the Governor-General sent his carriage and four to convey me to his residence. Prince Gortchakoff, a middle-aged man of pleasing manners and address, received me kindly, expressing his regret that, according to arrangements made along the whole route, he was unavoidably obliged to start that afternoon in order to inspect the south-western boundary of his government,—the most interesting section, as already mentioned, of the southern frontier of Siberia. He assured me, however, that he had done all in his power to facilitate my movements, having despatched orders to have horses in readiness for me at every station; and he had very naturally assumed that, instead of taking the straight cut to Tiumen, any traveller would prefer making the circuit by Tobolsk, with its classical associations and historical renown.

I spent the greater part of the day in visiting the public buildings. The establishment in which I felt most interested was the military school for the sons of soldiers. The number of pupils was two hundred and fifty, the expense of maintenance being estimated at twelve kopecks, or about five farthings, a day each. Besides reading, writing, drawing, geography, gunnery, &c., they are instructed in many of the native languages of the neighbourhood, such as Mongol and Kirghiz; and such of them as evince any peculiar aptitude in this way, are taught Persian, Arabic, and other oriental tongues. They are thus qualified to act as interpreters throughout Central and Southern Asia, receiving, in short, such an education as fits them at once to promote the ambition and to share in the destiny of their country. The boys acquire also several useful trades, architecture, gun-making, working in metals, &c. They are all intended for the army, entering as privates, but rising, in cases of merit, to the rank of officers.

In the hospital, some of the patients were suffering so severely from military punishment, that they were actually delirious. These wretches had probably been doomed to expire by inches to please the mistaken scruples of the law as to putting criminals to death at once—a very extraordinary mode, truly, of reconciling justice and humanity. The only important manufactory in Omsk was one recently established in order to provide the military with clothing.

The country about Omsk abounds in game of various descriptions; and to the south there are wild horses, which, though of a small breed, are fleet, compact, and beautiful.

About seven in the evening of the 1st of September, precisely seventeen days after starting from Irkutsk, we resumed our journey by crossing the Irtish, leaving our Russian behind us till his most unfortunate carriage should be fitted with its third pair of new wheels. The banks of the river presented many villages and farms. The country on the Upper Irtish is said to be one of the finest districts for agriculture in all Siberia; and it was there that the Emperor Paul was anxious to establish a colony of Scotch farmers—a project which, if carried into effect, could not have failed to set a useful example of skill, industry, and economy, to the settlers of this vast region. Speaking of agriculture in its widest sense, Barnaoul is said to be the only place in Siberia where apples have hitherto been known to thrive; and melons and cucumbers grow abundantly everywhere, the latter more particularly being to be seen in the gardens, in the windows, in the galleries, and even in the rooms.

The distance from Omsk to Tobolsk occupied us three nights and two days. The country was flat and uninteresting to the last degree, though more closely settled than any other part of Siberia that we had seen. There was a constant succession of Tartar, Kirghiz, and Russian villages, while roads were branching off on either hand to more distant settlements. This was owing mainly to the fact, that the neighbourhood—the nucleus, as it were, of Siberia—had been so long cultivated, for the soil, clay in the open country, and sand in the woods, was generally poor.

Our Russian did not overtake us till we had waited six hours for him at one station; and he almost immediately detained us for three hours more by striking about ten versts off the road to visit a clergyman and his wife, who, after all, did not recognise him. He next fell sick and grew very fidgety about his safety. Lastly, in order to make up for lost time at the expense of his driver and cattle, he spurred on the former with a thick pipe-stem, till one of the latter fell down dead. Such coercion appeared to me to be as unnecessary as it was cruel, for never did I see such driving out of England.

At one of the villages we saw a very remarkable dwarf. He was about forty years of age, thic-kset, with a large head, and barely two feet and a half high. For his inches, however, he was a person of great importance, being the wise man of the place, and the grand arbiter in all disputes, whether of love or of business. We also met two parties of convicts. Each party consisted of seventy or eighty fellows, chained together in sixes or so, by light handcuffs, and escorted by ten or twelve Cossacks.

After leaving Omsk, I was mortified to learn that there resided there an English lady, whom I had not seen. Her husband, a physician, called on me, but missed me; and I did not hear of his visit, till after I had started. The weather was now telling plainly of the approach of winter. There was a good deal of snow, and the nights were frosty. These symptoms were any thing but pleasant, inasmuch as we had not yet accomplished the half of our journey.

On the 4th of September, just as the sun was rising, we entered the fine old city of Tobolsk, the most interesting point in Siberian story ever since the days of the chivalrous Yermac.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM TOBOLSK TO LONDON.

Retrospect of Russian History—Yermac, his victories and death—Establishment of Russian power in Siberia—Tobolsk—Exiles—Tiumen, Mayor's dinner—Province of Perm—Kamishloff, doctors differ—Fair of Irbit—Condition of peasants—Ekaterineburg, mines—Value of Siberia to Russia, fur-trade, Chinese trade, ivory-trade, mines and washeries, geographical position, moral and political amelioration—Height of land—Kama—Countess Strogonoff—Churlish and obsequious postmaster—Kungur—Russians not Asiatics—Perm—Inland navigation—Countess Strogonoff—Courtesy and honesty—Province of Viatka—Armed footpads—Mookikikea—Merchants from Fair of Nishney Novgorod—Borlacki—Kasan, past and present—Volga—Forests of oak—Disturbances among peasants—Delays at posthouses, and artifices of postmasters—Nishney Novgorod—Troubles of a pair of dancers—Sheremetieff's estates and peasants—Vladimir—Uses of a pipe-stem—Symptoms of vicinity of metropolis — Moscow — Vishney Volotchok — Valdai — Novgorod the Great—Military settlers—St. Petersburg—Voyage to London.

The latter half of the sixteenth century was one of the most glorious periods in the Russian annals.

To recapitulate a little: Russia, after having been broken down, like many other States of Europe, into various principalities practically independent of each other, fell an easy prey to a son of Zinghis Khan, in 1223. This double evil of internal disunion and foreign domination, though by no means constant either in form or in intensity, continued to prevail for about two hundred and fifty years. But John Basiloritz the Third, who occupied the throne from 1462 to 1505, entirely changed the aspect of affairs before the middle of his long reign. He speedily resumed all the detached fiefs, so to speak, of the Grand Duchy of Moscow, subduing, in 1471, even the republic of the Great Novgorod, which neither Russian nor Tartar had ever previously reduced to anything more than a merely nominal subjection; and, by 1481, he not only threw off the yoke of the Khans of Kipzac, but dashed their empire into fragments, subsequently disposing more than once of the dominion of the metropolitan city of Kazan, of which he had been born a vassal. Moreover, the very disasters, which elsewhere befel Christianity, tended to elevate Muscovy, at this same time, into a still higher position. The capture of Constantinople, as already mentioned under the head of Sitka, invested the Grand Duke, in matters of religion, with the diadem of the Cæsars, virtually extending the power which the first Czar, as just stated, had established and consolidated at home, into every country that contained adherents of the Eastern Church.

After the lapse of more than fifty years, the seed which was thus sown yielded its first fruits. In 1552, John Basiloritz the Fourth, grandson of the first Czar, captured Kazan; and, in 1554, he annexed Astrachan also to his empire; and, at the very time that the Volga and the Caspian were thus made ready to connect Russia with Persia and Bokhara, the White Sea was opened, by the enterprise of a gallant countryman of our own, so as to bring her into direct and immediate contact with England. Of the fragments of Kipzac, there now remained only the two principalities of Crimea and Siberia. To say nothing more of the Crimea than that it was, for two centuries, saved by Turkey from the clutches of the growing giant of the north, the conqueror of Kazan and Astrachan almost immediately carried his avenging arms beyond the Uralian Mountains, assuming to himself, in 1558, the title of Lord of the Siberian Lands. His conquests, however, were not of a permanent character. His troops, after defeating a chief of the name of Yediger, had imposed on him an annual tribute of a thousand sables; but soon afterwards this vassal of the Czar was subdued by Kutchum Khan, who, as a lineal descendant of the terrible Zinghis, thus again placed Muscovy in collision with the line of her original oppressor.

In this state of affairs, the grand question, whether barbarism or civilization, Mohammedanism or Christianity, was to rule the destinies of Northern Asia, was decided by a homeless robber. The trade, which the Russians had recently begun to conduct with Bokhara and Persia, was so frequently and extensively interrupted and plundered by the Cossacks of the Don, that the Czar, sending a large force against the banditti in question, defeated and dispersed them. Among the fugitives was Yermac Timofeeff, who might almost be said, by his subsequent invasion of Siberia, to have given a new world to his sovereign.

With six or seven thousand followers, Yermac fled towards the north, till he reached the confluence of the Kama and the Tchiusova. He there took refuge in the infant settlements of Maxim Strogonoff, exhibiting throughout a highly creditable degree of moderation, while, finding himself in the neighbourhood of Siberia, he was naturally led to contemplate the conquest of that country. In addition to a sense of his own danger in remaining within the reach of his incensed master, Yermac had a still more definite motive in the reasonable hope of complete success.

Kutchum Khan, to say nothing of the hostility of rival princes and independent tribes, was unpopular even in his own dominions, for, besides having acquired many of his subjects by the odious title of conquest, he had exasperated the great mass of the aborigines by attempting to dragoon them into the Mohammedan faith. Again, Yermac's Cossacks were as formidable as Kutchum Khan was feeble. These outlawed desperadoes would feel, at every step of their advance, that there was no retreat for those who had a worse enemy behind them than before them; while their powers of endurance and their almost amphibious habits would enable them to go as far as either their hopes or their fears might urge them. Lastly, Maxim Strogonoff was ready, for more reasons than one, to forward the expedition by all the means at his command. He had obviously a strong interest in getting rid of his dangerous and expensive guests; he had, farther, his own wrongs to avenge; for Kutchum Khan had not only himself attacked his newly formed establishments, but had also encouraged others to do so; and, over and above those two grounds of interference, he was desirous of extending the trade with Siberia—the trade, by the by, for the opening of which his grandfather had received a grant of the very lands which he himself now occupied.

Under the influence of all these auspicious circumstances, Yermac set out, in the summer of 1578, along the banks of the Tchinsova. But, through his ignorance of the country and the neglect of such precautions as experience alone could suggest, he was overtaken by the winter before he could achieve anything of importance; and, at the commencement of spring, he was obliged, by the want of provisions, to return to his old quarters. But this disappointment, which merely rendered Yermac more prudent, without shaking his resolution, had a very different effect on Strogonoff, who began to think that the enterprise might cost more than it was worth—the two feelings being equally natural, respectively in the thrifty merchant and the proscribed freebooter. Yermac accordingly needed threats to obtain from Strogonoff his second stock of supplies, more particularly as, from the very necessity of the case, it was to be considerably larger and more costly than the first. Besides an increased quantity of food, the Cossacks, on this occasion, were provided, for the first time, with muskets and ammunition, while, to complete the appearance of regular troops, these lawless marauders received colours that were decorated with the images of saints.

In June, 1579, Yermac started anew, with an army now reduced to five thousand men. By reason, however, of the ruggedness of the roads, and the difficulties of the navigation, he reached Tchingii, on the Tura, only towards the close of 1580. By this time, through fatigue and sickness, and repeated skirmishes with the Tartars, his five thousand had dwindled away to fifteen hundred; and yet neither did leader nor follower hesitate a moment in advancing against Kutchum Khan. The march of this little band of heroes was one series of battles and victories, so that only one-third of them lived to see their great enemy encamped, near the centre of his dominions, at the junction of the Irtish and the Solol, with vastly superior numbers. Undismayed, either by the loss of their comrades, or by the array of the thousands that waited to receive them, the Cossacks began and ended this one contest more, between Europe and Asia, with a spirit worthy of Marathon. After an obstinate struggle, the Tartars were routed with fearful carnage, while Kutchum Khan himself was almost taken prisoner.

But the sequel showed, more clearly than the past, that this illustrious robber was equal to his fortune. From the very field of victory, he despatched part of his still more seriously diminished forces to storm, if necessary, the fortress of Sibir, the residence of the vanquished potentate. But this detachment found the place deserted; and soon afterwards, Yermac, entering in triumph, seated himself on the throne of the Valleys of the Tobol and the Irtish. Through the influence of moral causes, his very weakness proved to be his strength. Struck with the matchless intrepidity and marvellous exploits of the handful of strangers, the neighbouring Tartars flocked from all quarters to welcome their new sovereign, submitting to his authority without hesitation, and acquiescing in the payment of the usual tribute; and even distant princes, as they heard in succession of his renown, came, as vassals, to claim his protection.

But, as many of the Tartars still retained an affection for their exiled monarch, which they were too ready to display in turbulence and insurrection, Yermac felt the precariousness of his present grandeur, and he resolved to offer his new acquisitions to his former master, on condition of receiving forgiveness and support. One of his most faithful followers was accordingly sent to Moscow, taking with him, as an escort, fifty Cossacks, whom Yermac could but ill spare. In addition to the most plausible history of the past and the fairest promises for the future, the envoy carried to the Czar a present of the choicest and most valuable furs. This ambassador, after being treated at Moscow with the highest distinction, was sent back to Sibir with a sum of money and an assurance of speedy and effectual assistance, carrying at the same time ample presents for all concerned, and for Yermac, in particular, a fur robe which the Czar himself had worn.

Meanwhile, Yermac not only maintained his conquests, but even extended them: he not only baffled all Kutchum Khan's attempts to recover his crown, but even penetrated into the valley of the Obe, above its junction with the Irtish. Reinforced at length by five hundred Russians, he continued his excursions on all sides with more activity than ever, crushing every chief that might be imprudent enough to assert his independence. In returning from one of these expeditions, he had encamped in the evening on a small island, formed by two branches of the Irtish. The night was dark and rainy, and the troops, who were fatigued with a long march, relied too implicitly for safety on the state of the weather and the strength of their position. Apprised by his scouts of the circumstances, Kutchum Khan silently forded the river with a chosen band, coming so unexpectedly on his sleeping victims as to preclude the use of their arms. The Russians, to the number of three hundred, were cut to pieces almost without resistance; and only one man escaped to carry the news of the catastrophe to the garrison of Sibir. Even in this awful hour of confusion and slaughter, Yermac's intrepidity never forsook him. After many acts of heroism, he cut his way through the enemy to the water's edge; and he would most probably have escaped from Kutchum Khan and all his Tartars, if he had not, while attempting to get into a boat, fallen into the river and sunk instantly to the bottom.

By order of Kutchum Khan, the hero's corpse was exposed to all the insults which revenge could suggest to that sullen barbarian. But, after the first transports of rage had subsided, the Khan's followers testified the most pointed indignation at the ungenerous ferocity of their leader; and, suddenly passing from one extreme to another, they reproached both him and themselves for having offered any indignity to such venerable remains. They proceeded even to consecrate Yermac's memory, interring his body with all the rites of their superstitions, and presenting sacrifices to his manes. In a word, they regarded their conqueror as a god, investing his body, his clothes, his arms, and his tomb, with miraculous powers and properties. With Yermac expired for a time the Russian empire in Siberia, for, on the news of his death, the garrison of Sibir evacuated the country, feeling, however, that, at no distant day, the reputation of the dead warrior would be a more powerful instrument of conquest than ever his living energy had been.

Though Kutchum Khan regained a small portion of his original dominions, yet his triumph, such as it was, was but brief. The Russians soon returned to their prey. Their first permanent establishment was Tiumen; and, before the year 1587 had passed away, they had founded Tobolsk as nearly as possible on the field of the first and greatest battle between Kutchum and Yermac.

On entering the ancient metropolis of Siberia, we found that we had travelled so fast as to outstrip the courier, who had left Omsk the day before ourselves to warn the authorities of our approach; and we were, therefore, obliged to take shelter in a miserable sort of a hotel kept by a Jew. Soon afterwards, however, the magistrate of police and the master of the gymnasium called to offer us the use of the house of the latter; and, by way of apology for having had no quarters ready for our reception, they explained that, though they had heard three months previously of the expected visit of a General Simpson, yet they had not recently received any definite information as to my movements.

The situation of the city is admirable. On two sides is the Irtish, while on the third side is some high tableland, on which are several public buildings. These heights are fortified; and a monument to Yermac, bearing on its opposite faces 1581 and 1584, the respective dates of his victory and his death, occupies a commanding position—a memorial which, unless meant merely to mark the locality of his noblest triumph, rather detracts from the fame of one whose real monument is Siberia, in all its length and breadth, whose true epitaph is the history of the onward career of himself and his tribe for upwards of a hundred and twenty years. Though the streets were well laid out with boarded footpaths, yet the buildings presented a melancholy spectacle of dilapidation and decay; and the population and trade of the place were said to be both rapidly diminishing. All this was chiefly the consequence of the removal of the general government of Western Siberia from Tobolsk to Omsk; but, as the change had been the work of Prince Gortschakoff, the present incumbent, the good folks of the forsaken capital flattered themselves with the hope that, according to immemorial custom, the next Governor-General would be eager to undo all the acts of his predecessor. But Tobolsk had been set aside as well commercially as politically. Till lately, it was the grand halting-place between Russia and China; but now nearly all the caravans were passing straight between Tara, on the Irtish, and Tiumen, on the Tura.

The Governor of the united provinces of Omsk and Tobolsk was at present absent, having, in fact, been lying sick at the new capital when we left it. A considerable part of the civil business appeared to be connected with the exiles, for whom the city was said to be a sort of entrepôt. Here these people, of whom about three hundred on an average arrive every week, are distributed into different bands, the more atrocious criminals being despatched in irons to the mines, the convicts for lesser delinquencies being drafted into the agricultural districts, and the political offenders being sent to the settlements, which are specially set apart for their use. About a sixth part of those who come as far as Tobolsk are pardoned, and, in course of time, find their way back to their homes. Criminals of rank or wealth, when condemned to the mines for other than political offences, generally contrive, for a consideration, to get themselves constantly reported "sick and off duty."

Hearing that there was an Englishman in Tobolsk of the name of Halliday, I sent for him soon after my arrival; and he appeared to be well pleased to see one of his countrymen, having previously met, in the course of four years, only two persons who could speak our language. Though English on both sides, yet he was a Russian subject, for his parents, at the time of his birth, resided in St. Petersburg. He had been principal clerk to an English merchant in his native city; but, having been detected in extensive forgeries, he was, about six years ago, quietly despatched to Siberia in irons. He was now keeping a shop; but, as this did not answer his expectations, he was intending to try his fortune at Tomsk as a gold-hunter. According to Halliday, trade, for various reasons, was on a very precarious footing in Tobolsk. There was the trickery of the Jews, who formed a considerable majority of the dealers, though fortunately the government, finding the complaints on the subject to be perpetual and universal, had recently adopted the custom of sending all new importations of Hebrews beyond the Baikal. Then there was the diminution of demand in consequence of Prince Gortschakoff's preference of Omsk. Lastly, there were the bad memories of most people in office, who could hardly ever be induced by fair means to pay their accounts; and, if the creditor should enforce the law for attaching one-third of a debtor's official income till his claim was satisfied, he generally lost more than the amount at issue by getting into bad odour with all sorts of people, in a country where the meanest servant of the government was a great man.

As there are no manufactories in Tobolsk, every thing but provisions is very expensive; and even provisions are not so cheap as in many other places, wheat flour being four roubles a pood, beef six, and rye flour one rouble — keeping in view that three roubles and a half for forty Russian pounds are, as nearly as possible, a penny for one English pound.

Again crossing the Irtish above its junction with the Tobol, we next day reached Tiumen on the Tura, the first hundred and eighty versts of the intermediate distance having been accomplished in fifteen hours, including stoppages at every twenty or thirty versts. Though our podoroshnoya allowed only three horses for our own carriage, yet, according to the state of the roads, we had four, or five, or even six, without any additional charge — a facility for which we were, I believe, mainly indebted to the mere presence of our Cossack. Nor was the cost of living heavier than that of posting, a breakfast or a dinner for our three selves and our two servants being only about two roubles and a half.

Before reaching Tiumen, we met a large body of exiles, with an escort of twenty or thirty soldiers, and soon afterwards a party of female convicts. These bands usually travel by night, and are confined in the ostrogs during the day. This custom, which seems so favourable to any attempt at escape or rescue, may have arisen from a desire of sparing the feelings of these unfortunates, or, what is more probable, from a wish to avoid the heat of the sun.

Tiumen, which, as already mentioned, is the most ancient settlement in Siberia, is curiously built on both banks of the Tura, the one being low and the other lofty; so that one half of the town towers over the other, the place, in this respect, bearing a considerable resemblance to Tobolsk. The two divisions are united by a floating bridge. After crossing by it from the lower town to the upper, we were met by a party of Cossacks, who assisted our carriage up the steep bank; and at the top the serjeant ordered the driver to proceed at once to the palace, as the mayor's house was styled, from the circumstance that the Grand Duke Michael had twice slept in it, commanding, at the same time, the people in the market-place to make way for a great man.

At the palace, we were received by the head of the police, who introduced us to our intended host, a plain, long-bearded, swaddle-coated merchant of high standing. But our civic friend had something better in store for us than all this show and ceremony; for, within an hour and a half after our arrival, we sat down to one of the most splendid entertainments that I saw in Siberia. If the Mayor of Irkutsk gave us our best dinner, certainly our second best was that of his brother of Tiumen. To do us the greater honour, our host himself, instead of sitting at table, acted as head waiter. He was very agreeable and communicative, and asked many questions about England, knowing just as much with regard to our country, as most of our countrymen know with regard to Tiumen. His mixture of curiosity and simplicity, though the most natural thing in the world, was yet very amusing. Tiumen, however, did not appear to be so much out of the way, after all; for one of its live natives, a merchant's clerk in St. Petersburg, was then in London. Our host himself had just returned from Perm, whither he had gone, in order that his wife, an invalid, might benefit by the warm springs.

It was most probable to the Chinese trade that we were indebted for the municipal hospitalities, as well of Tiumen as of Irkutsk. Independently of sending its own manufactures, to the value of about two hundred and twenty thousand roubles, to Kiachta, Tiumen is the grand depôt of all the goods that pass in either direction between Russia and China, being the point at which all the eastern routes, whether by land or by water, may be said, according to circumstances, to separate or to meet. This thriving town carries on also a large trade with Bokhara and the Kirghiz, chiefly in what is known with us as Russia leather; and, in addition to considerable quantities of this same staple manufacture, it sends a good deal of bristles and tallow across the Uralian Mountains into Russia, ultimately, perhaps, to find their way to England. It is, moreover, famous for its rugs and carpets, having sent such articles to Kiachta in 1837 to the value of five thousand roubles. They are often made at home by the peasant girls, who hawk them through the town at so many roubles a length, meaning the length of the fair manufacturer herself; and, as the women of the place and neighbourhood are justly celebrated for their beauty, this mode of taking each young lady's measure must, of course, recommend her wares to every man of gallantry and taste. In short, Tiumen is the only place in Siberia — excepting, perhaps, what Tobolsk may have been in the days of its glory—that at all comes up to our English idea of a snug, pleasant, and prosperous town.

The population amounts to ten or twelve thousand souls. The streets are regularly laid out with many churches, and other buildings, of handsome appearance; but a fire, which lately occurred, consumed two hundred and eighty-five houses, burning out, among the rest, the Russian American Company's agent, who had filled his office, and perhaps occupied his residence, for fully half a century. We left Tiumen in the evening, highly pleased with everything and everybody that we had seen. In the night, however, we lost five hours, in consequence of a second attempt at arson on the part of my Russian fellow-traveller's most perverse axle, though not more perverse, after all, than the rest of his equipage.

By morning, we found ourselves in the province of Perm, reckoned part of Russia, as distinguished from Siberia; but, though we had thus passed the political frontier, yet we still had the natural boundary between Europe and Asia, the Uralian Mountains, before us. We had no immediate reason, however, to congratulate ourselves on the change, for, at the little town of Kamishloff, the very first station in Russia, the post-house was so filthy and wretched as to drive us into a peasant's hut for refuge. As a curious instance of the extent to which a traveller's feelings influence his opinions, I set down this village as "miserable" in the first draft of my journal; while Captain Cochrane, who had here "received the kindest attentions," lauded it as "pretty." In these cases, the truth probably lies between the two extremes; and the reader may, therefore, believe on the united authorities of my gallant predecessor and myself, that Kamishloff is a "pretty miserable" place. About sixty or seventy versts, by the by, to the north of this station stands Irbit, so famous for its fair, on a river of the same name flowing into the Tura above Tiumen. The fair in question is one of the great marts for the manufactures of this last-mentioned town; and it is also the source whence Tobolsk draws most of its extraneous supplies.

The weather grew colder and more disagreeable. The peasants were gathering in their harvests, as if it was the depth of winter, dressed in their sheep-skins. They were a well-grown race—a fact the more extraordinary, inasmuch as, according to our information, they had not been reared in the most orthodox style. Instead of being suckled by their mothers, the children of this neighbourhood were said to be fed with cow's milk from a small horn, having its tip covered with a cow's teat; and very young infants would learn to hold the horn themselves, and guzzle away in their cradles.

At six in the morning, being the 7th of September, we reached Ekaterineburg, the centre of the mining district of the Uralian Mountains. This town stands on the small river Isett; and, with the usual proportion of churches and other public edifices, it has a population of about fourteen thousand, who are nearly all connected with the mines. It has an iron-foundry, a mint for coining copper and silver, and various establishments for cutting and polishing marble, porphyry, and precious stones. The neighbouring mountains appear to be Nature's richest repository of minerals, yielding, in great abundance, diamonds, amethysts, topazes, emeralds, rubies, sapphires, jasper, porphyry, malachite, gold, silver, iron, copper, platinum, &c. These inexhaustible treasures chiefly belong to Count Demidoff and M. Yakovleff. The former, in particular, who is married to a daughter of Jerome Bonaparte, is supposed to derive about half a million sterling a year from his share of the spoil.

General Glinka, the superintendent of the mining district, kindly offered to accompany us to one of the gold mines, a courtesy which I was obliged to decline; for, besides being anxious to proceed onward, I was laid up, during my stay of two days in Ekaterineburg, with a very severe cold. I was still more sorry to be prevented by this indisposition from calling on an English lady, the wife of an architect in the place. I had, however, the satisfaction of taking charge of her letters for home.

I purchased some vases of cut crystal, for which the workmen of Ekaterineburg are unrivalled. In fact, I afterwards learned from an English jeweller that nothing of the kind could be finished in the same beautiful manner in London. Here also I met the only shopkeeper on the principle of "one price asked," that I had seen in Siberia. In general, a dealer asks about a third, or perhaps a half more than what he is willing to take; but this unique merchant had fixed and moderate prices for every thing. He was a seceder from the Lutheran Church, and sold nothing but goods, chiefly cottons, manufactured at the flourishing settlement of Saratoo, on the Volga, by Germans of his own sect.

Before crossing the height of land, from which Yermac first beheld the vast heritage which he was to win for his tribe and his sovereign, let me indulge in a brief consideration of the advantages that Russia has derived from Siberia.

Of all these advantages, the most obvious, as well as the most ancient, is the fur-trade, the pervading thread, as already mentioned under the head of Sitka, both of national policy and of national commerce, from the days of Ruric. It was, in fact, this branch of traffic that primarily gave the Muscovites any footing in Northern Asia. Anika Strogonoff, grandfather of Yermac's ally, had established himself at Solvytshegodskaya, a town in the government of Vologda, for the purpose of making salt. He soon, however, found metal more attractive in his intercourse with the inhabitants of the north-western parts of Siberia, receiving from them large quantities of the choicest furs in exchange for toys, and other commodities of trifling value. It was in consequence of his success—a success rewarded, as elsewhere stated, by the gift of an immense tract of land on the Kama and the Tchiusova—that John Basilovitz the Fourth, being the second czar of the name, sent across the Uralian Mountains the expedition aforesaid, which resulted in imposing an annual tribute of a thousand sables on one of the neighbouring chiefs.

In their new settlements, which were far more favourably situated, in that respect, than Solvytshegodskaya, the Strogonoffs prosecuted the fur-trade more vigorously than ever; and it was, in a great measure, through the profits of this same business, that Yermac was provided with the means of effecting a more extensive and permanent conquest of Siberia than what his master had even attempted. In all subsequent times, a similar cause, combined, of course, with a love of glory and a thirst of dominion, urged the Cossacks onward, step by step, far beyond the remotest bounds of Asia, skins of some kind or other being, almost exclusively, at once the badge of subjection and the reward of victory.

Though latterly the fur-trade, through the gradual growth of other interests, has lost something of its relative importance, yet it is still the most valuable branch of Siberian, if not of Russian commerce. Native furs, to the value of seven millions and a half of roubles, have already been seen to be annually bartered at Kiachta, over and above all the skins that find their way to the westward, as far as Nishney Novgorod and Moscow. Though, with respect to this grand department of the traffic, I have not access to any definite statement, yet I have sufficient reason, in a general way, for knowing that it must be considerable, for to this extent the official returns even of the Chinese trade afford, in an authentic form, an indirect proof of tolerably conclusive character.

Of sables there were sold at Kiachta only 467, while at the same time there were 42,895 paws of the animal, the produce of at least 10,723; so that, even if not one whole sable went to the westward, there would still remain about twenty-two times as many skins for Russia as for China. But the Chinese share of the sables was nearly as inferior to the Russian in value as in number. The 467, which fell to the lot of the Celestials, were estimated, with all the expenses of transport on their backs, at only 7,480 roubles, thus averaging something less than 16 roubles a piece; while, even at Olekminsk, the average price, as already mentioned, of the sables of the Olekma, taking two successive years together, was 2000 roubles for 40, or precisely 50 roubles a skin. Again, not a single marten was offered at Kiachta; while 14,794 paws proved that at least 3,698 skins of the animal must have been procured. Farther, there were only 9,010 stoats, but 42,515 tails of the creature, leaving at least 33,505 skins for other destinations. Lastly, of foxes, there were barely 200,000, with about 600,000 paws; so that on the really natural and probable supposition that the skins, properly so called, had not themselves been mutilated for the purpose, there would result, at least, 150,000 foxes more, that must have been reserved for the more westerly markets.

Of the enormous quantities of furs which thus go to Russia and to China, a considerable portion doubtless comes from the new world, a portion which, however, is by no means irrelevant to my argument, considering that, in the actual progress of discovery, Russian America is virtually a continuation of Siberia. Siberia itself is certainly less productive than it once was, partly because the fur-trade necessarily disappears before an agricultural population, and partly because it naturally tends, at least under the influence of competition, to exhaust itself. Even now, however, furs are still an object of pursuit throughout the whole country in general, for in my official returns of the Chinese trade there appear the squirrels of the Yenissei and the Obe, with the ermines of the river Ishim and the Barabinsky Steppe.

These ermines, by the by, contradict the general rule, that the furs to the east of the Lena are superior in quality to such as are found to the west of that river, for they are valued at rather more than three times the rate of the ermines of the province of Yakutsk. But, farther, the actual advantage which is derived by Russia from the fur-trade of Siberia, may be fairly estimated at a higher standard than that of mere roubles, on the one special ground, that the branch of commerce in question must have formed the main inducement for the Chinese to open an inland traffic with their neighbours. Even in 1837, the native furs alone were nearly equal in value to five-sixths of all the other native productions that were bartered at Kiachta. The farther back we might go, this proportion would indubitably be found to increase, on account of the comparative paucity and imperfection of native manufactures; till at last, by the time that we should reach the date of the treaty of Nertshinsk, skins would come to be almost the only equivalent that the Russians could offer, or the Chinese covet. So far back, too, as the year 1689, the influence of the fur-trade of Siberia, as an instrument of negociation, must have been enhanced by the fact, that down to that time there still continued to be no other considerable fur-trade in the world.

The second most obvious advantage, and perhaps also the second in point of antiquity, is the international traffic which has been so frequently mentioned in the preceding paragraph. The Chinese trade, independently of its direct benefits to individual merchants and individual manufacturers, gives to Russia a position and an influence in the commercial world, which, without her appendage of Siberia, she could never have acquired. But it is by its aid in peopling and civilizing Siberia, that the Chinese trade has been mainly serviceable to Russia. Of the 3,320,000 roubles expended, as already mentioned, on the transport to and from Kiachta, Siberians must have earned the larger share, perhaps as much as two millions of roubles, an enormous sum in a country where living is so cheap. But this is not all, for every considerable place on the route sends its contribution of manufactures to Maimatschin. I subjoin the table in full, as an equally authentic and interesting evidence of the fact:—

RUSSIA LEATHER.

Places.	*Pieces.*	*Roubles.*
. . . .	3,019	23,469
Irkutsk	6,376	52,626
Krasnoyarsk . . .	1,107	8,856
Kainsk	3,428	34,210
Nertshinsk . . .	200	1,760
Tara	2,015	18,950
Tomsk	22,195	239,384
Tiumen	19,373	213,257
Tobolsk	670	8,040
Kiachta	3,520	33,610
Total	61,903	634,162

The third advantage which Russia derives from Siberia is the trade in ivory. Though, in mere amount, this branch of commerce is of comparatively little value, yet it is well worthy of honourable mention, as having in a high degree promoted the progress of geographical discovery. It was in the eager pursuit of the bones of the mammoth, that most of the northern islands were visited and explored—islands which, when taken in connexion with their mysterious treasures, invest the Asiatic coast of the Arctic Ocean with an interest unknown to the corresponding shores of America. Moreover, as more skill and judgment, and perhaps also ampler means, are required for disinterring or selecting tusks than for hunting or purchasing skins, a superior class of men have generally devoted themselves to the former occupation; and perhaps the most interesting feature in Baron Wrangell's interesting book consists of the occasional glimpses of the proceedings and disposition of a collector of ivory of the name of Bereshnoi—the same, by the by, who read the Easter service for the party on the solid ocean, with a block of ice as an altar.

In this enumeration of the advantages which Siberia confers on Russia, its mines and washeries may perhaps be considered as throwing all other merely economical advantages into the shade. Setting aside the temporary distraction and embarrassment which a new and brilliant speculation must occasion to more steady pursuits, these establishments, as a whole, must be allowed to produce a vast demand for labour, and to yield a profitable return for capital. But they are, in my opinion, destined to be of political importance, as well as of commercial value. The great instruments of national aggrandizement in modern times—I mean, of course, only the material instruments—are coal, and iron, and the precious metals. Coal is limited almost exclusively to the broad territories of the English race; iron is found chiefly in Sweden, and England, and Russia, respectively the stem and the branches of the Norman tree that already overshadows the whole of either continent at its greatest width; and the precious metals are more abundant in Siberia than in all the rest of the old world, the most precious of them being perhaps more plentiful than in all the rest of both hemispheres taken together. Thus have England and Russia—for Sweden is merely a dependency of the latter—been prepared by nature for the grand task, which Providence has assigned them, of being the principal agents in controlling and regulating the destinies of the human family. It is in her own proper department, too, that each of those two powers has been prepared. With the iron in common between them, Russia, to whom coal would have been comparatively useless, has gold as the sinews of military enterprise; while England, to whose commercial spirit every country is a mine of gold, has coal as the most powerful element, both directly and indirectly, of naval superiority.

But Siberia, besides supplying Russia with the means of pressing on towards the south, has put her in position for doing so, bringing her into contact with all that portion of the old continent which lies to the eastward of her own proper influence. Thus does Russia, by land, hang, like an avalanche, over the whole of Asia, from the Grecian Archipelago to the Sea of Ochotsk, while England not only has every coast at her mercy, but permanently possesses every point, which can command either the highways or the byways of the ocean and all its inlets.

Lastly, Russia has been indebted to Siberia for the amelioration, both moral and political, of her own condition. Through her system of deportation, she has made good citizens of myriads, who, in other countries, would have been indirectly condemned, on their first conviction, to a life of ignominy and shame; and thus has she virtually achieved the miracle of reconciling the safety of the innocent, not merely with the impunity, but even with the prosperity, of the guilty. Again, through the absence of an hereditary aristocracy, the curse of predial servitude may be said to be unknown in Siberia; and thus has grown up a numerous population of crown peasants, whose vassalage, as distinguished from the ordinary condition of a subject, is merely nominal. This entire exclusion of oligarchical influence must, of course, strengthen the crown, throughout the rest of the empire, against those whose property, in the minds and bodies of half the population, cannot fail, even under the most humane treatment, both to weaken the sovereign and to degrade the serf. Finally, as a mere incitement to a spirit of adventure, Siberia, ever since its discovery, must have had an important bearing on the formation and development of the Russian character.

On the 9th of September, we left Ekaterineburg before daylight, and, at the distance of about fifty versts from the town, crossed the height of land. We soon afterwards forded a small tributary of the Kama, being the first European stream that we had seen for nineteen months. In the neighbourhood of this brook were some iron works of the Countess Strogonoff, a descendant of the Strogonoffs of Yermac's days; and as this was a portion of the princely fief that had nourished and equipped the conquerors of Siberia, we felt that we were treading classic ground. The ascent and descent of the mountains were so gentle, that we were hardly conscious of climbing a ridge that divided two continents.

The country, though tolerably populous, was yet poor and sterile. At the station at which we supped, the postmaster churlishly refused to render us any assistance. On looking, however, at our podoroshnoya, and seeing our titles and so forth, he suddenly lowered his tone, while, on the contrary, we raised ours; and, after frightening the fellow thoroughly, we accepted the somewhat incongruous apologies of himself and his wife, the lady ascribing her husband's sulks to his being disturbed at supper, and the gentleman throwing all the blame on his cattle, that had put him out of temper by getting the murrain among them.

Next day, we met many travellers of various grades and stations. We passed several bands of convicts; then there were large parties of labourers voluntarily trudging along to seek employment in the mines; and last, though not least, came a relative of the great Diamond Demidoff, driving away in state, with five wheelers and two leaders.

In the forenoon we reached Kungar, a thriving place dependent on the mines, with a population of six or eight thousand souls. Here I saw two novelties, which were calculated to produce, on the instant, very different impressions. Some apples in the market-place reminded me that I was drawing near home, while the first church that I had seen with the domes and pinnarets of the national style of architecture appeared to carry me back from Europe into Asia.

In many respects, in fact, the greater part of Russia is rather Asiatic than European. On this ground Napoleon said, that, if you scratch a Russian, you will catch a Tartar beneath—an aphorism which, when he himself began to meddle with the customer in question, he found to be as true as it was pithy. But the Asiatic character is to be referred to causes wholly independent of an Asiatic origin. It was mainly produced by the political superiority of the eastern khans; it was partly the result of the religious influence of the Greek empire; and it doubtless, in some measure, was created, as it has continued to be cherished, by the Asiatic destination of the Volga, which drains the whole centre of the country nearly as far to the westward as St. Petersburg, and fully as far to the northward as the very head of Lake Ladoga, forcing, as it were, into the heart of Europe a foreign wedge of sixteen degrees of latitude in breadth, and twenty-eight degrees of longitude in depth. In addition, of course, to all these causes is the fact, almost too obvious to be noticed, that a considerable proportion of the population is confessedly Asiatic—a fact which, however, is tolerably conclusive in favour of the foregoing views, inasmuch as all the really oriental races we easily and constantly distinguished from the Russians themselves.

About eleven at night we reached Perm, remaining only an hour to change horses. Up to this city the Kama is navigable for the ordinary barges of the Volga, while flat-bottomed boats may ascend much farther both on the river itself and on its tributary streams—the Tchiusova in particular, ennobled as Yermac's route, being practicable till within sixty versts of Ekaterineburg. In so advantageous a position, Perm carries on an extensive trade of its own, besides being a place for the transhipment of all the transport between the opposite sides of the Uralian Mountains. The country is thickly settled, villages lining the road at every four or five versts; and the scenery presents a beautiful alternation of hills and valleys, the former apparently as closely cultivated as the latter. Soon after our visit, the fine old city of Perm was almost entirely burnt down.

During our next day's journey, the country on either side, as far as the eye could reach, was studded with villages, and farms, and churches; these lands, formerly one extensive forest of pine, were now all brought under cultivation. We were still on the broad inheritance of the Countess Strogonoff, one of the richest subjects of the empire; and, as the citizen of a state indebted for its supremacy to commerce, I could not but feel proud on reflecting that this noble lady owed alike her station and her wealth to the enterprising spirit of the old saltmaker of Solvytshegodskaya. On either side of the road there ran a double row of birches, intended in summer to shelter travellers from the sun; but already, on the 23rd of our English September, every branch had been stripped of its leaves by the winds and frosts of autumn. The face of the landscape was hilly, and the soil, like that of Devonshire, red; and vast quantities of flax, tallow, and bristles, were said to be exported to St. Petersburg.

At Sosnovich, where we lunched, one of the party left behind him a parcel containing some papers and medicines. Meeting two gentlemen at the next station, we entreated their good offices in the matter with very faint hopes of the recovery of the property: and, as a proof of the courtesy of the two gentlemen in question and of the honesty of the good folks of Sosnovich, the missing articles reached London only a few days later than ourselves.

Soon after leaving Sosnovich, we entered the province of Viatka, taking its name from a tributary of the Kama. This district was said to be celebrated—and, in our experience, deservedly so—for bad roads, bad horses, and bad drivers; and as one of the few instances of dishonesty that we encountered in the whole empire, Viatka had also the credit of stealing a sheepskin coat from our carriage.

We soon found, however, that we had still more to learn about this province, for, early next morning, we met two merchants on their way to Perm, that had just been attacked by armed footpads, who were said to be infesting the road in considerable numbers. The ruffians had attempted to break or stop the wheels of the carriage by throwing a piece of wood between the spokes; but fortunately the log itself got smashed, without damaging the vehicle in any way. Being in constant dread of a similar visit, we travelled very rapidly; and at Mookikikes, where we supped, we had the good luck to find a civil old fellow of a postmaster, who had, many years before, picked up a little English at Portsmouth on board of a Russian ship-of-war. He told us that the country through which we were passing was principally occupied by crown peasants, most of them being of the aboriginal tribe of the Chiramises.

Next morning, we ove[illegible]k an aide-de-camp of Prince Gortschakoff, Governor-General of Western Siberia, who joined us for the benefit of mutual protection. We met a great number of merchants returning from the fair of Nishney Novgorod, and also some parties of the Borlacki nation, migrating from their native Bolgar, on the banks of the Volga, to Siberia. Tartar villages lined the road, in which, Sunday as it was, the more petty dealers, who were on their way from the grand emporium of the country, had erected stalls; and, in fact, at the town of Arsk, a regular market had been got up in this way. After crossing the Viatka, and passing through Malmish, we entered the province of Kazan, and about sunset arrived at the city of the same name.

Under any circumstances, one could not approach this ancient metropolis without deeply feeling the instability of all earthly grandeur. In the palmy days of the golden horde—a branch of that fearless race which, under Attila, and Zinghies, and Tamerlane, had thrice achieved the conquest of the world—the envoys of Kazan used to be received by the vassal dukes of Moscow with the homage due from subjects to their sovereign; and now this former seat of an illustrious dynasty was merely the capital of one of the fifty-two provinces of a Muscovite empire, which, including its dependencies in the new world, stretched upwards of a hundred degrees to the eastward of the utmost bounds of Tartar supremacy. But, at the present moment, such a train of thought was more likely than ever to occupy the mind of a visitor; for there, where Kazan had stood, we saw nothing but the dense smoke of smouldering ruins. This beautiful city, at once an object of pride to the victors, and of veneration to the vanquished, had fallen a prey to fire, two thousand buildings having been destroyed with the loss of at least two hundred lives.

This lamentable conflagration had been imputed to a

Pole, the head of the police, who, as soon as he found himself suspected of being the incendiary, had added probability to the surmise by committing suicide. It had begun in July, and had continued ever since, leaping, day after day, and night after night, from street to street, and from square to square. People, on retiring to rest, were never sure that they would not be dislodged before the morning; and the unfortunate sufferers, as they were successively driven from their perishing homes, had been chased by the flames from one refuge after another, till at last they planted themselves, either in the open air or under the shelter of temporary hovels, beyond the reach of the devouring element. The loss of property had been enormous; but that had been entirely thrown into the shade by the loss of life. The man who had sacrificed half of his substance considered himself fortunate, inasmuch as his neighbour had seen his all disappear before his eyes; and he again thought himself happy, because a third had to bewail the untimely fate of those who were nearest and dearest to his heart.

The progress of the fire had been remarkably capricious. One house would be destroyed, while the adjacent buildings would escape; and, in one street in particular, the church alone had survived the general wreck. The evil was aggravated by the prevalence of winds, which the heat alone was sufficient to raise; and, as if to render any attempts at prevention utterly desperate, the wooden pavement was consumed at the same pace as the edifices that lined it.

We got into one of the few decent houses that were still standing in Kazan, where, however, no beds were to be had; but we were gratified instead by the receipt of letters from England and St. Petersburg.

Next morning, I was visited by the agent of the Russian American Company, who, like his brother of Tiumen, had been burned out. He was accompanied by Captain Zarimbo, a very agreeable and straightforward man, who was now on his way to Sitka, to fill the office of Lieutenant-Governor. We spent the forenoon in driving about the ruins, which forcibly reminded one of the vivid descriptions in the "Last Days of Pompeii;" rows of gutted houses, as cold and dead as if they had been unchanged for a century, being interwoven with streets, in which the oozing vapour still spoke of the freshness of the calamity. Even in this desolation, the elasticity and versatility of the spirit of commerce showed themselves, for the goods that had been expelled from the shops had taken possession of the vaults of the churches, in which were displayed shawls, jewellery, watches, &c.; every thing, in short, that embodied considerable value in little compass.

In mere rank, Kazan stood next to Moscow; and it was particularly famous as a seat of learning, possessing the finest oriental library in the empire. But now nothing remained to it but the blackened ruins of its former glory. The population was said to be, or to have been, about sixty thousand. The site of the town occupies some hills overlooking a plain, which separates them from the Volga. This plain is celebrated as the scene of one of the victories gained by the Muscovites over the Tartars; and it contains a large building erected by the conquerors at once as a monument of their triumph and as a tomb for their slain comrades.

At ten in the evening, we crossed the Volga, here about a verst in breadth, glad to escape from the heated atmosphere of Kazan, more particularly as a heavy gale, which blew during the whole day, had almost blinded and suffocated us with dust and ashes. This storm, by the by, would have detained us all the time in Kazan, even if that city had nothing to interest us, by rendering the passage of the river impracticable. For a little distance, the road was so sandy, that we were obliged to walk in order to relieve the horses. Our route lay along the course of the Volga, affording us occasional glimpses of the river, with the cumbrous craft floating on its smooth waters. The barges that navigate the Volga have but one mast, some of them carrying as much as twelve hundred tons. Coming down the stream, they are laden with an infinite variety of supplies for Siberia, China, and the north-west coast; while their upward cargoes consist partly of goods from Kiachta, but chiefly of native productions, such as hides, tallow, wool, flax, furs, bristles, and iron, and other metals. The landscape presented to the eye a sea of corn-fields; for never had I seen such an expanse of cultivated ground as on this bank of the Volga. The harvest, which was scarcely finished, appeared to have been abundant; the barn-yards were filled with stacks, while the stubble was everywhere covered with busy gleaners, in the shape of poultry, sheep, cattle, and pigs.

The road occasionally passed through magnificent forests of oak, closely preserved for the use of the nation. In these forests were some beautiful specimens, one tree in particular, of eighty or a hundred feet in height, being as straight as an arrow, and as clear of branches as a pine. No traveller could fail to admire this proud oak, even if it had not been lately fenced, as a proof of the Emperor's admiration, by his majesty's command. His majesty, by the by, was soon expected again to visit the neighbourhood for the purpose of personally putting an end to some disorders that reigned among the peasants. Most of these poor people were said to be crown serfs; and, as some change, whether for the better or for the worse they did not know, was contemplated in their condition, they had got up something like an insurrection, in which two hundred of them were said to have lost their lives.

The travelling was here worse by many degrees than in Siberia. The horses were bad, the roads heavy, and the delays apparently just what the postmasters chose to make them. We reckoned eight versts an hour as more than average work, while a loss of three or four hours at a station was an ordinary occurrence. At one place horses were not at hand; at another they had only come off a journey; at a third, they were reserved for some special purpose. But such excuses, and many others of the same tendency, we soon discovered to be part of the ways and means of the dilatory functionaries, for a few roubles, whenever I yielded to the imposition, never failed to accelerate movements. At one of our stations of to-day, an officer of police entered, saying that horses were to be reserved for a senator, who was coming this way from the westward—an embargo which caused us considerable annoyance, till, on the second day thereafter, we met this official monopolist of cattle. In this case, however, we had not much reason to complain; for, in Siberia, where we were generally the great men of our time, we had very possibly put humbler individuals to similar inconvenience. At another station, we had to give way, of course, to the preferable claims of the mail; and, at a third, we were obliged to yield, notwithstanding our authoritative podoroshnoya, to a podoroshnoya professing to travel on urgent public business. I began to wonder how the ordinary podoroshnoyas got on at all; to them time would be considered of no value at the stations.

At one in the morning of the 17th of September, corresponding with our Michaelmas-day, we reached Nishney Novgorod, famous for the most extensive and important fair in the world. Here two or three hundred thousand people, from all parts of the old continent, are said to congregate, bringing with them the peculiar wares of their respective countries. Here may be seen Bokharians, Greeks, Chinese, Spaniards, Persians, Italians, Tartars, Jews, Germans, English, French, &c. The trade is as various as the crowd is motley, consisting of the teas and silks of China, the furs of America and Siberia, the hardware of England, the shawls of Persia, the metallic treasures of the Uralian Mountains, leather, hides, tallow, bristles, cottons, tobacco, horses, cattle—an endless catalogue, in short, of all that is requisite to supply the natural and artificial wants of mankind. But business does not altogether engross the attention of the assembled nations, amusements of all kinds being provided to fill up the odds and ends of time. Players, dancers, jugglers, and the whole race of showmen and showwomen reap a golden harvest, while thousands, or, according to some estimates, tens of thousands, of young ladies, whose faces are their fortunes, come, in due proportion of numbers, from most of the same regions as the dealers themselves, in the charitable hope of providing every man with a partner of congenial taste and language.

This great meeting of the east and the west used to be held at Makarieff, a place a little farther down the Volga—a river which, however often the immediate locality of the fair may be changed, clearly enjoys a perpetual monopoly of nature's granting, of the inland trade between Asia and Europe. Nor will Nishney Novgorod, in fact, be lightly abandoned in favour of any other site, considering that the requisite buildings—the bazaar, as it were, of two continents—have been erected at a cost of many millions of roubles. The business lasts from the beginning of August to the middle of September; and the amount of the transactions is estimated at nine or ten millions sterling.

At the first station beyond Nishney Novgorod, in consequence of the senator's monopoly, we employed a soldier to obtain horses from the peasants for us. When paid for his trouble, he begged for a little more, in consideration of his having beaten the people; and on receiving such an addition as we thought the alleged service worth, he still stuck to us for a few supplementary kopecks, which, for the sake of peace, we gave him, on the plea, to borrow his own broken English, that he "beaten them well." At this station, we discovered that even the poorest podoroshnoya was better than no podoroshnoya at all. A dark-eyed, highnosed, long-haired little man, was here detained, with his wife, a swarthy but comely woman, and two servants, because, forsooth, the postmaster at the last station had given their indispensable podoroshnoya to a person going in the opposite direction, handing them, at the same time, the equally indispensable podoroshnoya of the person in question. As the other counterfeit would be stopped as well as himself, our excitable friend had sent back, in order to effect a second exchange of documents, hoping that his fellow-sufferer would evince as prompt a regard for the liberty of the subject. This prisoner at large, and his rib, we quickly discovered to be philanthropists, who had condescended to kill other people's time at the fair; and their virtue had been its own reward, for they had realized seventy-five thousand roubles, by having danced for six or seven weeks.

From Nishney Novgorod to Vladimir, even after we had got rid of our patrician forestaller, we encountered very tiresome delays at the posthouses. The country was closely settled and cultivated, with an almost unbroken chain of settlements, extending from the one place to the other, some of the settlements rising even to the dignity of small towns. In the neighbourhood of Nishney Novgorod, the soil is almost entirely owned by General Sheremetieff, a relative of the Emperor; and, for nearly two whole days, we continued to travel through his estates. He is said to possess a hundred thousand serfs, half of them being settled in this same province of Nishney Novgorod. These serfs appear to be as comfortable as any peasantry can be; to be better off, in fact, on many points than the free labourers of other countries, inasmuch as they have a claim on the assistance, care, and protection of their owners in times of sickness or scarcity. Each head of a family holds a small farm, paying its rent partly in produce and partly in work. Under a very judicious and laudable regulation, one tenth part of all the crops is deposited in a public granary, as a store laid up against days of famine.

The serfs are simple, frugal, and industrious. Though they are a strong and muscular race, yet neither males nor females can, in my opinion, boast much of their beauty. The women are generally red-faced, red-handed, red-heeled, strong-featured wenches, of substantial build; while the men, as is their prerogative, surpass them in all these masculine accomplishments—neither sex attempting to improve nature by any very scrupulous regard to cleanliness or neatness.

In all their houses, the principal apartment is a large kitchen, in which are one or two stoves of brick or of earth; on these the people either bake or stew their food, the former process being performed in a sort of fryingpan, and the latter in earthen jars. Near the stoves, the floor is boarded, so as to form a sleeping place for the family. On this warm snuggery, and even on the very tops of the stoves, the inmates stow themselves away almost in a state of nudity, with nothing under them but a piece of felt; so that, on entering one of the cottages by night, I found two young women baking themselves above the fire in their very scanty shifts. The young men, however, are occasionally shelved against the wall for the sake of etiquette; but, in spite of this very proper arrangement, the heat of the room sometimes constrains the damsels to edge themselves unconsciously towards the sides of the apartments, while the bumpkins instinctively seek a cooler atmosphere, by rolling from their benches on the floor. In such cases, all the consequences, whatever they may be, are, of course, considered as accidental.

The females, at least, whatever might be the taste of the males in the matter, appeared to be extremely sober. Some women spat out nalifky that we gave them, quaffing, however, the dregs of our teapot with great relish, and putting the leaves on the ever-ready stove to dry for another occasion. Even when not stinted by the rule and measure of the church, the ordinary diet of these peasants is coarse enough, while, on the frequent fasts, the staple fare is black bread with salt, and perhaps a cucumber, the whole washed down, as I have already mentioned, under the head of the Lena, with water at discretion, taken, like soup, with a spoon.

We constantly met parties of women on their return from harvest, singing their national airs, one of them giving out the stave, and the others joining in chorus. On one occasion, we saw about a dozen of the same sex, cutting up cabbages for sour krout, and lilting away to keep time with their choppers. Their melodies were almost all pleasing.

Early in the morning of the 19th of September, we entered Vladimir, once the capital of a detached principality, and perhaps also at one time the metropolis of the whole country. It was still said to be the residence of many wealthy owners of the neighbouring soil, possessing, on that account, tolerably good society. We were obliged to wait here for our Russian fellow-traveller, who was detained at the last station for want of horses, for, when we were all ready to start, that gentleman's driver, having caught a blow from the same pipe-stem which had done Cossack's duty before, untackled his cattle, and left our disciplinarian in the lurch. Thus, the stimulus, which, as already stated, had raced horses to death to Siberia, procured them a holiday in Russia; and, inconvenient as any detention was, we were not sorry for the change.

While we remained at Vladimir, a courier arrived with an official order that we should everywhere be supplied with horses, as if travelling on public business. This document, which was dated as far back as the 8th of May, came too late to be of any service whatever, for I had already agreed with some peasants to convey us to Moscow at twice the regular rates.

The route to Moscow was an almost unbroken chain of populous villages, in which scenes of debauchery presented themselves on all hands, resting on the double pretext of the conclusion of harvest and of a holiday of the church. The exorbitant demands on the road were a pretty sure indication of the vicinity of the capital; and at one place we were charged fifteen roubles for milk and mutton-chops, cooking for ourselves and finding our own tea.

On the morning of our second day from Vladimir, we reached Moscow, in which, Sunday as it was, the shops were open and the markets full. We drove first, as in duty bound, to the London Hotel; but, finding it a bumper, we proceeded to the Dresden, situated in the most fashionable part of the city, in the same square, in fact, as the residence of the Governor. The weather was cold and boisterous; the women in the streets looked chilly, with red noses, and the men looked rather worse.

Of a place so well known as this ancient metropolis, so hurried a traveller as myself could not presume to offer any account. In fact, what pen, with the amplest leisure and the highest talent, could adequately describe the novelties and beauties of the Holy City, with its gorgeous palaces and the thousand and one spires, domes, pinnarets, and cupolas of its churches? Who can give an idea of the ever varying diorama both of Europe and of Asia, that exhibits itself in the streets and squares of this unique capital? Here the natives of all countries jostle one another, each in his national costume—the flowing robes of the east, and the prim garments of the west; the graceful attire of the Tartars, and the clumsy coats and formal hats of the substantial burghers; the sombre garments of the jolly priests, and the bright shawls and elegant turbans of the ladies fair; Turks and Arabs, Jews and gipsies. But, however incompetent to say all that might be said, every traveller, as a duty sacred to the cause of humanity, should at least mention the Sheremetieff Hospital, supported entirely at the cost of the munificent nobleman of the name, not for the benefit of his own serfs, but for the general good.

Moscow stands on hilly ground, covering a vast area, inasmuch as all the public buildings and many private mansions have enclosures round them. I would that I could leave the reader to picture to himself elegant shrubberies and ornamental gardens; but how different would such an imagination be from the vulgar reality, amounting to a perfect eyesore, of rectangular beds of cabbage in all its tribes, carrots, turnips, onions, and such like. In the palaces of Moscow the kitchens monopolize the grounds. Next to the Kremlin, among the divisions of the city, ranks the Kitai-Gorod, commonly rendered, according to the literal signification, into China Town. But, as the quarter in question of Moscow bore its present name long before Russia had any intercourse with the celestial empire, one might perhaps suggest a different version of the first half of the compound.

In primitive times, the Kitai-Gorod was distinguished from the rest of the city in this respect, that it was bounded by a wall, a feature which was peculiarly likely, particularly in the mouths of roving shepherds and hunters, to be embodied in the ordinary appellation of the enclosed space. Nor is independent proof altogether wanting of this interpretation of *Kitai*. *Kitaia*, the Russian term for China, as *Cathay* is our corresponding English one, was imported into Europe in the days of Zinghis Khan's immediate successors, the conquerors alike of Eastern Russia and of Northern China; and, as the great wall, which had been built to check the southern incursions of the Tartars, had long been in existence, it was more likely than anything else to give name to the country which it protected, among the savages whom it fettered. In a word, Kitaia was the walled country, and Kitai-Gorod the walled town, in the language of those who simultaneously gave law both to the one and to the other. Though the point is purely speculative, yet it is nevertheless interesting; and these suggestions may at least have the effect of drawing the attention of persons versed in the oriental tongues.

However interesting the present may be in this singular city, the past is perhaps still more so. In its derivative, Muscovy, Moscow was, for several centuries, identified with the whole of the territories of its dukes and its czars, the derivative in question having been applied, in a spirit of jealousy or of scorn, by the Poles, who, having torn away the original settlements of the Normans on the Borysthenes, arrogantly pretended that to themselves belonged everything worthy of the name of Russia. Even after the erection of St. Petersburg had, in one sense, degraded Moscow to the rank of a provincial city, and after the progress of conquest had rendered Muscovy merely the nucleus of a far more extensive dominion, this ancient seat of the czars and dukes still continued to be the true centre of Russian nationality. In this view, Napoleon doubtless felt that the capture of Moscow would deal a heavier blow than that of St. Petersburg. He did not, however, sufficiently consider how often history had taught the people to sustain with fortitude, or even to contemplate with pride, the direst reverses of the Holy City. If Moscow had been four times burned, she had been four times avenged; if she suffered from the Lithuanians towards the close of the fourteenth century, she saw Lithuania at her feet before the close of the eighteenth; if she suffered from the companions of Tamerlane, she saw Yermac, in less than two hundred years afterwards, inflict ample retribution on a descendant of Zinghis Khan; if, in 1571, she suffered from the Tartars of the Crimea, she saw the arms of Catherine the Second carried in triumph along the northern shore of the Black Sea; if, in 1611, she suffered from the Poles, she saw in Poland, at the time of Napoleon's invasion, an integral part of Russia, excepting only that comparatively petty duchy which Napoleon himself was mocking with the name of independence. If any long-bearded seer, when the French standards were mingling in the distance with the flames of Moscow, had predicted the consequent prostration of France, he might have based his prophecy on the ground of uniform experience; but he could hardly have dared to hope that, within nineteen short months, Napoleon would be dethroned,—and Paris be saved from retaliation, by the mediation of his own august sovereign. In this last case, the calamity of the Holy City was not only the beginning, but also the cause, of that great revolution which so suddenly emancipated Europe; and the inhabitants, by their heroic sacrifice of homes and hearths, invested their ancient metropolis with a claim to the veneration and gratitude of every nation in the west. In a word, Moscow was thenceforward entitled to be considered as the Holy City not merely of Russia but of Christendom.

Moscow has extensive manufactories of cloths of various descriptions, monopolizing in this respect nearly the whole of the trade of Kiachta. In 1837, the house of Alexandroff alone, according to the official statement so often quoted, sent to the celestials its own fabrics to the enormous value of one million and six hundred thousand roubles. In imports too, as well as exports, this city is one grand emporium of eastern traffic. So far at least as furs are concerned, it must derive a lucrative business in this way. Taking a fancy to a cloak of black fur, I was anxious to purchase it for my wife; but the demand of seven thousand roubles, fully three hundred pounds sterling, for a useless piece of finery, instantaneously put to flight all thoughts of my better half's wardrobe. Sables were offered at two hundred and fifty or three hundred roubles, by no means equal to what I had purchased at Yakutsk for the fifth part of the money; and as the freight from the Lena would not amount to a rouble a skin, this exorbitant rate would alone be sufficient to show the comparatively trifling influence of even the heaviest cost of transport on the prices of expensive commodities.

On Monday evening we left Moscow, having now between us and St. Petersburg, the goal of our overland journey, only about seven hundred versts of a macadamised road. At nearly equal distances from the two capitals stands Vishney Volotchok, the place at which the upward cargoes on the Volga, which, however, is still far from its sources, are transferred to the canal that unites that noble stream with the tributaries of the Gulf of Finland. Considering the ultimate destination of most of this bulky transport throughout the whole length and breadth of European Russia, an English traveller can hardly avoid reflecting that every river and every canal is chiefly a highway to this country, that nearly every thing which he sees around him is homeward bound as well as himself; and, if he rises from personal feelings to political contemplations, he cannot fail to infer that Russia and England are peculiarly interested in each other's welfare and tranquillity.

A little to the east of the middle point between Vishney Volotchok and Novgorod is situated Valdai, taking its name from the hills which divide the waters of the Volga from those of the Neva. In the neighbourhood of this town is a small lake, containing an island, on which stands a monastery, thus shut out by the waters from the pollutions of the world. Whether the inmates of this secluded establishment are wiser, or happier, or better, merely because they live in the centre of a pool, one may be permitted to doubt.

On the third morning after leaving Moscow, we breakfasted in Novgorod, one of the earliest seats of the Norman invaders of the country. This town presents numberless proofs of former greatness,—ruined churches, deserted mansions in the most magnificent style of ancient architecture, and also a bazaar, which, like the hose of the slippered pantaloon, is a world too big for its diminished contents. This great mart between the east and the west had become so powerful as not only to deter the Tartars from attacking it, but also virtually to renounce the supremacy of the Russians. It received its first blow, when subdued by the first czar in 1471, and its second, when almost destroyed by the desolating cruelties of his grandson in 1570. Still so influential was its position against mere force, that Novgorod would soon have regained, if not its power, at least its wealth, had not its own weapons been turned against itself. In 1584, the erection of Archangel inflicted the third blow, —a blow which, ever since the opening of the White Sea, had been impending for more than thirty years; and about a quarter of a century afterwards, the erection of St. Petersburg, by intercepting the trade which the more northerly port attempted only to divert, gave the finishing stroke to Novgorod the Great and all its glory.

Novgorod is now little more than a mere place of passage between the Volga and the Neva, standing as it does on the Volkhov, which empties Lake Ilmen int-

Lake Ladoga, and also on the canal of the same name, which has been constructed to avoid certain difficulties in the navigation of one of the Volkhov's tributaries. How different the destinies of Moscow and Novgorod under the ungenial influences of a city, which was intended to absorb all that was valuable in both. Against the emporium of commerce St. Petersburg was completely successful, because she had Nature's facilities and man's interests in her favour; against a metropolis consecrated in the hearts of the people, alike by triumphs and by disasters, St. Petersburg was almost powerless, because she had to contend with the hereditary prejudices both of patriotism and of religion.

Beyond Novgorod we passed a great number of very neat cottages, with gardens, belonging to "military settlers:" a gentle name for a body of eighty or a hundred thousand men, ready to be called into active service at a week's notice.

About eight in the morning, on the 8th of our English October, we drove into St. Petersburg, thus terminating our travels through the Russian empire about five-and-twenty weeks after our arrival at Sitka from the Sandwich Islands. The distance from Ochotsk to St. Petersburg, including stoppages, had occupied ninety-one days, during which time we had traversed about seven thousand miles. From Irkutsk the journey had occupied forty-one days, the nights being passed as follows:—

In the carriage	36 nights.
At Tomsk, on a sofa . . .	1
At Ekaterineburg, on the floor . .	2 „
At Kazan, on a sofa . . .	1 „
At Moscow, in a bed . . .	1 „
	41 nights.

Mrs. Wilson's excellent house being full, we fixed our abode at Miss Dee's, where I at once took to my bed, in consequence of a most severe and obstinate cold; so that, to my great regret, I was unable to partake of the proffered hospitality of any of my friends. Of St. Petersburg, of course, I saw nothing; nor did I particularly regret this, inasmuch as I had seen the city before.

The uppermost thought, I believe, in the mind of every person who visits this magnificent creation, is admiration of the genius, energy, and perseverance of its founder. This admiration, moreover, is vastly enhanced by recollecting, that the site for the new capital of the monarchy was selected within the recently conquered dominions of a rival, who had hitherto defeated every enemy, Russian, or Saxon, or Dane, or Pole, in every field. If the Romans have commanded the applause of posterity by selling and buying, at full value, the very ground on which Hannibal, within sight of their walls, had pitched his camp after the battle of Cannæ, how much more is Peter the Great worthy of renown, for having confidently committed both the honour and the wealth of his empire to the territories of the irresistible hero of Narva! But, in the estimation of this the greatest of czars, the case was the same with Russia as with Moscow. She was to draw victory from defeat, and triumph from humiliation. She was to be taught by the Swedes to beat Sweden. The Normans of Russia were to shake off the rust which they had gathered through the admixture of inferior races, under the discipline of the unadulterated Normans of Scandinavia. In illustration of the often repeated view to which I have just alluded, may be stated the admitted fact, that the three branches of the northern hive of modern times, the English, the Swedes, and the Russians, excel all other nations in the grand element of military efficiency, a patient and stable infantry.

After having so frequently referred to the providential mission of the Norman race, I ought, perhaps, to mention, that I altogether disclaim any and every idea of wanton aggression. The genius and benevolence of the present emperor will find congenial and profitable occupation in prosecuting his enlightened views for ameliorating the institutions of his country and the circumstances of his people, in consolidating what he already possesses, or may hereafter be constrained to acquire, rather than in coveting an extension of dominion merely for its own sake. Such, in fact, was the task delegated to the house of Romanoff, when elevated to the throne of Russia in 1613, as the task delegated, after the lapse of a century, to the House of Brunswick in England was the protecting of civil and religious liberty.

For fifteen years after the extinction of the line of Ruric in 1598, Muscovy was torn to pieces by the intestine dissensions of numberless pretenders, till, at last, by the free choice of the nobles, Michael Fedrovitz Romanoff received the sceptre of the czars, in order to prevent the monarchy from falling to pieces. As such a duty was incompatible with a state of foreign war, this illustrious man preferred the unity of his dominions to their extent, sacrificing, for the sake of peace, Ingria and Carelia to the Swedes and Smolenks, Tschernigou and Novgorod to the Poles; while, by devoting his undisturbed attention to internal ameliorations, he laid deep and broad the foundations of that strength, which ultimately led to the recovery of far more than what he had surrendered. It was in this same peaceful path, though, happily, without similar sacrifices, that Peter the Great, and, in fact, almost every Russian sovereign from Michael to Nicholas, has really won his brightest laurels.

The absence of the Emperor, who had gone, as was supposed, to put an end to the disturbances already mentioned as existing in the government of Kazan, prevented my friend Baron Wrangell from introducing me, as he was most desirous of doing, to his Majesty. In my peculiar circumstances, I deeply regretted this disappointment. Even if I had never set foot on the patrimony of Nicholas, I could not fail to regard, in common with every man of knowledge or reflection, the autocrat of three continents, the master of the most extensive dominion of ancient or modern times, as an object, not merely of philanthropic interest, but of mysterious awe. But, after seeing more of this colossal empire than any other foreigner, living or dead, I was naturally anxious, as an appropriate termination of my wanderings, to enter, as it were, into communion with the spirit that animated it. Independently of these general considerations, the present czar's personal qualities, physical, and intellectual, and moral, must induce every man's judgment to acquiesce in the homage which his feelings are constrained to pay. Nicholas is universally allowed to present the noblest mould of form and feature, to be the ablest and most laborious sovereign of the age, and, what is higher praise than all in an individual of his exalted station, to set before his people the brightest example of all the domestic virtues.

Of the conclusion of my wanderings, little remains to be said. After being confined for eight days to my room in St. Petersburg, I embarked on the steamer Nicolai for Lubec, halting for coal at Stitichaun, on the Island of Gothland, where we were received into the house of a merchant of the name of Enequest, whose daughter was decidedly the prettiest girl that I saw in the whole course of my travels. On the eighth day from St. Petersburg, I reached Hamburg, lying in ruins, like Kazan, from the effects of the recent conflagration.

In five days more I reached London, having—with the exception of my proposed trip to Kiachta—accomplished my journey round the world as originally contemplated, the whole being completed within the space of nineteen months and twenty-six days.

THE END.

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